Ulrich Braukämper

A History of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia

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Preface

There are very few existing studies that deal with the history of illiterate ethnic groups or peoples in Africa[1] setting down their origins and development up to the present. Some of these studies do not go beyond a descriptive succession of historical and ethnographical materials, but they are nevertheless highly valuable as sources. Others additionally give comprehensive insights into the cultural history of the respective groups.

Whereas treatises on political groups (for both the pre-colonial epoch and that of modern state formation following the colonial demarcation of boundaries), as well as those on geographical regions – often restricted to certain time frames – gained increasing significance in academic literature, it is the monographic accounts of the history of ethnic groups which have not become a specialised field of study for cultural anthropologists and historians respectively. Regarding the first-mentioned academic scholars there was, due to the discipline's given focus of attention on a synchronic perspective, often a lack of interest in this type of study as well as the adequate methodological know-how. The latter, researchers who primarily orientated themselves towards relying on written records, lacked the willingness to augment the sketchy body of materials through field studies, and thereby did not open themselves up to new source areas. The specific conditions as to how studies exist thematically and contextually for illiterate peoples take for granted both historically-compiled subtle source analysis as well as field research. It is difficult to meet the requirements for both domains and undoubtedly parts of this work may appear deficient in accordance with assessment criteria of cultural anthropology or history respectively. The fact that the study deals largely with a historical documentation in a *terra incognita* certainly increases the methodological difficulties.

Considering the scope of a world history like that of Arnold J. TOYNBEE (1951/61, II: 365), Ethiopia existed only as the literate Christian Empire of the north, surrounded by a world of "African Barbarism" and thus hardly able to preserve its singular identity. Southern Ethiopia, inhabited by illiterate non-Christian peoples, was part of that "barbaric" world which did not reach the level of an "advanced civilization" characterized, for example, by the possession of a script. That such a perception meant a factually and morally serious discrimination for the greater part of the world obviously has found too little attention in the field of occidental historiography to the present-day. What has been written about Africa mainly concerns studies on colonial history where historians can revert to a fund of written records, so that their research is not fundamentally different from historical scholarship con-

1 Such works have come out, just to mention some prominent examples, on the Yoruba (JOHNSON 1921), Sudan-Arabs (MACMICHAEL 1922[1967]), Zulu (BRYANT 1929), Bambara (TAUXIER 1942), Beja (PAUL 1954), Bemba (ROBERTS 1973) and Kuba (VANSINA 1977).

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cerned with European territories. The limitation of source materials in this particular context means that research is mainly focussing on the history of European expansion in "overseas" territories in which particularly Africans are more or less reduced to the role of objects in the contact between two antagonistic cultural worlds. Up to the end of the 20th century the indigenous inhabitants of this continent south of the Sahara hardly appear as creative subjects in the process of their own history in which the European part was reduced to taking an interest as foreign observers and chroniclers.

The focus of this work is the analysis and interpretation of the oral traditions in which the Hadiyya preserved their people's past. For the more recent periods of history, particularly from the time of the Italian occupation (1936), there are undoubtedly more written records to be discovered which promise important additions to the fragmentary state of the research presented here.

There seem to be no principal differences in the historiographic methodology regarding literate and illiterate societies. The interrelations of an individualised and a generalised approach necessarily apply to both of them and have to be continuously revised.[2] The individualised or ideographic method derives its criteria from the subject itself, such as a local chronicle, the descriptive account of a traveller, or an oral tradition. The respective sources of information are in each case interpreted for their singularity with all the available background data in terms of the prevailing ideas of the respective time as well as personal concurrent circumstances. The hermeneutic approach, which tries to elaborate the criteria of interpretation by means of a "feedback effect" between a respective subject and its perception, has obviously not yet been advanced enough with regard to illiterate cultures. It can, however, principally be applied in a way which is usual with Europe-oriented historical research. Terms like "holy war" (of the Muslims in the Horn of Africa in the 16th century) or the *gäbbar* system, are examples of "individual totalities" which should not be left in their hermeneutic circle but must rather be comprehended as elements naturally involving a larger historical context.

Admittedly, this study must be partly bound to an individualistic perspective due to the situation of the source materials (chronicles of individual rulers; informants with above-average knowledge). But it nevertheless endeavours to embark on a type of typology where groups of people such as ethnic units replace individual personalities as active and incentive entities. This will be returned to once again later (see chap. 2.2).

It goes without saying that the history of the Hadiyya cannot be separately analysed from the Northeast African cultural, historical and ethnic framework as a whole. This implies the use of certain generalised terms like "Pan-Ethiopic" for

2 Since the first edition of the book on Hadiyya history new stimulating methodological research has been carried out by authors such as MILLER (1980), HENIGE (1982), VANSINA (1985), JONES (1990), just to mention some of the most prominent scholars.

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cultural and social phenomena which exist in more or less similar patterns all over the area.[3]

As for ethno-sociological termini, a comprehensive discussion about their definitions will not be aimed at here just as little as an analysis of their contents. This is reserved for a study on the culture of the Hadiyya.[4] For an understanding of the historical conditions, it is however necessary to summarize some of the important facts. The Hadiyya, who are the subject of this study, are not a homogeneous people but are rather sub-divided into a number of ethnic groups partly with different languages and cultural affiliations. They were initially all inhabitants of a political entity, a kind of state, which in the four centuries following its break-down became remarkably diverse. The Libidoo (Maräqo), Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho remained a language entity and preserved an identity of oneness, the Hadiyya proper; whereas the Qabeena, Allaaba, parts of the East-Gurage as well as descendants of an old Hadiyya stratum living with the Oromo and Sidaama, developed separate ethnic identities.

All of the groups mentioned, which can now be defined as ethnic unities, are composed of patrilineal clans named after prominent forbears. These clans, as local and exogamous entities, are sub-divided into lineages settling together in districts or sub-districts.[5] In the course of turbulent periods of migration from the 16th century onwards, numerous processes of fusion and fission occurred. Several ethnic segments split up from moving groups thereafter frequently experiencing a separate historical development. Others were amalgamated into the body of neighbouring groups of superior power. Thus, processes of assimilation and proliferation steadily changed the ethnic situation in southern Ethiopia. The Hadiyya, who were to a large extent either split up or pushed westwards through new thrusts of people, are a marked example for how eventful the history of the African people was and is.

Those authors concerned with the history of Ethiopia before the 17th century located the settlements of the Hadiyya at that time at the upper Gibe (Omo)[6] where bearers of the name still live today. This localisation implies – not least because a gap of historical research existed in this area – the hypothesis of static ethnic-territorial conditions over a period of several hundred years. Our investigations refute the hitherto assumed continuity of these living areas and render an increasingly com-

3 Pan-Ethiopian traits were clearly defined and elaborated by LEVINE (1974:64, *passim*) in the context of "Greater Ethiopia" as a culture area. Cf. also GASCON (1995, Chapt. Introduction, *passim*) for stimulating ideas in this field.

4 A monograph entitled "Fandaanano: the traditional socio-religious system of the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia" is being prepared (BRAUKÄMPER n.d.). This refers to the Hadiyya proper, i. e., the Leemo, Sooro, Weexo-giira, Shaashoogo, Baadawwaachcho and Libidoo.

5 Here the concepts of clan and lineage are basically those of Raymond FIRTH (1971:53) in British Social Anthropology. The patterns of social structure of the Hadiyya largely correspond to those of the neighbouring Gurage which were analysed by William SHACK (1969:69 ff., 143 ff.)

6 Cf., for example, PANKHURST 1961a: 109; TRIMINGHAM 1965: 64; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 2; HUNTINGFORD 1969, map 4; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 133.

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plete picture of ethnic dynamics which can be depicted cartographically as far as possible.

I carried out the field study in Ethiopia during two stays there over a period of two and a half years altogether; from March 1970 to February 1971 and from September 1972 to March 1974. In order to research the history of the Hadiyya proper and the relationship to the tribes of Hadiyya descent, it proved necessary to enlarge the study to a bigger area inhabited by ethnic groups speaking different languages. I worked for approximately one and a half years with the inhabitants of the Kämbata-Hadiya sub-province, around four months with the Arsi in the same-named province as well as in Šäwa and Bale, one or two months in each case with the Qabeena, Allaaba, East-Gurage, Sidaama and also with the Oromo in the Cärcär area.[7]

A difficult problem is posed by the transcription of indigenous terms in Ethiopian languages. Fortunately, the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* provides a voluminous corpus of names of persons, places and cultural phenomena, whose standardization can be employed for the field of "Pan-Ethiopian" terms mainly of Amharic and G ᶜ z background.[8] Many Cushitic- and Omotic-speaking ethnic unities followed the example of the Somali and the Oromo and are developing systems of Latin transcription of their own which are, however, neither fully compatible nor, in a number of cases, conclusively standardized. I therefore had to sometimes rely on dictionaries in the process[9] or on word lists which were checked for me by linguistically experienced speakers of the respective languages. Certain deficiencies in the field of orthography are therefore unavoidable. For the Arabic names and words I took the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new. ed. 1960ff.) as an authoritative base. As it is common in anthropological literature, names of ethnic groups, clans and cultural terms in African languages are left in the singular, because pluralisation would be confusing in the different languages (e. g. *gaaxana*, pl. *gaaxanno'o* = war leader in Hadiyya; *balabbat*, pl. *balabbato* = landowner in Amharic). With regard to titles, sometimes different versions are employed, for example, *gärad* in Semitic and *garaad* in Cushitic languages.

7 During the regime of the *Provisional Military Administrative Council* (*Därg)* a continuation of field research in Ethiopia was impossible for me. That is why I transferred the area of my studies to the Republic of the Sudan in the 1980s and to north-eastern Nigeria during the first half of the 1990s. Since 1999 I have resumed new field studies in Ethiopia in order to complete my data for a monograph on the traditional culture of the Hadiyya and on issues of the recent past. In the context of these research programs new data of research on Hadiyyaland and neighbouring areas have been provided by Alke Dohrmann, Dirk Bustorf and Cathrin Horstmann.

8 UHLIG et al. (eds.), 2003-2010. The four volumes hitherto published range up to letter X.

9 For example, GUDISAANCHI HADIYYI ZOO'N LOSA'AN DEESKA (1996 Eth. Cal.).

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Preface to the Revised Edition

The original German version of my book on the history of the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia was published in 1980. Because it was written in German, it was accessible to only a limited circle of readers who were interested in this topic. Over the past decades, I was repeatedly urged by Hadiyya intellectuals to provide a revised English version of the book which, as a next step, could be used as a base for a translation into their local language.

I am fully aware of the problem that the state of research has considerably changed since the German edition of the history of the Hadiyya was published. It goes without saying that in the new publication a thorough revision and a comprehensive view of the studies, which have been accomplished in the meanwhile, have been undertaken as much as possible. A new generation of scholars has arisen and the participation of Ethiopians in the *Sciences of Man*, particularly in cultural anthropology and history, is continuously advancing. Admittedly, the outcomes of works on the regions of concern in central-southern Ethiopia have not been exploited and analysed to the extent as would have been desirable.[10] However, although a number of substantial studies have appeared, the total contribution of works on the Hadiyya and related groups has remained of fairly limited size. I am therefore optimistic that this book may be of some use as a base for further research.

Some alterations have been made and some unfortunate errors have been corrected. I am obliged to the reviewers Reinhard Escher, Karl-Heinz Golzio, Virginia Luling, Roland Oliver, Günther Schlee, Heinrich Scholler, Bairu Tafla and Edward Ullendorff, who have forwarded suggestions for improvements concerning historical details and problems of chronology. I ask the pardon of those authors who were not acknowledged.

Although I eventually refer in the text or in footnotes to some events which have occurred after the publication of the book in 1980, it is by no means my intention to pursue the historical analysis beyond the 1970s to include the far-reaching political changes caused by the revolution of 1974, the consequences of land reforms, civil wars, villagization, resettlement, the collapse of the *Därg* regime and the rise to power of the EPRDM government in 1991. The completion of research up to the present day situation will be the task of a new generation of researchers in cultural anthropology, political studies and modern history.

10 This refers, for example, to the numerous thoroughly analysed entries in the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (2003-2010) with their enormous amount of information on historical, cultural and biographical subjects.

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Acknowledgements

First of all I want to express my deepest gratitude to all Ethiopian informants, academic colleagues, counterparts and field assistants with some of whom I have maintained ties of friendship ever since. Most of the names of these friends and collaborators are purposely not written according to the present way of transcription, because they have mostly been employing the versions utilized here over decades.

Very special thanks go to Mr. Haile Bubbamo Arficio who gave me the first introduction into the cultural conditions of his people in Addis Abäba in 1970. This devoted advocate of his own group, who considerably stimulated my research, died in 2001. I am indebted to Mr. Balay Sabsabe, Mr. Saggaye Wolday, Mr. Sullaamo Lonseeqqo, Mr. Mu ammad ᶜAbdalld´ s Z P g . V g , s Solomoon Daaimo as interpreters and field assistants. Solomoon resumed his cooperation with me in the late 1990s and as an experienced and brilliant field assistant he supported the work of numerous researchers until his death in 2009.[11] My sincerest gratitude also goes to a considerable number of elders who entrusted to me their impressive knowledge of the history and culture of their respective Hadiyya groups. As the most outstanding examples amongst all of them I want to recall only three illiterate old men, the Baadawwaachcho Namana Dilliso, the Shaashoogo Nunishe Manta and the Allaaba Ibrdhim Affuuso, whose wisdom and state of knowledge was extraordinary. (Names and biographical data of important informants are listed in Appendix II). Most of them have gone, but they are recalled with esteem. I vividly remember Mr. Dassalegn Lodaamo and his hospitable family in whose compound I spent my happiest days in southern Ethiopia. Ethiopian intellectuals who contributed to the success of my research and the publication of the revised edition of this book are Dr. Wolde-Selassie Abbute, Prof. Shiferaw Bekele, Prof. Lapiso Dilebo, Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariam, Mr. Tilahun Mishago and Mr. Wondimu Filate.

That this study could be undertaken and presented as it exists, I owe a great deal to friends and colleagues in Germany. Prof. Eike Haberland, the late director of the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, not only energetically initiated and organised our field studies in Ethiopia but also pointed out the yet to be researched and obviously significant position of the Hadiyya in the history of the country. I conducted the study in the area between the Oromo and Bilate together with Dr. Siegfried Seyfarth who contributed valuable information (particularly about the Leemo and Baadawaachcho) for the results presented here. I want to express my deepest gratitude for his friendship and cooperation from the time of the common

11 He published a report about his life as a field assistant (SOLOMOON DAAIMO 2010: 264-74). Cf. also BRAUKÄMPER 2010:690f.

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fieldwork to the present. I would also like to thank the scholars working on Ethiopia for a stimulating exchange of information, particularly Prof. Dr. Helmut Straube, Prof. Dr. Hermann Amborn, Dr. Karl Heinz Striedter, Dr. Werner Lange, Dr. Gunter Minker, Mr. Walter Krafft and Prof. Dr. David Appleyard. I received important stimulus from the staff of the Frobenius Institute and the Institute of Historical Ethnology in Frankfurt-on-the-Main provided me with important stimuli. Ms. Elisabeth Jensen very kindly allowed me to read her late husband Prof. Dr. Adolf Jensen's manuscript which contained then unpublished material on the Sidaama and Gide'o of southern Ethiopia. In the same way, from his fund of field notes, Prof. Dr. Stanislaw Stanley in Addis Abäba passed on revealing information about the Sidaama, one of the groups historically and culturally related to the Hadiyya. Prof. Dr. Bairu Tafla (University of Hamburg) helped me with the chronology of the later history in regard to important references about the period of the Ethiopian wars of conquest under M nil k II. I vividly remember highly stimulating and sometimes controversial discussions with Prof. Dr. Mohammed Hassen und Dr. Negaso Gidada on questions of Oromo history.

The institutions which supported our work in Addis Abäba include the Institute of Ethiopian Studies then directed by Prof. Dr. Richard Pankhurst and Prof. Stanislaw Chojnacki, which obtained the permission to do the research, the German Embassy which helped us with the storage of shipping supplies, equipment and research material, the Goethe Institute under the directorship of Mr. Dieter Vollprecht which became a friendly meeting place for me. The maps were notated by Ms. Gisela Wittner from the Frobenius Institute. The *German Research Council* generously provided the financial resources for the field study and for the printing costs of the publication of 1980 in German.

It may be mentioned at this point that a number of persons and institutions gave invaluable support by encouraging me to embark on a revised edition of the *History of the Hadiyya*. This request was particularly forwarded by Dr. Shiferaw Teklemariam, Prof. Lapiso Dilebo and Dr. Bäyyänä Petros. The idea of such a project was reinforced when a younger generation of scholars, Dr. Alke Dohrmann, Dr. Dirk Busdorf, Ms. Cathrin Horstman and Dr. Burkhard Peter started presenting the results of their fieldwork on the culture of Hadiyyaland and neighbouring regions. I also want to thank my wife Sibylle for her moral support and understanding when I spent so much time at the writing desk.

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1. The Hadiyya: People and Living Areas

To understand the historical development of a people, a comprehensive knowledge of the existing natural environmental conditions is indispensable. Especially with groups of people having relatively limited control over nature, the mutual influence of living space and cultural development becomes apparent. For a deeper understanding, it is deemed necessary to outline the ethnic and linguistic situation since the Hadiyya are known under various names and were frequently integrated into the body of other ethnic entities.

1.1 Ethnic and Linguistic Classification

For a long time, alongside the Christian Empire, the name Hadiyya constituted one of the most significant Ethiopian political and territorial power blocs which then broke down in the 16th century and disappeared from historical documentation. Populations with this name – as a proper group numbering approximately 1.3 million and those of Hadiyya descent probably several million – survived in central-southern Ethiopia.[1]

The question then arises as to whether and how extensively connections to the ancient political system and a direct ethnic continuity existed respectively. The denotation Hadiyya still exists today for the Qabeena in western Gurageland and for the most part for integrated groups formerly known as "Gudeella" in the Kämbata sub-province. Some researchers found out vaguely from the fragmentary material at hand that relations existed between the East-Gurage and the ancient Hadiyya[2], however a solution to this problem has not been accomplished either historically or linguistically. Furthermore, as a result of research by Eike HABERLAND (1963a: 442f.), a division of the Arsi (Arussi) became known within Oromo clans and Hadiyya clans.

At the beginning of our research it became apparent that the name Hadiyya occurred with variable significance among linguistically and culturally heterogeneous groups which obviously pointed to the necessity of a field study in a large geo-

1 According to *The Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia* (1996, I, I: 13) the population of Hadiyyaland proper, i. e. the Hadiyya *Zone* (excluding the territory of Libidoo) amounted to 1,050,151. It increased to 1,243,000 in the *Census* of 2008 (p. 76). The number of people originating from the cluster of the ancient political entity Hadiyya in Arsiland, Sidaamaland, etc. can hardly be estimated.

2 Cf. MONDON-VIDAILHET 1902:79, *passim*; D'ABBADIE 1890:116; AZA S 1926: 21; COHEN 1931: 78f., *passim*. Although BUSTORF (2011: 73ff.) has convincingly argued to abandon the ethnic term "East Gurage . V , T T Zg T, I retain the old denomination in this book.

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graphical area.[3] (Thorough knowledge of the spread of ethnic segments of Hadiyya descent, i.e., those who were verifiably genealogically related and who were also in part conscious of this, arose only during the course of the research work.) As a result of this, the task became more complicated in that it involved the remaining descendants of ancient populations who succumbed to the pressure of assimilation by other ethnicities and consequently constituted painstakingly identifiable fragments in other ethnic groups.

To begin with, one could assume from the hypothesis that the groups recognised as and conscious of the name Hadiyya were the scattered descendants of a political-territorial interrelated bloc which existed up to the military turbulences of the 16th century, the so-called "ᶜAdal wars" against the Christian Empire and subsequent expansion of the Oromo people. Most probably the ethnic and linguistic classification was not homogeneous from the start, and only systematic field research could give an informative insight into the historical development of the areas of concern in central-southern Ethiopia.

To most Ethiopians names like Gurage, Ar(us)si, Sidaama and also Kämbata were familiar as they also have featured as province or sub-province designations. As a consequence, most parts of the autochthonous inhabitants have been called after these administrative entities. In the capital city Addis Abäba, however, hardly anyone knew the name Hadiyya. It was only with the onset of a quarrel about the renaming of the sub-province (*Awra a*) Kämbata that the government officials became confronted with this term.[4] As a result, we started our study with the so-called "Gudeella" (Gudela), because here the ethnic classification Hadiyya seemed to have been most distinctively preserved. Furthermore, the area of this group was hardly documented by historical and anthropological studies.

Regarding the origin and importance of the ethnonym Hadiyya, as represented by the Hadiyya name-bearers today, many contradictory statements exist. Mostly, Hadiyya pertains to one person, the progenitor after whom the group was named, and he appears in the genealogies as one of the first ancestors. (This is a common phenomenon among many ethnic unities not only in southern Ethiopia). Some informants from the Allaaba and East-Gurage placed him in their genealogical tree as the son of Abddir ᶜUmar al-Ri d, the legendary ancestor of the Harari who is supposed to have arrived in Harär between 1216 and 1220 A.D.[5] The name Hadiyya was obviously mentioned in a document for the first time in the 13th century (cf. chap. 3.2.1). Historical evidence to verify this chronological linkage is missing; so one can at best presume a formerly existing correlation between Abddir and Hadiyya

3 With a modern term this has meanwhile become known as "multi-sited research".

4 From LUDOLF (1681: LII, c.17) up to the present (e.g. COULBEAUX 1928,II:11) the Hadiyya were often equated with the Kambaata. The name Kämbata is commonly used for the administrative unit, whereas the ethnic group is called Kambaata.

5 WAGNER (1974:97, 1978: 133, *passim*) arrives at this date due to the existing hand-written chronicle "Fat Madinat Harar" of Ya yd Na ralldh.

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on the one hand with the Harari and other populations of the Horn of Africa on the other hand. This issue will be discussed at some length later.

Some versions explaining the name Hadiyya were recorded among the Arsi-Oromo, which can, however, be identified as popular etymologies with limited value as a historical source. Occasionally, Hadiyya was presumed to be the son of Irrdm from a famous Arab family, or of Daffar whose name in the Oromo language was said to refer to the meaning "owner of the land". Mostly it was literally quoted as "God's gift", coined by the Islamic *djih d* warriors under A mad Grañ in the 16th century. They were reported to have gratefully exclaimed the Arabic word *hadiya* (gift or present) during their invasion of the Christian Empire, when they came across the Hadiyya as a predominantly Muslim people and a potential ally. However, because the name occurred significantly earlier, this explanation cannot substantially be verified. Similarly, the version that it was derived from "Mu ammadiya" and means something like "those who have accepted the word of Mu ammad" lacks validity. Another version in the oral traditions of the Bale region claimed the translation of Hadiyya meaning "empty land", i.e., an unsettled territory open for conquest and occupation by the Oromo. In the Cärcär area Hadiyya was equated with "people who stayed behind" as they did not join the exodus of their group westwards as followers in the campaigns of *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid in the 1560s. The Leemo, between the rivers Omo and Bilate, finally translated the meaning of the name with "carrier of everything".

As contradictory as the meaning of the name is the problem of its identity over time. Records by Islamic historiographers, particularly their statement that Hadiyya was a part of the Confederation of Zayla', led later researchers to equate it with ᶜAdal/Harär.[6] Philipp PAULITSCHKE did not agree with the assumption regarding their original identity. However, he concluded from the source materials that in an earlier phase the Hadiyya state was located somewhere in the eastern part of the Somali peninsula.[7] Different authors have also pointed out the risk of mixing-up the Hadiyya with the Hawiya (Hawiye), an important Somali sub-group.[8] Friedrich BIEBER (1923, II: 515) even equated Addio, the western province of Käfa, with Hadiyya:

> "At the time of the rule of Argepo [before 1350] the Gonga settled in Addio of Koro country (Hadiya of the Amhara). Traditions about the number, the names and the duration of the sovereignty and the deeds of these first Gonga kings of the Argepo dynasty as well as the size of the kingdoms Addio or Ko-

6 ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843:23; JOHNSTON 1854, II: 237; BURTON 1856: 307, 323; CONZELMANN 1895:141, fn. 2; PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER 1957b: 311. According to BURTON (1856:1) Harär was „the ancient capital of Hadiyah".

7 PAULITSCHKE 1884: 15, 44; cf. DEVIC 1883: 59. On the map by EGYPTUS NOVELO it is also marked very close to the Indian Ocean coastline.

8 DEVIC 1883: 59, 66; PAULITSCHKE 1884:15; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 72; TRIMINGHAM 1964: 5; BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 43. Awiya is also the designation for a dialect-group in Central-Cushitic-speaking Agäw.

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> ro of the Gonga and the duration of its existence, is apparently not known or no longer known by the Gonga or Kaffitscho themselves."

D'ABBADIE (1890: 259) also referred to a river Hadi or Hadiya in an identically named province of Käfa. At this point it can already be stated that in the course of our research absolutely no indications were revealed which allowed a conclusive interconnection of the Hadiyya with areas of Ethiopia west of the Omo River in an early phase of their history.

D'ABBADIE (1890:110), towards the end of the 19th century, knew of the name Hadiyya for three groups on the western ranges of the Rift Valley; the Hadiyya Wambe (Womba), who correlate with the present-day Qabeena, the Hadiyya Abso, presumably a part of the Semitic-speaking East-Gurage and the Allaaba, and finally the Tufte (Guffuttaamo), the forebears of the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho. The Hadiyya in the Kämbata sub-province – with the exception of the Allaaba – were formerly subsumed under the name Gudeella which became known in academic literature through BORELLI.[9] The assertion found in literature that they had called themselves by this name is incorrect. On the contrary, the Hadiyya in this area rejected the name Gudeella, finding it insulting and protested against the Amhara and other groups using it disparagingly. Originally Gudeella was merely the name of a sub-group, documented in a written record for the first time in the 14th century.[10] As the most southern Hadiyya, according to their own tradition, they reached the then Christian province Kämbata with the ᶜAdal troops of A mad Grañ (1531/32). The autochthonous population of that area therefore applied the name Gudeella only to the first Hadiyya immigrants. The clans of this early wave of migration, notably the Haballo, Hayyibba, Waayabo, Hoojjee, Bargaage and Hanqaallo, were collectively labelled Weexo-giira and were long considered by later Hadiyya immigrants as people of a lower position. Meanwhile they have adopted the name Agara-Hadiyya, which means "people of the soil" and consider themselves as having an honorary position, because they possess the longest continuity of settlement in Hadiyyaland west of the Bilate River.[11] According to historical findings and genealogical data, also the Leemo, who penetrated that region much later, were supposed to have descended from the ancient Gudeella (cf. chap. 3.5.5). After the Christian Ethiopian conquest at the end of the 19th century, all Hadiyya groups between the Omo and Bilate including the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho were generally designated Gudeella.

9 BORELLI 1890: 347. Cf. also PAULITSCHKE 1893:33 and CERULLI 1929: 2. D'ABBADIE obviously did not know this ethnic name.

10 It was recorded in the songs in praise of Emperor ᶜAmdä yon I (1314-44). LITTMANN 1914:27. Cf. also chap. 3.2.2.

11 Rivalries concerning the status of clans have always existed, but the above mentioned claim of the Agara-Hadiyya is a phenomenon which obviously did not develop before the 1990s. For further information of this problem cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2005: 369.

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The origin of the ethnic name Gudeella gave birth to two versions in the vernacular, both of which do not differ outwardly very much from each other. Both were associated with the period under the Ethiopian Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob (1434-68), whose herdsmen were said to have been Hadiyya men. When one day they made off with the bulk of the livestock, the sovereign, full of rage, is supposed to have exclaimed "gud", meaning inconceivable. According to the second version, the same word slipped out of the mouths of the dismayed Amhara when they became aware of the Hadiyya custom of cutting off the genitals of their slain enemies as trophies. This cry of outrage is then thought to be the root of the name Gudeella.

The Hadiyya living in the Kambaata sub-province were designated *Kontom*(a) or *Kontab*.[12] According to BORELLI (1890: 278, maps) this term existed as a territorial name together with the area south of the Go3äb, west of Dawro. A historical connection can obviously not be established, however. Also the assumption that *Kontoma* was an attribute of nobility referring to a stratum of Hadiyya who did not practice circumcision could not be confirmed by the results of my field studies.[13] According to informants' accounts, *Kontoma* (sing. *Kontomichcho*) are perceived as the *Non-Booyyaamanna*, i.e. the Hadiyya who did not descend from the ancestor Booyyaamo. Strangely enough, the name *Kontoma* was also applied to the neighbouring Kambaata as a general term for the clans of "commoners" in contradistinction to the *Oyyata*, the king's clan. In the dual system of the socio-political organization of the southern Gu33i-Oromo (Uraaga, Maatii, Hoku) *Kontoma* stood for one of the two halves of the tribe, and in the respective system of the Arsi it was a synonymous term of the *Siko* for the *Mando*.[14] The general meaning of the name *Kontoma* is so divergent in the cited cases, that a polygenetic origin must be assumed.[15]

The Arsi-Oromo generally called the Hadiyya west of the Bilate by the name Garba (Gabaro) whose origin seems to be verifiable. It was collectively assigned to peoples who had been conquered and assimilated by the Oromo in the course of their great expansion from the 16th century onwards.[16] The term Garba originally applied to conquered people – also in the disdainful meaning of "slaves". Because the Hadiyya were the first foreign ethnic group encountered by the Oromo, "Garba" was retained for them in a particularly marked way. In the 1970s, the Arsi were certainly no longer aware of the original significance of the name and understood Garba rather as a neutral ethnic term. To the east of Lake Z^{w}ay they eventually dif-

12 CECCHI (1888: 124) uses the version Kuonteb.

13 The analysis of Ernesta CERULLI (1956: 123) supports this view.

14 This was documented by HABERLAND (1963a: 376 ff.) in his study about the Oromo of southern Ethiopia.

15 In some of the Cushitic languages *Kontoma* means fifteen. I am indebted to B. W. Andrzejewski and Richard Hayward for this information.

16 Cf., for example, SCHLEICHER 1893:21f. See also Enrico CERULLI 1922: 12*, passim.* SCHLEICHER (1893: 18) argued that in the general sense the expression is possibly related to *gabara* which meant "gift of cattle" (bride price). However, this interpretation seems to be doubtful.

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ferentiated between "pure" Oromo and "Oromo Gabaro", who trace back to assimilated Hadiyya clans, and in the Arba-Gugu region the old battle call *oofa Garba* or *dhiibaa Garba* ("expel the Hadiyya") was remembered in the oral traditions (cf. chap. 3.4.3).

Most of the Hadiyya groups between the Omo and Bilate know Guffuttaamo, a kind of ethnonym supposed to be derived from *guffuutta*, a leather cap which was a typical feature of the women's traditional costume. Sometimes Guffuttaamo also appears as an ancestor in the genealogies and likewise it occurs as an ethnic designation among the Baarentuu-Oromo.[17] The abbreviation Gufte for the name Guffuttaamo then became corrupted to Tufte, apparently due to D'ABBADIE's deficiency in transcribing, because he never visited these areas himself. With this name he referred particularly to the people in the Baadawwaachcho region where it was especially remembered and preserved.[18]

The Wälaytta south of Baadawwaachcho used to call all the Hadiyya groups by the term Maräqo. Where it came from remains unknown; according to my state of knowledge not one single genealogy contains this name. According to a dubious explanation, it is supposedly derived from *mar* (= to go somewhere on foot/to walk) and refers to the historical event of an exodus. More specifically, Maräqo[19] is the term for a Hadiyya group in the Rift Valley west of Lake Z^{w}ay who are more commonly known under the name Libidoo (Libishoo) or Mexeebo. They only know the interpretation that Maräqo was presumed to be an ancient term of the land which they had once occupied. Mexee is remembered as a district where their forbear Biimaaddo was alleged to have lived. His descendant Libishoo was one of the most outstanding personages in the history of this group. Repeatedly in the literature the notion is found that Maräqo corresponds to the ancient Hadiyya State.[20]

Till to the 20th century, it was usual for the Amhara and also the European travellers, who were not familiar with the ethnic and linguistic differentiations of central-southern Ethiopia, to designate the people between the Omo and Bilate as "Galla".[21] This name, by which the Christian Ethiopians subsumed the groups of invaders from the south who penetrated into the highlands as far up as Go33am and T gray from the 16th century onwards, was supposed to mean "searchers of land" and "scattered vagabonds". It thus carries a decidedly pejorative connotation.[22]

17 MÉRAB 1921: 1921: 179; BROOKE 1956: 80. According to PAULITSCHKE (1888a: 310) *gufta* was the term for the hairnet of the Baarentuu-Oromo women.

18 D'ABBADIE did not himself know the name Baadawwaachcho, but it can be concluded from his findings (1890: 111, 179, 184, *passim*) that he was referring to an area south-east of imbaaro which actually corresponded to the living area of the afore-mentioned group.

19 Slightly different versions of the name occur. BIANCHI (1884: 287) wrote, for example, Mareco, VANDERHEYM (1896:157) and COHEN (1931: 91) Marocco.

20 Cf. COPPET (GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 580) who refers to a work of VEYSSIÈRE LA CROZE which was not available to me.

21 E.g. JANNASCH 1930:41, *passim*. Cf. also JOHNSTON 1854, II: 361. VANDERHEYM (1896:139) employs the pejorative name "Wolamo-Gallas".

22 See for example REIN 1918/20, III: 370. MÉRAB (1921: 355) and A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU

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Since the 1960s this has increasingly been rejected with the awakening of a new ethnic self-confidence of the members of the group, and "Galla" was replaced by the old self-designation Oromo.[23] It is said to have been derived from a forbear (*ilm Orma* = "children of the Orma")[24].

For the Islamic groups in south-east Ethiopia, who often employed the name "Islama" for themselves, Oromo was long rejected as a synonym for "heathen". At the latest since the revolution of 1974, however, it has been adopted all over Ethiopia as a mighty symbol of a new feeling of ethnic commonness, self-confidence and pride. The Amharic name of the language, Gallinya, was replaced by *Afaan Oromoo* (*Oromiffaa*).

There is much historical evidence that the "original" or "pure" Oromo before the 16th century constituted a relatively small group. Through massive processes of expansion and assimilation they then emerged as one of the biggest ethnic clusters of north-eastern Africa. This spectacular growth is reflected in the saying: "Nine are the Borana [pure Oromo] and ninety the Garba [the assimilated]".

From among all Oromo sub-groups, the Arsi possess the most expansive territory. On the administrative map of the 1970s it encompassed the province named after them Ar(us)si as well as parts of southern Šäwa and northern Bale.[25] Among the Arsi, the proportion of clans whose origin from Hadiyya stock can clearly be traced from historical and cultural criteria was well over half of the entire group.[26]

The name Arsi, which traces back to first ancestor, has been officially accepted since the revolution of 1974 and replaced a previous version, Arussi. According to folk etymology influenced by Islam, this name is supposed to have been derived from an Arabic word *arusa*. This term is said to carry the meaning "eremite", because the progenitor led a secluded life devoted to religion.[27] Most historical data indicate that the Arsi were initially a pure Oromo (i.e. "pagan") group, who were exposed to a growing Islamic impact only after contact with the Hadiyya.

TAFLA) (1987: 91) point out by way of contrast an etymological explanation dating the name back to an Arabic saying "he refuses" because they did not want to convert to Islam. PAULITSCHKE (1888b:8) assumes it stems from a similar sounding battlecry. KRAPF (1858:95) mentions the version that the name is derived from a river Gala in Gurageland where the Oromo are said to have achieved a great victory over the Christian Ethiopians.

23 The presumably first scholarly article mentioning the name Oromo was provided by PAULITSCHKE (1889).

24 Cf. CONTI ROSSINI 1937, II: 327. According to MÉRAB (1921: 354) the name is supposed to mean something like "the brave" or "the free". Bizarre speculations about the historical relationship of the "Galla" with the Celtic Gauls (e. g., MARTIAL DE SALVIAC 1900) are completely outside consideration here.

25 Since the administrative reshuffle of the mid-1990s these territories are part of the regional state of Oromia.

26 The first systematic analysis of this internal division with comprehensive lists of clans of the Arsi was provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 445ff.).

27 Some of the elders listed as informants in Appendix II referred to respective legends and oral traditions.

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D'ABBADIE (1890: 186f. *passim*) writes that the peoples west of the Bilate used to call the eastern people Garjeeda. (Clans of the same name are also represented among the Baarentuu-Oromo, particularly the Ittuu, and among the Somali). The Hadiyya commonly used the name Deebaano for the Arsi (and for the Oromo in general) whose origin was, however, unknown to my informants (cf. chap. 3.4). Relics of groups from Hadiyya descent are also found amongst the Oromo in Cärcär.[28] Clan names with the endings *manna(a)* (= people), *anna* (= father; in the sense of descendants), *-oso* or *-osa* and occasionally *-ama* (= mother), can be identified as elements of Hadiyyisa and therefore indicate a Hadiyya origin of the respective groups.

The Hadiyya have a significant share of those linguistic groupings in central-southern Ethiopia which are labelled with the collective term Gurage. The cultural similarities justify this classification, but we are still far from being sufficiently informed about the historical dynamics which led to this conglomeration. The so-called East-Gurage perceive themselves as Hadiyya although they are today usually identified with the names of their sub-P , T Z P d . Bärbäre, W riro, Wälane and Gädäbano. This fact was indeed implied in the primarily linguistically oriented works of MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902), COHEN (1931) and LESLAU (1952) but not analysed for the historical significance. Also the contributions made by D'ABBADIE and AZA S on this subject[29] do not go beyond the scope of vague intimations. European travellers at the beginning of the 20th century were anyway hardly conscious of the ethnic differentiations so that for some of them Gurage and "Gudeella" simply constituted one and the same group.[30] Since the Hadiyya groups verifiably immigrated first to the area on the western slope of the Rift Valley in the second half of the 16th century (cf. chap. 3.3.4), the autochthonous name Gurage can only be attributed to them afterwards. Regarding the origin of this ethnic term, which in the version "Gerage" was verifiably mentioned for the first time in the chronicle of the Emperor c V g, . ' "-44)[31], two traditions exist. The first relates that around 1330 an Ethiopian army led by *azma* Z from the place Gura[c] in the Eritrean district Akkälä Guzay moved away and founded a military colony in the uplands south of the upper Awaš.[32] According to popular opinion, the name of the land and the people was derived from the word Gura[c]-ge, the land (= *ge*) of Gura[c].[33] This version was more widely accepted than another which would

28 Occasionally, also references to relations of Alabdu-Gu33i, Jiille-Tuulama and Macaa (Mäcca) in western Šäwa and Wällaga with Hadiyya were reported. They seemed to be too vague, however, to be followed up in field research.

29 D'ABBADIE (1890: 116) stated: "W lbaräg is Muslim and speaks the language of the Hadiyya" (our translation from French). Cf. also AZA S 1926: 21.

30 This refers, for example, to LÉONTIEFF (1900: 107), STIGAND (1910: 307) and MÉRAB (1921: 362).

31 For this date see HUNTINGFORD 1965: 78.

32 Cf. COHEN 1931; LEBEL 1974: 101f. WORKU NIDA 2005: 929.

33 TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM (HUDSON/TEKESTE NEGASH 1987:89) obviously played a significant part in the spread of this tradition. Cf. also PAULITSCHKE 1893: 30; MÉRAB 1921: 363;

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have liked to explain the name Gurage as "people on the left side",[34] (when one looks south from Bäg mder and Go33am from where the early settlers immigrated). As far as it can be concluded, the ethnic term was originally limited to the Christian group of settlers from the north, whereas (still in the 18th century) for the present East-Gurage the designation Hadiyya or Adea was common (cf. chap. 3.5.3). The Arsi named them Adaree thus indicating the awareness of their kinship with the Harari who bore the same name in the Oromo language. The Hadiyya proper (specifically the "Gudeella") were accustomed to calling them Gande (derived from *gandadichchoo* = porcupine), because they allegedly dug in the ground like porcupines; and this term generally became a synonym for those groups (including the Kambaata) who from ancient times practiced tillage. According to a second version which was told to me by the East-Gurage informants, the name is said to be derived from Gandareera, an ancestor of the Kambaata in the 16th century.

For the Qabeena west of Gurageland and the closely related Allaaba east of the Bilate River, no narrations concerning their names are known to me.[35] Among both groups the opinion dominated that the ethnic denominations can be traced back to ancestral people, who are, however, not represented in the genealogies.

Considerable parts of the Qabeena and Allaaba live far away from their northern dwelling places amongst the Sidaama, and despite the geographical separation they have clearly preserved the consciousness of descent from a common ethnic stock. The Sidaama from the 16th century onwards developed as an important ethnic group on their own, whose study involves a separate task.[36] Although their affiliation to the ethno-political cluster of the ancient Hadiyya is genealogically and historically beyond question, my analysis for the more recent periods of history will largely be confined to the Sidaama sub-group Qeweena whose affiliation to the Qabeena as part of the Hadiyya cluster is most apparent. The focus of my field work in the Sidaama area (1973) therefore lay with them.

When there is talk of Sidaama[37] in this context, the designation refers solely to the people of this name settling between Lake Awasa and the upper Ganaale River. From the end of the 19th century, it was customary in the literature to use this name as a collective term for all the Cushitic-speaking peoples of southern Ethiopia, with

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BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: Ixix; SHACK 1969: 15.

34 See, for example, ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843: 97; KRAPF 1858: 72; AZAÏS/CHAMBARD 1931: 186. Cf. SHACK 1969: 15. According to the information I received from local informants and from linguists it was stated that the Gurage language certainly had a closer relationship to Amharic ´ . , á P 88 .

35 CONFORTI (1941: 239, 242) incomprehensible to me classified the first mentioned group in Qabeena and Sidaama-Hadiyya.

36 Studies on the culture and history of the Sidaama have increasingly been conducted. For a summary of the modern state of research see. HAMER/ANBESSA TEFERRA 2010: 655-58.

37 In the literature up to now they were mostly referred to as Sidamo. However the name is supposed to be reserved for the historical province of the Ethiopian Empire. HAMER (1976: 338, fn. 2) believed the ethnonym has to be corrected to Sadama which has not become widely accepted.

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the exception of the Oromo, ᶜAfar and Somali.[38] From the 1960s onwards scholars such as Stanislaw STANLEY (n.d.: 28ff.) have rightly started opposing such a classification, arguing that it was senseless applying it to a large number of linguistically and culturally heterogeneous ethnic entities, but it has, however, unfortunately been used continuously in more recent works.[39] In order to avoid confusion, the name Sidaama should, as suggested by Stanley[40], be confined to the ethnic group which officially lays claim to this name.

The Oromo used to combine all foreign ethnic tribes, including the Christian Amhara, under the term Sidaama, which then became a kind of synonym for "alien" or "enemy".[41] The forbears of the Sidaama proper apparently belonged to the first adversaries they came across at the beginning of their expansion in the 16th century. As a consequence, the Oromo seem to have adopted this name for all those who did not belong to their own ethnic body. Among the Baarentuu, a dichotomy dividing the group into *Sarri* (= people) Humbaana (actual Oromo) and *Sarri* Sidaama (assimilated Hadiyya, Somali, Harari and others) existed up to the present. In practical life, however, this division has lost relevance. The Somali liked to refer to the Wabi Šäbälle as Wabi Sidaama (Sidaama river), because its headwaters originate in the Sidaama highlands. In Boša, north of the lower Go3äb River, Sidaama is associated with a title possibly indicating a Christian survival that was associated with the complex of spirit possession.[42]

The Sidaama, together with the Hadiyya proper ("Gudeella"), were eponymous for a cluster within the East Cushitic language family. The *Highland East Cushitic* cluster according to Lionel BENDER's (1971: 167) lexicostatistical classification, also labelled Hadiyya-Sidaama, comprises Hadiyya, Libidoo (Maräqo), Kambaata, Allaaba, Sidaama, Gide'o (Därasa) and Bur3i.[43] It had already been pointed out by a number of researchers from the 1930s onwards that it dealt with languages whose relationship was probably best explained topogenetically.[44] The membership of the Bur3i in this group remained controversial for a long time but was verified through Bender's and Cooper's study about the relevance of "intelligibility items", basic

38 This concept dating back to D'ABBADIE (1890: 170, 263, *passim*), BORELLI (1890: 434f., *passim*), PAULITSCHKE (1893: 30f.) and CONTI ROSSINI (1937,II: 369f.) was particularly strengthened by CERULLI (1938).

39 See TRIMINGHAM 1965: 6, *passim*; ULLENDORFF 1967: 43; ABIR 1968a: 27, 73; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 6.

40 STANLEY n.d: 14ff. He speaks of "true Sidaama" in this connection. BOTTEGO (1895: 210), who had recognised their linguistic difference from the Oromo, but had not become fully aware of their ethnic individuality, called them "Arsi Sidama"

41 Cf. CECCHI 1888: 50; SCHLEICHER 1893: 22; CERULLI 1938: 31f.; BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: li and fn. 1.

42 For this information see LANGE 1982: 91.

43 BENDER (1971: 167). His lexicostatistical classification is based on the method elaborated by Josep Greenberg.

44 CERULLI 1922: 12; CERULLI 1938: 242-48; MORENO 1940: 285; LESLAU 1952a: 348; TUCKER/BRYAN 1956: 123.These authors commonly speak of a "Sidamo group".

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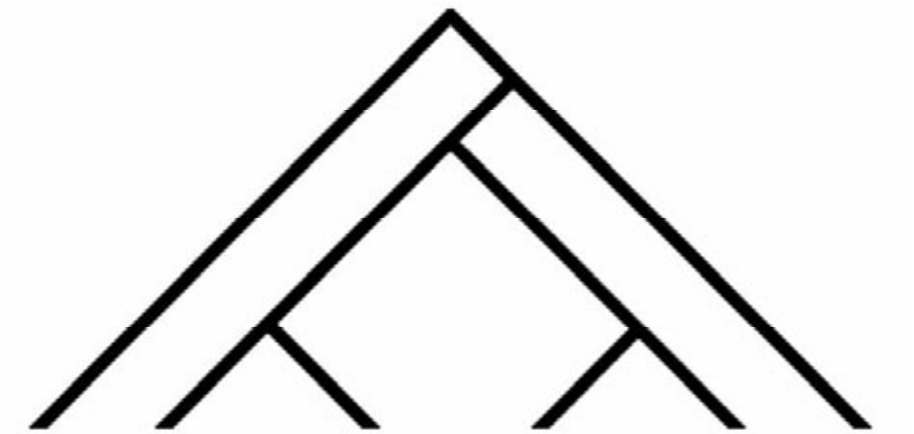
vocabulary, root morphemes, grammatical morphemes and aggregate morphemes in the six researched "Sidamo" languages (Allaaba, Kambaata, Hadiyya, Sidaama, Gide'o, Bur3i).[45] The genetic relationship within this language group was illustrated graphically by BENDER and COOPER (1971: 38) as follows.

Old Sidamo (Highland East Cushitic)



The linguistic classification of the Oromo proved to be relatively unproblematic. Despite their widespread expansion from central Kenya up to T gray in northern Ethiopia they have remained an amazingly homogeneous linguistic community. The Arsi and Baarentuu, who are important for the history of the Hadiyya, belong according to CERULLI's (1922: 11f.) up to now basically unchallenged classification to the eastern dialect cluster called "Boorana".[46]

The only non-Cushitic-speaking descendants of the ancient Hadiyya are the East-Gurage who preserved a Semitic language closely related to Harari (Adaree).[47] The linguists concerned with this area assume, however, that "Sidaama" constituted a type of substratum language.[48] We have to return to this problem briefly in the context of the historical analysis.

45 See BENDER/COOPER 1971: 45, *passim*. SASSE/STRAUBE (1977: 265) refer to a special status and ´TVRR R , . , R´T 3 .

46 CERULLI '' R á´T , , ´T V T T , V. P , ´ R , . T ZT TV s s CC . Vá .

47 For the linguistic classification of the Gurage see COHEN (1931: 42ff.), AZAÏS/CHAMBARD (1931: 186f.), LESLAU (1950: 11), SHACK (1969: 7). The modern state of research was abstracted by GOLDENBERG (2005: 924-28).

48 COHEN 1931:44 ff.; LESLAU 1952b: 63; GOLDENBERG 1974: 247. LESLAU (1959: 290) be-

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The linguistic situation in southern Ethiopia depicts that the descendents of the ancient Hadiyya community were spread over five linguistic clusters:

1. The Hadiyya proper who for the most part appeared in the literature under the name Gudeella which, as has already been pointed out, should be avoided because of its negative connotation. Their sub-groups, the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho,[49] who experienced a largely separate historical development, occupied an area which approximately came up to the present Hadiyya *Zone*.[50] As already mentioned, their number totalled approximately 1,3 million people according to the Census of 2008. A slightly varying and gradually vanishing dialect of the same language is spoken by the Libidoo (Maräqo) in the lowlands of the Rift Valley between Lake Z^{w}ay and the eastern escarpment of the Gurage Mountains.[51]

2. The Qabeena and Allaaba who speak dialects of the Kambaata language and number approximately 52,000 and 126,000 people respectively.[52]

3. The Sidaama, who within the framework of the "Highland East Cushitic" are closely related to the Hadiyya proper and to the Qabeena and Allaaba. The whole group is presently estimated at approximately 3 million people.[53]

4. The large Oromo-speaking community into which numerous groups of Hadiyya descent were incorporated. This process mainly involved the Arsi with a proportion of about two thirds of "Hadiyya clans" and to a much lesser extent factions of the Baarentuu such as the Ittuu.[54] It is impossible to present reliable demographic figures in this case.

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lieved to be able to prove an influence, for example, on the Harari. "Sidamo is the substratum language and influenced considerably the vocabulary".

49 In principle MÉRAB (1921: 362) had already recognised this classification, although the names were incorrectly reproduced. He spoke of ibadouatcho, sémo, soro and chachago.

50 Cf. BENDER/COOPER 1971:37. Contributions about the language of the Hadiyya were provided, for example, by PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1961; 1964), STINSON (1976) and CRASS (2005).

51 According to the *Population and Housing Census* of 2008 (p. 76), the inhabitants of "Mareko-Wereda" amounted to 63,436.

52 Research on the language of the Allaaba was carried out by CONTI ROSSINI (1938a), MORENO (1939, 1941), PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1962) and recently by CRASS (2003). LESLAU (1952a; 1956) concerned himself with the closely related Kambaata language, but without having specific knowledge of the geographical extension. Data on the present linguistic situation were provided, for example, by CRASS (2003: 205) and CRASS and TREIS (2007: 334f.).

53 HAMER/ANBESSA TEFERRA 2010: 655. A comparatively large number of linguistic studies have been devoted to the Sidamaa, for example, by CERULLI (1938), MORENO (1940) and BENDER (1971).

54 To go into the voluminous literature on the Oromo will not be aimed at here. An instructive abstract has recently been provided by BANTI (2010: 54-59).

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5. The East-Gurage who form a linguistically related block with the Harari and the Zay (Laaqii), the meanwhile largely oromized population of the islands of Lake Z^{w}ay.[55] Illuminating linguistic and historical research about these scattered and ethnically heterogeneous groups of more than half a million people has long been lacking and has only recently been provided.[56]

It is to be verified in this study on the one hand that the extraordinary fragmentation of the Hadiyya resulted from a turbulent history over the past four hundred years. On the other hand, however, I would like to proceed from the hypothesis that the Hadiyya, also before the 16th century, neither ethnically nor linguistically composed a homogeneous bloc. The population of the then existing political unit most likely encompassed Cushitic-speaking as well as Semitic-speaking parts. Whereas for the Semitic part arguably only the present-day East-Gurage can be considered, the question regarding the representatives of the Cushitic part of the ancient Hadiyya cannot be answered. We are far from being sufficiently informed about the processes of change which have occurred within the "Highland East Cushitic" cluster. A number of arguments which will be dealt with undoubtedly speak in favour of the idiom of the Hadiyya proper. But historical reconstruction obviously hits a brick wall here, and besides, the answer to this question does not appear to be of primary importance.

1.2 Conditions of the Natural Environment

The area occupied by the Hadiyya proper and groups of Hadiyya descent extends from the upper Gibe in the west to the bend of the Wabi Šäbälle in the east (see map 28). Transferred to the administrative map of Ethiopia of the 1970s, the area comprises southern Šäwa, the entire Governorate General Arsi and the north of Bale. On today's map it covers the Hadiyya *Zone* and parts of the Gurage *Zone* in the north of the *Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State* (SNNPRS) and some central-southern parts of Oromia.[57]

The geography of this region is characterized by a division into an eastern and a western zone by the Ethiopian Rift Valley, which is a part of the great East African Rift System. The main areas inhabited by the Hadiyya, who have preserved their original ethnic identity, are situated on the western edge of the Rift Valley; east of the axis there are only parts assimilated by ethnic groups who are known by other names. The Rift Valley extends in a north-north-easterly direction from approximately 6° north latitude as a rough estimate, and continues through the Awaš depres-

55 This was argued, e. g., by COHEN (1931: 55ff.) and HABERLAND (1965: 13ff.).

56 BUSTORF 2011: 70. To Dirk Bustorf we owe the first comprehensive historical study on the hitherto neglT TV T.

57 Exclaves of peoples of Hadiyya descent in other Regional States of Ethiopia will be referred to only for specific purposes as they could be considered at best peripheral within the framework of this study.

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sion towards the funnel-shaped ᶜAfar lowlands. Within this massive rupture zone, which came into being in the middle tertiary period, there is a difference in altitude of between 1,250m (Lake Abbayya) to sometimes well over 2,000m. Occasional earthquakes indicate that tectonic activity has not stopped up to today. The rock is of volcanic origin (so-called *Aden series* for the most part) and predominantly consists of basaltic layering on top of the channel bottom. Younger terrestrial or marine sediments are solely found in the vicinity of the lakes located on the Rift Valley floor (Zʷay, Langano, Shaala, Ab3ata, Abbayya and Awasa).[58]

West of the Rift Valley, the countryside rises to become relatively ruggedly structured highlands whose peaks reach a height of 3,721m in the Gurage Mountains and 3,200m in the Ambarichcho Massif of Kämbata. The substratum consists of volcanic rock (*tertiary trappean lava*) where valley slopes are markedly dissected through erosion. In the two distinctly shaped fault-lines, the ground to the west dips down towards the valley of the upper Gibe and on the opposite side of the river the ridges of Yäm (5 an3er) and Boša tower as steep precipices. Waterfalls cascade down from the escarpments, as, for example, at Ajjoora on the Saanna River at the border between imbaaro and Wälaytta. As a testimonial to the first phase of the young volcanic series[59] in the period of the Pliocene, some inselbergs like the Duguna range south of the Baadawwaachcho area, have been preserved.

The part of the country known as the Somali Plateau east of the Rift Valley has a geological structure similar to the western highlands, but it is less well-defined. The dip to the Rift Valley floor develops into rifts in many places. Eastwards, in the direction of Ogaadeen, the level of the surface falls gradually. In these areas, according to climatic and botanical conditions as well as criteria of human geography, the contour line of 1,200m ASL is seen as the lower boundary of the "highlands".[60] Great sections of the mountainous region in Arsi, Bale and the Sidaama Highlands rise, mostly in the form of long-range ridges, partly also as gentle elevations, up to well over 3,000m. The volcanic mountains rising from the plateaus like the Bata, Celalo, Kaakkaa (Qaqa), and the Baatu in the Bale Massif actually exceed the 4,000m mark. In between there are elongated and plain areas of an altitude of frequently over 2,000m which rank among the most favourable zones for human settlement and agricultural land use in southern Ethiopia.

The highlands on both sides of the Rift Valley Lake Region with no outlet to the sea belong to one of the most significant water reservoirs in northern Africa, from which a number of well-known rivers have their outlet. On the western border of the Hadiyya region the Omo, after whom the Omotic-speaking peoples are called, receives its headwaters from the northern part of the Käfa Highlands. In its upper part as far as Wälaytta and Dawro this river is mostly referred to as the Gibe by the Oro-

58 Cf. KRENKEL (1926: 213ff.), KULS (1958: 11ff.), MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1972: 35f.).

59 Geological and geographical pioneer research in these regions was carried out by BÜDEL (1954: 151f.).

60 SMEDS 1956. According to the calculations of geographers, the Somali Plateau covers a surface area of 185,000 km².

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mo, Gurage and Hadiyya and already got a mention as the Zebee in early 17th century Portuguese written records.[61] On the western escarpment of the Rift Valley the Bilate arises out of the Gurage Mountains and flows into Lake Abbayya. Known as Waaraa by the Hadiyya, it became an important borderline for demarcating ethnic and cultural differences. Northwards, the settlement area of Arsi groups of Hadiyya descent stretch up to the Awaš. This river drains into a dry basin without an outlet into the desert of the ᶜAfar Depression. From both of the currents arising in the Sidaama highlands only the Ganaale, which continues into the Juba, reaches the coast of the Indian Ocean whereas the water of the Wabi Šäbälle trickles away into a marshland south of Mogadishu.

The favourable hydrographical conditions of central-southern Ethiopia are determined by particular climatic conditions. These are mainly characterised by the vertical sequence of different climate zones, the presence of a markedly distinctive north-south contrast, as well as frequent variations in the wind flows of this tropical zone's general wind-driven circulation systems influenced by local wind conditions.[62] During the summer, the area lies within the scope of the south-west monsoon current directed at southern Asia, which provides the main precipitation between June and September. In the winter half-year the north-east equatorial current prevails which causes a dry season in more or less all parts of the country. In the mountains, depending on height and location, the average annual precipitation fluctuates between 800 and 1,600mm and decreases to merely 600mm in the "lowlands" of the Lake Region.

In general, the highlands within north-eastern Africa stand out as a relatively humid area where, in accordance with the latitude, the seasons are determined much more by the shift from the rainy to the dry periods than by the differences in the monthly average temperatures. Amplitudes between the coolest and warmest month of the year remain for the most part within a limit of under 5°C, whereas daily temperature fluctuations of 15° to 20°C are definitely not uncommon. The lowest annual average temperature is 14°C in the Bale Highlands rising up to 18°C in the Lake Region of the Rift Valley.[63] However, because of local weather peculiarities, no regularity can be determined by the interrelation between sea level and temperature. For instance, in 1970 in an area with an altitude of 2,300m near Hossäyna (Hossaᶜ na), the capital of the Hadiyya *Zone*, we experienced sleet showers several times which normally occur in regions of higher altitude. During the rainy season the summits of the Arsi and Bale Massifs are draped in thick fog which sometimes does not clear for days.

61 In the Zebee version it was already mentioned in the written records of the Portuguese traveller Manoel DE ALMEIDA in the early 17th century (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 157, 162). Cf. BECCARI 1905, II: 273.

62 For more detailed information concerning these climatic conditions cf. KULS (1958: 18ff.).

63 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1970: 21). I did not consult more recent literature, because obviously no far-reaching changes of these data of physical geography have occurred.

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The climate together with the varying in-situ rock and soil conditions show that the natural vegetation of the Hadiyya areas feature a variety of developments which have been profoundly transformed almost everywhere through anthropogenic interventions. Within the Rift Valley the upper border of the dry savannah is situated at a level of 1500m. It is rising in the northern section between Lake Z^{w}ay and the Awaš River up to almost 1,800m and dropping in the southern part around Lake Abbayya to between 1,300-1400m.[64] In the savannahs of the Lake Region and the escarpments of the southern highlands a specific ecological pattern exists which is characterized by 6 to 8m high widely-spreading, shady acacias carrying a loosely or closely packed canopy of leaves. Where uniform tree populations of the *Mimosaceae* species are found, this selection can most probably be attributed to permanent grazing. On rocky soil species of euphorbias, which are also frequent in zones of higher altitude, dominate the vegetation. Common trees and shrubs include *Entada abyssinica*, *Balanites, Dichrostachys*, *Grewia* and *Gardenia lutea*.

Vegetation belts consisting of *Combretacaea*, *Terminalia*, *Dodonaea viscose* and a type of *Sycygium* formed dense brushwood on the edges of the Rift Valley, whereas hillsides with stony ground as a rule feature dense grass covering. The border of transition to partly deciduous tropical mountain forest varies according to the local conditions from an altitude of 1,600 to 2,000m. Its lower level consists mostly of *Podocarpus* trees and shrubs mixed with *Juniperus procera*, *Pygeum africanum*, *Olea hochstetteri*, *Croton machrostachys*, *Syzygium guineense*, and a type of *Erythrina* and *Ekebergia*. Above 2,500m the biodiversity of the mountainous forest decreases markedly. One of the dominating species of trees is *Hagenia abyssinica*, whose flowers provide a highly important medicinal remedy against tapeworms, followed by *Hypericum*, *Erica arborea* and *Schefflera abyssinica*. The extensive *Juniperus* forests on the west side of the Urgooma Massif in Bale, extending up to an altitude of almost 3,000m, can be mentioned for their particular natural beauty. In general, the area at an altitude of between 1,800m and 2,800m is comparatively sparsely wooded and appears on the vegetation map as a zone of mountainous savannah, which is primarily identical with the zone of intensive land cultivation. The upper edge of the mountainous forest coincides with the altitudinal limit of the bamboo which is valued as a building material. Therefore, in as much as it adapts to changing environmental conditions, it is also planted increasingly in lower altitudes. In cultic-religious life the sycamore (*Ficus gnaphalocarpa*) – in Hadiyyisa called *oda'a* and in Oromiffaa *odaa* – had a special significance. Council meetings were held in the shade of big trees of this species, prayers and sacrifices were performed there.[65]

64 KULS (1958: 25) as a member of the second expedition of the Frobenius Institute at Frankfurt-on-the-Main to Ethiopia (1954-56) provided an excellent account of the vegetation which proved to be very useful for cultural anthropologists and historians. The botanical yields of the expeditions were systematically worked on by CUFODONTIS (1958: 62).

65 These cultural phenomena will be elaborated in the projected monograph on the traditional culture of the Hadiyya. Further actions among the Kambaata cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 254.

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Central-southern Ethiopia was an area comparatively rich in wild game up to the beginning of the 20th century. However, the existence of numerous larger species like elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, buffalos, antelopes and big cat predators was mainly confined to the bush areas of the Rift Valley lowlands whose ecotype resembles certain savannah regions of Kenya and Tanzania. Therefore, although the highlands were climatically regarded as much more favourable, their inhabitants regularly took refuge in the Lake Region in times of crop failure because it was particularly rich in animals for hunting and edible wild plants (see chap. 3.6.3). In general, however, hunting was relatively unimportant for food supply due to numerous nutritional prohibitions and taboos.[66] Because of similar cultural patterns of avoidance, fishing and hunting of hippopotami in the lakes were only practiced by the small island populations. Since the middle of the 20th century, as a result of increasing human settlement, the natural fauna has been pushed back to a few refuges and game parks. That is why only the older informants experienced the large species of African fauna and were able to report on the customs and value concepts associated with them.

For the utilization of natural resources by men, not only the geographical position and climatic conditions of the respective settlement areas are important, but also the quality and type of soil is of fundamental interest. On both sides of the Rift Valley, the mountains are composed of volcanic substance with predominantly laterite soil in a bright russet hue, whereas in the lowland regions types of so-called "black cotton soil" with anthracitic shades of colour prevail which are relatively impervious to water.[67] Both types of soil are comparatively fertile when suitably cultivated. However, the materials of volcanic provenance are particularly vulnerable to erosion, a fact that has often been promoted by anthropogenous encroachment (cf. also chap. 3.9).[68] Measures against soil erosion have traditionally been implemented by certain measures of tillage-farming, like the building of turf walls carried out by the highland populations since time immemorial. The dramatic increase of the population in many areas, overuse of the land resources, and deforestation have continuously aggravated the damage.

Differences in the conditions of the natural environment are intrinsic, and thus its inhabitants have transformed their living-areas into cultural landscapes according to their characteristic ways respectively. In most parts of Ethiopia, three altitudinal belts are differentiated, commonly known by the Amharic terms Q^{w}*älla*, W*äyna däga* and *Däga*. The name Q^{w}*älla* is understood to denote the areas below an altitude of 1,800-2,000m, usually relatively dry and malaria-ridden locations. *Wäyna däga* meant the comparatively warm and consistently wet altitudinal zone up to

66 I have dealt with this problem at some length in an article (BRAUKÄMPER 1984: 429-45).

67 A detailed treatise on the distribution and ecology of the soil types can be found in DONAHUE (1972: 24f.).

68 Extraordinary damage through erosion could be observed, for example, in the regions of Gurage, Hadiyya and Kambaata. With regard to the overall situation in Ethiopie see also MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM (1970:16).

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2,500m, which has always been conceived as the favourite zone for human settlement. *Däga* finally corresponds to the cool highland areas, where the upper settlement boundary – for example in the high mountains of Gurage, Kämbata, Arsi and Bale – reaches over 3,000m ASL.

Correspondingly, in Hadiyyisa a differentiation exists between *Qaala'a* (lowland), *Qal qaala'a* (medium altitudinal belt) and *Hansawwa* (highland).

The ecological system of the highlands of southern Ethiopia belongs to one of the most stable of north-eastern Africa and therefore provides comparatively favourable conditions for human settlement. The Hadiyya areas lie exclusively within the 450mm isohyet, which demarcates the borderline between pastoral nomadism and permanent cultivation[69] running roughly along the escarpment defining the boundaries of the highlands and the semi-deserts in [c]Afarland and Ogaadeen. Because almost the entire area is situated above an altitude of 2,000m, where the annual rainfall is likely to exceed the 800mm mark, cultivation is possible everywhere. Therefore, the ecological balance is hardly exposed to those serious hazards prevalent in the lower-lying zones of rain-fed cultivation.

The geo-medicinal conditions are also favourable: malaria is only an endogenous threat in the lowlands of the Rift Valley and in the gorge of the Omo River[70], and the region as a whole is largely spared from other tropical diseases. Epidemics and natural disasters do however occasionally occur in the climatically favourable highlands (cf. chap. 3.6.3)

The great Muslim wars of conquest under A mad b. Ibrdhim, which were waged against the Christian highlands, and the expansion of the Oromo, which immediately followed in the course of the 16th century, raise the question as to how far ecological changes and population pressure triggered off these events. The Ethiopian historian MERID WOLDE AREGAY (1974: 266ff.; 1971) inclines towards assessing these factors positively.

When comparing the highland areas west and east of the Lake Region, which display markedly similar natural conditions, it becomes obvious that population density depends less on external ecological factors than on cultural relations. In the 1970s in the *Awra as* Cäbo-Gurage and Kämbata-Hadiya an average of 100-200 people lived on a square kilometre. The density dropped to approximately 20-60 in the Lake Region and down to 13-14 in northern Bale.[71] The reasons for this discrepancy are to be found in the highly diverse socio-economic conditions and strategies.

69 Cf. O'CONNOR 1966: 225; BRAUKÄMPER 1975a: 69. This region mostly experienced on average of more than 700mm rainfall annually. MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 26.

70 For a comprehensive analysis of the geo-medical conditions see SCHALLER/KULS 1972, map 4.

71 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 49. Cf. also ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, map sheet 7. According to data presented by the administration at Hossäyna in 1970, the total population of the whole *Awra a* of Kämbata-Hadiya amounted to 705,000 corresponding to a density of c. 150 inhabitants per km^2. The present numbers documented by the *Census* of 2008 prove an enormous increase to 350 persons per km^2.

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1.3 Patterns of Traditional Culture

Questions relating to factors of historical causality lead us to an analysis of the patterns of traditional culture which, however, will not be aimed at in detail here. Essentially, there are two socio-economic systems which have shaped the Hadiyya areas: hoe-farming, particularly of nsät (*Ensete ventricosum),* and livestock-breeding. Plough cultivation, as it is commonly practiced today in most parts of southern Ethiopia, was introduced there by the abäša conquerors from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. (There are vague indications that it might have been known of before in some limited areas of Shirka, Robee and Gooroo in Arsiland.)[72]

The Gurage and the Kambaata have evidently been sedentary peasants for many generations cultivating nsät as their staple crop and supplementing their diet with barley, cabbage and pulses. They also usually possessed a certain quantity of livestock. With regard to animal products they were, however, not self-sustaining, but obtained meat, butter, leather etc. in exchange for their surplus vegetable food from neighbouring semi-nomadic livestock-breeders. Their working tools were in the first place digging-sticks which in Kämbata consisted only of a sharpened stick made of hardwood, whereas in Gurage they were reinforced with a two-pronged iron-pointed tip, and in the second place different types of hoes which are still widely employed alongside the plough. West of the Bilate, the Hadiyya, who originally practiced agropastoralism, i. e. animal husbandry combined with grain cultivation, gradually adopted the economic system of the highland peasants. Meanwhile, their cultural patterns and ways of life hardly differ any more. In contrast to cultivators of grain, like for example in Konso, where compact and partly fortified villages were common, the type of settlement in the areas of nsät cultivation was exclusively made up of hamlets consisting of scattered compounds which occupied an area of sometimes several square kilometres. Interpretations attempting to explain this particular strategy may be plausible[73], but they must ultimately remain hypothetical.

Because the nsät proved to be an exceptionally high-yielding plant[74], the area of its cultivation (cf. map 2) is distinguished by its enormous population density. A sample survey carried out by Siegfried Seyfarth at the beginning of 1973 in hamlets of the Leemo-Hadiyya near Hossäyna resulted in a population density of over 300 people per km^2. Detlev KARSTEN (1968: 62) even ascertained cases of up to 500 inhabitants per km^2 with nsät farmers in Sidaamaland. As already indicated, the population in these areas has dramatically increased, and it has to be stated that the limits of agrarian carrying capacity have definitely been exceeded. East of the Rift

72 Oral infomation which I recorded from elders in these places in 1973 were contradictory and are not confirmed by written materials.

73 Researchers in human geography, such as STIEHLER (1948: 258ff.) and KULS (1958: 118ff.) presented interesting ideas regarding this pattern of settlement. The details are outside consideration here, but they are of relevance with regard to the ongoing discussion on the program of "villagization" carried out in Ethiopia during the 1980s with partly disastrous consequences.

74 Recent investigations, for example by Alke DOHRMANN (2004: 238ff.) among the Leemo-Hadiyya, have shown that 300 to 500 decitons per hectare can be produced.

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Valley the cultivation of nsät has spread only haltingly, because the Arsi (like most of the Oromo) and the Amhara[75] were highly contemptuous of nsät consumption. They often believed that nsät was an inferior type of food which caused weakness. Because of this handed-down prejudice – and presumably also because of the complicated know-how of its cultivation – they have hitherto been reluctant to adopt it, even though they do realise that the high-yielding plant would stabilize their sometimes precarious food supply. For this reason the Arsi in the early 1970s had only planted nsät in less than a 20 kilometre-wide strip along the northern and north-eastern borders of Sidaamaland, where intermarriage with Sidaama women provided the knowledge of its cultivation.[76]

Presumably after the 14th century peas (*Pisum sativum*), horse-beans (*Vicia faba*), chickpeas (*Cicer arietinum*), onions (*Allium cepa*) and garlic (*Allium sativa*) spread from the Ethiopian highlands southwards. At a later stage lentils (*Lens culinaris*), sesame seed (*Sensamum indicum*) and nug (*Guizotia abyssinica*) sporadically gained a foothold. Fruits introduced from Arabia via Harär such as lemon (*Citrus limonium*), banana (*Musa paradisiaca*) and peach (*Persica vulgaris*) have long been confined to the Islamic centres of eastern Ethiopia.[77] Apparently in the post-Columbian period, crop plants from the New World were introduced to north-eastern Africa via the Portuguese. Particularly red pepper (*Capsicum conicum*), maize (*Zea mays*), tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*), pumpkin (*Cucurbita maxima*), sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*), potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) and tomatoes (*Solanum lycopersicum*) gained considerable importance.

Due to particular ecological prerequisites the stockbreeders led a more or less nomadic life and did not establish compact settlements. In the Lake Region and in the Arsi and Bale highlands east of the Rift Valley livestock keeping remained the dominant economic pillar until the second third of the 20th century. Because of the increasing density of population in those areas mobile stockbreeding was then gradually abandoned in favour of sedentary faming. Pure nomadism has certainly been rare among the Arsi. Eike HABERLAND convincingly concluded from facts of culture history and from oral traditions that they had practiced a mixed agricultural system of cattle-breeding and the cultivation of barley since ancient times.[78] The barley yield remained however modest into the 20th century causing the Arsi to swap with

75 At the end of the 18th century, nsät was presumably cultivated in the area of Lake ana by Cushitic-speaking Agäw groups (see LUDOLF [LUDOLPH] 1682: 51) and in the 19th century also in the S men Mountains (SIMOONS 1960: 92), which however, were then abandoned for reasons unknown. When I travelled through Wälläga in 2001, I observed that nsät cultivation is expanding in areas where it has not been practiced before.

76 This state of information is outdated now. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to observe the present situation in that area.

77 Other types of fruits such as mangoes, papayas and avocados were almost unknown in most parts of central-southern Ethiopia in the 1970s, but according to my own observations they became commonly available in the late 1990s.

78 The materials of HABERLAND (1963a: 5ff., 363ff.) were clearly confirmed by the results of my own research.

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highland farmers to gain a sufficient supply of vegetable food. As this economic symbiosis was essential for both partners, their mutual relationship was shaped according to certain habitual rules which were never seriously compromised. When the Arsi increasingly converted their mixed system of stockbreeding and farming into a type of intensified land cultivation, they simultaneously adopted new agricultural methods, particularly the use of the plough, and left behind the techniques of hoe-farming (cf. also chap. 3.7.2). It can thus be stated that in this geographical area a "linear" model of cultural evolution cannot be proved, but fluent transitions and mixed forms between the basic socio-economic types have occurred.

This finding applied equally to the social system. Formerly, analyses of culture historians referring to southern Ethiopia have often assumed that virtually a basic pattern of affiliation existed between the socio-political system and that of belonging to a language group: the speakers of East Cushitic languages had basically democratic organizations with age-grade systems of the *gadaa* type, whereas the members of Omotic-speaking (formerly also labelled West Cushitic) ethnic groups preferentially developed monarchical systems, "kingdoms".[79] The *gadaa* system ensured more or less egalitarian norms and acted as a sum of rules regulating life, whereas the kingships were hierarchically structured and distinguished by a sophisticated network of top-down relations. However, from our research it became apparent that the Hadiyya proper could not be ascribed to either one or the other of these "ideal" categories, but they represented a socio-political type of their own. The Arsi clans of Hadiyya descent were integrated into the Oromo *gadaa* system – though not completely, because their members were usually not permitted to become incumbents. Information provided from oral tradition frequently indicated the respective position in the genealogy when the incorporation took place by a ceremonial act of subjugation (*lallaba*) under the guidance of a *gadaa* chief of the Oromo.[80] A kingship comparable to that of the Omotic-speaking peoples, e. g., the Wälaytta, Yäm, Käfa, evidently never existed among the Hadiyya. However, the neighbouring Kambaata, who belong to the East Cushitic language group, had developed (verifiably since the 16th century) a type of monarchy according to the Omotic pattern.[81]

The fact that a mighty Hadiyya state comprising a large territory existed, as far as can be reconstructed from the historical information sources, between the 13th and 16th centuries, suggests that more or less firmly established central authorities were

79 This coincidence, particularly pointed out by Adolf E. JENSEN, Eike HABERLAND and Helmut STRAUBE in verbal discussions, lectures and publications, is in fact obvious for the historical conditions until the middle of the 20th century, but can of course by no means claim to be a standardized rule.

80 Since the *gadaa* system of the Arsi has already in extenso been dealt with and described by HABERLAND (1963a: 444, *passim*), it was outside of my own observations. For a modern instructive overview cf. BAXTER 2005: 633-38.

81 In a study about the history and socio-political organization of the Kambaata, I have extensively dealt with the evolution of monarchical institutions within this group (BRAUKÄMPER 1983, chap. 3.2-3.3).

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present, which were able to provide the means for long-distance trade between the coast and the interior of north-eastern Africa. How the authority and the rule of the political leaders, the *gärad (garaad)*, were constituted, is not possible to be reconstructed in detail. The states of south-eastern Ethiopia during that period were most certainly not compatible with kingdoms in Western Europe, although they were consistently labelled "reynos" or "royaumes" by occidental travellers. It can be assumed that due to the Muslim-Christian wars and the Oromo expansion of the 16th century a decline of centralized authorities and of centrifugal cultural forces occurred. As a result, the political leadership, which has presumably never been elaborated in a very centralized form, gave way to an enhancement of egalitarian patterns. A rigid dichotomy preserved (or developed) between commoners, i. e. ordinary peasants, on the one hand, and marginalized minorities of craftworkers such as potters, tanners, blacksmiths and additionally hunters on the other hand. It manifested an antagonism, widespread in human history, between *ergon*, respected and honoured types of work (such as farming and herding) and *douleia*, work understood to be dishonest and disgraceful.[82]

Certainly, in the modern society of most Hadiyya groups there were hereditary dignitaries, but the position of the individual was basically dependent on the "achieved status" rather than on the "ascribed status". Intelligence, strength, courage, warlike capability and "feasts of merit" performed by the owners of 100 or 1000 head of cattle[83] were the basic attributes for realizing vertical mobility according to the then prevailing expectations and norms of the society. That men could achieve social promotion through bravery and success in battle and also the notion that the act of killing was in itself to a certain extent indispensable for the existence of one's group are phenomena, which can be regarded as "Pan-Ethiopian traits". This concept lastly implies a correlation between the ability of a man to destroy the lives of male adversaries and his ability to produce offspring. In practice, it was not a prerequisite for a male individual to have killed a human foe or a dangerous wild animal before he was permitted to marry. Nevertheless, herein lay a standard expectation which every man strived to fulfil. The sexual organs taken from the slain adversary as a trophy is a visible expression of the relationship between killing and procreation as conceived in the "killer system" (or "killing cult") of southern Ethiopia. In addition to an elevated social status the "hero" of this type received conspicuous funeral rites and grave monuments after death.

This syndrome of value concepts necessarily induced a bellicose aggressiveness, but it did not demand a chivalrous fighting code. What counted was not the heroic achievement, but the act of killing as such. Whether the genital trophy was gained in open combat or in an insidious ambush was not a paramount criterion for the evalu-

82 These ancient Greek terms seem to be particularly appropriate to label this phenomenon which is wide-spread and long-lasting. Stimulating theoretical considerations regarding southern Ethiopia in this field were provided by AMBORN (1990) and FREEMAN/PANKHURST (2001).

83 For further details on the "meritorious complex" in southern Ethiopia see BRAUKÄMPER (2002). Cf. also the comparative study of POISSONNIER 2009.

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ation of honour and "merit". In principle, the trophy could be taken from a young boy, a baby and even from a male foetus, although this was considered disgusting. Male children and pregnant women were thus potentially exposed to being slain.[84] Usually, women were sacrosanct and could move freely between the territories of hostile groups even in times of acute warfare. At the end of every eight year *gadaa* period the warlike activities were more or less institutionalized and ambushing enemies, raiding livestock and killing men for honour's sake reached a climax. These actions, however, commonly did not aim at threatening the territorial integrity or the very existence of other groups. Their possible impact on processes of fusion and fission will be considered later (cf. chap. 3.4.3; 3.5.9).

The battle over land among the semi-nomadic agropastoralists gained force only after their more intensive transition to sedentary life alongside steadily increasing population pressure. From the very beginning of their existence the favourite strategy of peasant societies with centralized monarchic authorities was by way of contrast, an extension of their territories and a systematic colonization of the conquered land. In order to demonstrate clearly their titles of ownership, the kings of Wälaytta and to a lesser extent also those of Kambaata consistently set up new ramparts as lines of demarcation and fortification (at least symbolic) along the borders of newly-acquired areas. This strategy proved the superiority of the monarchical system with its expansionist state ideology in comparison with egalitarian societies. This fact most evidently referred to the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

The *gadaa* system meant for the Arsi that there was an inseparable connection between social life and traditional religion.[85] The Hadiyya proper, the Libidoo, Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho were followers of a religion whose eschatology and religious practices were characterized by Islamic relics. Its adherents, the *Fandaanano*, practiced, for example, a fasting period which corresponded with *Rama n. Waa'a*, the Supreme Being, was believed to be enthroned in a seven-layered heaven. As a type of *Deus otiosus* he hardly exerted any direct influence on the fate of people on earth. Worship and sacrifice were directed less at him but mainly involved numerous demons whose actions were believed to be inherent in all spheres of life. Similar to other parts of north-eastern Africa, so-called possession-cults gained central importance. They were basically characterized by the belief that a spirit entered a person as its medium and empowered him or her, for example, to heal sick people and to carry out magical practices to provide fertility or rain.[86] These cults were to a considerable extent stimulated and spread through

84 Cases of this type were recorded, e. g., by BRUCE (1790/91, II: 216), PAULITSCHKE (1888b: 30), PAULITSCHKE (1896: 6), HOYOS (1895: 89), THESIGER (1935: 5).

85 The hitherto most comprehensive analysis to prove this connection was provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 457ff., 561ff.).

86 For a preliminary state of information regarding *Fandaanano* cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1997, PETER 1999: 104ff., *passim.* Detailed materials on the religion of the Hadiyya proper will be composed in another monograph.

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world religions, Orthodox Christianity and Islam, which most of the Hadiyya belonged to from the second half of the 20th century onwards.

An ideal-typical abstraction of the traditional patterns of culture of the Hadiyya proper could be summarized with the following key words: cattle-breeding with supplementary barley cultivation, relatively egalitarian social organization with extensive conditions of vertical mobility, ethical value concepts determined by "cattle complex" and "killing cult", survivals and relics of Islam in the folk religion. Attempts by anthropologists and historians at defining the cultural model of the Hadiyya and related groups within the areal context of north-eastern Africa have remained unsatisfying and contradictory.[87] MURDOCK's (1959: 196ff., 323ff.) classification grouping the Hadiyya proper together with the Kambaata, Sidaama, Gide'o, Konso and other ethnic groups in a complex of "megalithic Cushites", while the Galla (Oromo) constituted a cultural cluster of their own, is questionable in many ethnographic details. Furthermore, it conveys through its predominantly linguistic base of criteria a constricted and partly misleading representation of the highly complex overall framework of culture history in the area of concern.

The ecological and cultural conditions which have been sketchily propounded here cannot be understood as a synchronic analysis of a precise accurately-defined point of time. They essentially refer to the "patterns" which existed around 1880 before the conquest of the Hadiyya areas by the Christian Empire.

87 This refers, for example, to the approach of BAUMANN (1940; 1975; 1979). It is outside the scope of this study, however, to follow up the state of research on culture areas.

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2. Research Situation and Body of Source Material

In illiterate cultures on the one hand and cultures possessing written records on the other hand, the categories of historical materials, i. e., texts, facts or material objects from which insights into the past can be derived, differ significantly in their relevance. This is evident in the case of our study on the Hadiyya in southern Ethiopia. Next to the limited number of written references set down by foreigners about them, it is the cultural phenomena, materials, institutions, linguistic findings etc., which are of comparatively great importance. Above all, however, it is the oral traditions attained through field studies that make a monograph about the history of such a people possible in the first place. In view of the requirements concerning the analysis of source material, it seems necessary to first state the special situation of field research and the underlying work concept. This is all the more indispensable, because particular methodological problems are inherent in this type of study in which historians working with written sources are mostly inexperienced.[1]

2.1 The Field Study as a Basis for Compiling New Source Material

As already pointed out, the source material on the Hadiyya, and on most ethnic units of southern Ethiopia as well, is scanty. An attempt to write a history of this group can therefore only be ventured if the historical materials can be augmented to an extent that finally a kind of overall picture can be approached. The field study was carried out with this objective in mind. But it goes without saying that because of the limited capacity of the researcher only a part of the actual existing source material can more or less be selectively documented. The field study methods and techniques have in the main been developed for socio-scientific present-day analyses in Western societies, about which the researcher usually possesses a considerable state of knowledge which enables him or her to start from the base of clearly defined hypotheses. Such a fund of previous knowledge is commonly lacking when a researcher starts a field study in an area which can be classified as an undocumented "*terra incognita*", as, for example, Hadiyyaland in 1970. Particular difficulties arise, because hypotheses tend to be vague and research methods have to be adapted to the particular research conditions. More than with a synchronic perspective, there is the necessity to continuously reflect on the coordination of methodological procedures

1 It is interesting to observe that the practice of "oral history" in European countries received important stimuli from historians who worked on illiterate societies of Africa. The literature which has been produced in this field of studies since the 1980s is too voluminous to be dealt with in detail here. The outstanding contribution of Jan VANSINA (e. g. 1985) may be accentuated.

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and their results so as not to remain in a pre-scientific framework where a random and intuitive form of data gathering prevails.

A particular problem arises through culture-specific projections and stereo-types which the foreign researcher attributes in a more or less non-reflective way to the "otherness" or "altérité" of foreign cultures and which influences his interpretation not insignificantly. In a study on the Nilotic Didinga and Longarim in southern Sudan Andreas KRONENBERG (1972: 22) subsumed this problem in the question "How can the mode of presentation of a foreign phenomenon be analysed with meanings relevant for them without projecting on the ethnologists' culture matrix?" It will be no more than a *bone fide* endeavour to realise this objective.[2]

When my field study began, I assumed the hypothesis that the present-day Hadiyya in the area of the upper Gibe, particularly those groups known as Gudeella, exemplified a historical continuity with the medieval bearers of this name.[3] The first research campaign from March 1970 to February 1971 was exclusively reserved for the Hadiyya proper in the sub-province named Kämbata by that time. In the beginning, no predominantly historical study was aimed at, but rather a documentation of the traditional cultural patterns in the broadest sense. It was clear right after ending the first period of research that the objectives had not been satisfyingly reached and a continuation was absolutely essential.

Under the impressions of a strong anti-position which had evolved in Germany against the diffusionist schools due to their questionable and speculative reconstructions, I was extremely sceptical of all traditions which refer to wide-ranging expansionist migrations.[4] Therefore, I could decide only hesitatingly to comprehend the given stages of the migration routes reported in the oral traditions and to check the details on clan relationships, place names and other facts. The second campaign from September 1972 to March 1974 was largely devoted to this task.[5] In order to investigate the interethnic relationship, I spent some time among the Hadiyya proper, as well as with groups of Hadiyya descent, particularly the Allaaba, Qabeena, East-Gurage, Sidaama, Arsi and Oromo groups in the Cärcär region. A large-scale and multi-sited study embedded in the wider context of the history and culture of southern Ethiopia was thus given priority over a territorially limited "case-study".

2 I am fully aware of the fact that the postmodern and postcolonial approaches in cultural anthropology have considerably changed the state of theoretical and methodological debates in this field. However, comprehensive references are outside consideration here.

3 Cf. Preface, fn. 7. I myself still favoured this view after my first research trip (BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 47).

4 The collapse of diffusionist theories, which had dominated ethnology in the German-speaking countries until the 1950s, had provoked a deep-rooted frustration with regard to this academic tradition. The scholars specialized in Ethiopian studies at the Frobenius Institute, Adolf Jensen, Eike Haberland and Helmut Straube, were still deeply influenced by diffusionist ideas, but they were anxiously dedicated to distancing themselves from them.

5 In another study in Darfur (Sudan) during the 1980s a critical analysis of place names and stages of migration became a focal point of my interest and my analysis from the very beginning (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1992, chap. 2.1).

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Unquestionably, such an approach undoubtedly required a greater effort time-wise and organisationally in regard to specific questions.

In 1970 the road to Hossäyna (Waachchamo), the capital of the then Kämbata *Awra a*, had not been finished. One could reach it by car in the dry season, however journeys within the area had to be undertaken by means of horses and mules. For the large-scale investigations of 1973/4 in the Arsi, Sidamo, Bale and Hararge provinces an off-road vehicle was the most important means of transport. We mostly stayed close to the navigable dirt road from which the informants could be reached on foot within a certain radius.

The preparations for the second field study campaign consisted of compiling a list of place, ethnic and proper names from chronicles and other recorded literature that potentially pointed to the respective areas in southern Ethiopia. The place and clan names existing today, identical to those in the ancient written documents, should at first glance be assessed as an evident indication for historical continuity. Whether and how far such continuity actually existed, had to be checked in detail for validity. This approach aimed therefore at verification or falsification of concretely formulated hypotheses.

As with every ethnological field study, systematically directed and controlled observation was one of the foundations for the gathering of data. Because an individual scholar can only know and collect a limited amount of data, any researcher stays dependent on the experience of other scholars for the rest of the information. In other words, he (or she) has to employ "indirect observation".[6]

Within the methods of direct observation, which the social sciences differentiate, participant observation and observation by means of standardised experimental and test situations, the first had precedence in our study. As I mostly lived with the indigenous people in their houses and participated in many of their activities, a certain amount of integration was ensured in the group being researched. Due to the fact that the research took place primarily in a scarcely documented terrain and thus hardly any concrete hypotheses and descriptive criteria had been defined before the collection of the material, the type of systematic observation was largely ruled out. Occasionally, no longer existing but still known procedures and cultural traditions, for example in the field of certain ceremonial acts, could to some extent be reproduced and documented. Also important for the overall historical picture was the visual inspection of archaeological sites which will not be gone into in detail here.[7]

6 When carrying out the field studies of the 1970s, I particularly relied on the methodological textbooks of KÖNIG (1965: 32, *passim*). A lot of new analyses have meanwhile been published on this topic. The first attempt in ethnology to analyse observance as a research technique is by NEUMAYER (1875). Essentially he limited it to enumeration in which in an "exotic culture" it seemed relevant to undertake observation and thus only posed the question of the target of observation and not the "how" of the observation process. It goes without saying that I have meanwhile consulted modern handbooks of qualitative research.

7 For example, grave sites, grottos, boundary walls and petroglyph sites were investigated. More information in this field will be given in the projected monograph on the culture of the Hadiyya.

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After the observation process, notes were recorded in chronological order and the material was in most cases then transferred according to content into a systematic structure.

As data obtained through observance mostly relate to the present situation, they are of less importance to the historian than to the anthropologist. The reconstruction of the past must first and foremost be accomplished through questioning. The techniques of interviewing had to suit the particular requirements of a study in a "*terra incognita*". Questioning was therefore to the greatest possible extent conducted in the form of open-ended ethnographic (in-depth) interviews, a freely-held and basically unstructured conversation, where the interviewer's guideline and objective was the gaining of unpredictable information. A type of contract was mostly entered into with the key informants who were remunerated for the hours of their daily work. I also conducted semi-standardised interviews in focus group discussions, particularly during the later stage of the research, which were organised in a relatively mobile fashion especially when it came to asking precise questions about the historical ties of the ethnic groups and their relationship to the ancient territorial cluster of the Hadiyya. Questionnaires were drawn up in a few cases in order to aid the indigenous research assistants in gathering additional information in certain sub-areas. The transcription of the stated information ensued during the interviewing; the tape recorder served the purpose of recording only lyrical texts, songs and instrumental music.[8] There was a strong focus on male elders, because they were regarded as the main preservers of the oral traditions and genealogies.[9]

The interviews were conducted by me with the help of interpreters who, apart from English and Amharic, had a good command of the languages spoken by the respective groups where the research took place. One had of course to be aware of the additional problems relating to sources of error in the process of data acquisition – alongside the usual ones [10] – through translation mistakes and the difficulty to reveal the adequate meaning of particular culture-specific terms. There is no patent remedy to eliminate this problem. As the study spanned different linguistic communities, it was impracticable to learn each respective language. It was therefore hardly possible to ensure satisfactory control over the interpreters. A friendly relationship with the research assistants was vital and the more committed they were to the work,

As a by-product of such studies see BRAUKÄMPER/CERVICEK 1975.

8 A 'Work Journal' and a translated and annotated reproduction of the interviews with key informants (e.g. LYDALL/STRECKER 1979 on the Hamär in the South Omo region of Ethiopia) are of considerable value for the disclosure and verification of results. Documentations of this type have explicitly been required by historians from field researchers, social scientists and also representatives of national archives in African countries (see, e.g., HEINTZE 1976: 47ff.), but due to time constraints and financial costs they are often not realised.

9 Female informants played a more important part in questions of social life, religious rituals and material culture, which will be analysed in the study on *Fandaanano*.

10 For methodological problems on the techniques of interviewing cf. MACCOBY/MACCOBY 1965: 72f.

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the greater their effort to acquire accurate data. On the other hand, the researcher had to be conscious of the fact that the interpreters more or less automatically tended to introduce their own interpretations and rationalisations. Because of their familiarity with the respective cultures, many of the questions appeared to be self-evident to them. As a rule, the research assistants were expected to work no more than five hours a day, since their tasks required a high degree of concentration.

As time went on, the growing knowledge of the historical and cultural coherences provided the researcher with a more critical view regarding the data reported by the informants via the interpreters. As a result, the interviewing techniques became increasingly efficient and potential mistakes could be observed more critically. For example, a particular connection regarding a detail came to my attention when an informant mentioned the name Dinglis which the interpreter did not think worth noting and left out of the translation. On checking it afterwards, it emerged that it was the local designation of the Ethiopian Emperor L bnä D ng l, a contemporary and adversary of A mad Grañ, the ᶜAdal commander-in-chief, in the 16th century. The most effective instrument of control lay in the quantitative field. For the Hadiyya proper and peoples of Hadiyya descent, more than three hundred genealogies were gathered and recorded and a proportionate number of interviews of differing duration concerning historical questions were conducted. One could then through interpolation of the most frequently occurring information content obtain a statistically relevant fundament and, if necessary, filter out significant deviations or manipulations. In this way, the danger of translation errors could be largely eliminated at the same time. "Panel investigations" served the same objective whereby the same informants were once again presented with the same questions but at different time intervals. Possible discrepancies in the statements could then be established and compared with the base material. A "sample investigation" of the type employed in empirical social research was undertaken only by my colleague Siegfried Seyfarth in Duubaanchcho near Hossäyna in order to obtain a representative cross-section of the socio-economic conditions of the Leemo-Hadiyya.[11]

In some cases, it proved to be advantageous to ask the questions in an indirect way so that the person who was interviewed did not relate it to himself but could rather relate it to a collective context. This technique applied especially to some of the informants who had been Christianised by Protestant missions and had been persuaded to have such a strong contempt for the traditional religion that they were prepared to give information about this subject extremely reluctantly. With groups having heterogeneous origins, like the Arsi, questions indicating specific cultural characteristics, for example food taboos, burial rites and position in the *gadaa* system (cf. chap. 1.3), were important for the identification of clans of Hadiyya descent.

As far as the willingness to give information was concerned, I had a fundamentally different experience with the peoples in southern Ethiopia compared to ethnic

11 The data base provided by Siegfried Seyfarth's unpublished notebooks was used in a new campaign of research by Dirk Bustorf in 1999/2000.

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groups in other parts of Africa. This fact is understandable because of highly different socio-political positions and orientations. For example, the Fulbe in Adamawa (parts of northern Cameroon and northern Nigeria) were, from a historical point of view, a conquering and ruling ethnic unit which dominated both linguistically and culturally and looked back at their past with great pride. As a result, the men who were interviewed reported on their history and political organisation without us having had to first build up a basis of trust over a length of time or to present an official letter of recommendation. On the other hand, however, they hostilely opposed questions concerning private and family matters which they felt were totally improper. This can largely be attributed to a strong acceptance of Muslim value concepts which obviously worked towards a stronger seclusion of the private sphere.[12] In southern Ethiopia, as long as abäša colonists (*näf äñña*)[13] were not employed as informants, the circumstances were the other way around. People who had been conquered and exploited during the past century were basically not willing to give information to foreigners without official authority for fear of sanctions being applied against them. The hierarchy concerning the letters of recommendation extended from the Ministry of the Interior to the Provincial, Deputy-Provincial and District Governor right down to the *balabbat* and local clan chief. (The postcolonial debate which opened up a new view on these issues had not yet started by then.) Decade-long oppression had created such mistrust of all foreigners that everyone, who approached them with questions, was regarded with suspicion and held to be a representative of the ruling system and a potential spy. Since the District Governor tried to supervise the work as much as possible, under these circumstances it was not possible to win over local contact partners on a basis of trust nor do the work satisfactorily because of the informants' inhibitions. Only after one evaded the constant regulatory supervision, found accommodation in the midst of the indigenous people, and got competent informants, was there a basis for constructive research activity. Initially, there was, as a rule, more willingness to talk about cultural phenomena or even intimate matters of everyday life rather than about historical and political facts. Experience showed that the focal issues for the research could only then be approached when a sufficient basis of confidence had been established. Mistrust was frequently stirred, for instance, when questions were asked about the peoples who had inhabited their living areas prior to the present inhabitants or with questions

12 In later campaigns of field research among the Fellata in the Sudanese province of Darfur and among the Shuwa Arabs in the Borno region of north-eastern Nigeria, I was again faced with different types of preparedness of informants to report on certain fields of history, culture or everyday life. A comprehensive comparison is outside the scope of this chapter.

13 *Näftäñña* means "gun bearers" and refers to the military colonists who settled in southern Ethiopia from the late 19th century onwards. They were mostly of Amharic origin and therefore often collectively addressed as "Amhara" by the people in the south. However, some of them were T gray, Tuulama-Oromo and members of other Christian groups. It therefore seems to me more correct to label them ***abäša***, a term collectively and neutrally used for Christian Ethiopians.

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about the migratory stages of their forefathers. Occasionally, in connection with this a suspicion was aroused that the government might pursue resettlement plans due to such research.

After the conquest of the south by Emperor M nil k II, land distribution for autochthonous ethnic groups had indeed occurred at the end of the 19th century on the base of reports on previous historical conditions (cf. chap. 3.7.1). Thus, for these people having a pronounced historical awareness, information about the past was sometimes more of an explosive political issue than dealing with the current situation. This became particularly obvious with Islamic groups when the questions related to the "holy wars" of the 16th century and to A mad Grañ, revered by them as a national hero who had "crushed the Amhara". Oppressed people tended to identify their nativist ambitions with such a person, who was commonly apostrophised by the Christian side as a murderous incendiary and the epitome of evil.

I experienced Arsi informants in northern Bale interrupting an interview about the topography and ethnic situation of their settlements indicating that on one occasion Europeans, meaning the expedition of Amadeo di Savoia-Aosta and Enrico Cerulli in 1928, had asked similar questions and some years later Italian troops invaded the country. There were also instances, where I undertook long marches to informants described as being particularly knowledgeable who turned out to be either completely senile or who refused to be questioned. However, the overall record was satisfying as most of the informants were open-minded and communicative, especially when the researcher himself demonstrated a lively interest in genealogical and cultural facts of their own or neighbouring groups. In the areas of my research, the mistrust of foreign interviewers was obviously not as pronounced as in southwestern Ethiopia where the rule of the Ethiopian Empire had a more brutal impact and the ethnic self-awareness of the autochthonous societies had been more strongly shattered.[14]

It would be unrealistic to assume that anthropological field research combined with a historical study could be compiled in a purely impartial positivistic way. During our second sojourn (1972-74), it became clear that in Ethiopia an increasingly explosive mood targeted at a change of the political circumstances began evolving. It was most evident in the capital Addis Abäba, but also became noticeable in the remotest parts of Hadiyyaland. In particular, the pupils and teachers of the rural schools, representing together only a small percentage of the population, began to call the ruling system into question with strikes and boycott measures against the infringement of rights by the "feudalist exploiters", and also from the peasants an attitude of opposition grew towards the imperial government. Howsoever one conducts oneself as a foreign researcher in such a situation, fieldwork itself proves to be an activating factor since it bolsters the self-esteem of the investigated group. Inevitably, researchers, even though they explicitly aim to keep a neutral position,

14 This emanates from the results of comparative observations by Eike Haberland, Werner Lange and Hermann Amborn (personal communications).

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become involved to a certain extent in latent smouldering conflicts. In our case, it was especially the ethnic controversy between the Hadiyya and the Kambaata over the (re-)naming of the sub-province that was ruled over by the highest court of the state and led to occasional violence.[15] It was a quarrel which had to do equally with taking a stand against social grievances and oppressive measures exercised over the population by the authorities. It appears to be therefore unrealistic, much more than with historical research based only on written sources, to assume an unrestricted objectivity of the study.

> "When it means the historian must be objective, it does not mean he should be inwardly unaffected with regard to the research process [...]. Such a mental detachment is basically impossible and if the historian tries to practice it, then inevitably he gets into a position of an apologist for everything existing".[16]

To withdraw to a position of "scientific distance" and not to take notice of the current problems of the people but be fixated on the research objective would not only be detrimental to the group under study but would also appear morally questionable. A personal commitment would then be essential if – which happened occasionally – intrigues against informants were spun and they were exposed to coercion on the part of the government authorities at different levels. However, the permission to undertake research required restraint in criticising the internal affairs of the host country and to abstain from interfering in internal affairs. Misjudgement and all too zealous activism – borne by whatever basic ideological attitude – have repeatedly burdened research programmes in Ethiopia (and elsewhere) to the extent of their becoming unfeasible.

Ethical implications of field research have been discussed at length since the pioneering study of RYNKIEVICH and SPRADLEY (1976) without a patent remedy for the behaviour of individual researchers being able to be given due to the wide spectrum of diverging circumstances. Every society is, to a different extent of intensity, determined by social conflicts, which inevitably affect the position of the foreign observer. His own role as a factor of change should not be overrated, at least with the populous peasant communities, where the presence of a foreign researcher is usually no reason for deviations from ordinary everyday life.

At the beginning of the stay and always when the research became extended to another area, cooperation with the authorities was vital. Within the administrative staff, recruited from the local population only in exceptional cases, there were always people genuinely interested in the culture of their district. Such persons did not only show understanding of the research intentions, but often offered practical sup-

15 A similar situation arose for Dirk Bustorf (personal communications) when he was investigating interethnic relations between the Leemo-Hadiyya and the ndägañ-Gurage in the borderland of the two groups in 1999/2000.

16 KON 1966: 128f. (our translation from German).

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port. The men who had been suggested by the authorities were mostly designated liaison people between the abäša administration and the taxpayers. They proved to be not the best informants yet gave rise to the possibility, especially in a phase when one was not that familiar with the relationships, of contacting further and more competent informants.

For a holistic cultural analysis in the classical ethnological sense, which I was initially interested in, each person of the research group could basically serve as an informant. After the focus of the study had changed to a historical orientation, the choice of the informants had to be adjusted to meet the particular demands of this approach. From an overview of the literature on north-eastern Africa a pattern could be assumed that the Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking peoples of Ethiopia are distinguished by gerontocratic features. As a rule, the old men were responsible for political decisions, they held key official positions, and were the most competent guardians of tradition. A wide-spread belief was indeed apparent that a high age and wisdom constituted more or less congruent factors. In the process of my research this conviction tended to be refuted frequently in a grotesque way. Among the Hadiyya, the "wise" elders held the honorific title *lommancho* (pl. *lommanna)* which meant as much as "great older man". The Sidaama used the term *ayyaana*.

In contrast to many West African societies, where from time immemorial professional specialists preserved the historical traditions of the ruling families and all state organisations,[17] this task was carried out in Ethiopia mostly by simple peasants who, because of their intelligence and their interest in this matter, possessed an above-average standard of knowledge. To find out about them was difficult because of the ruling authoritative structure. The chieftains appointed by the government and traditional title bearers were often bent on self-praise and confronted such "ordinary" informants with suspicion and envy. Getting in touch with particularly knowledgeable informants thus took place mostly via hints and recommendations from other people. Our accommodation was then mostly relocated near their dwellings. Occasionally, suitable information could also be gathered with group interviews at public meetings of elders. In such a case, the knowledge of genealogies and the connections of clans proved to be the most important selection criteria. The standard of knowledge was naturally not only a question of an old age, and often men between the age of 30 and 40 years proved to be the better informants. However, at public meetings and group discussions they held back in the face of the elders because of the unquestioned gerontocratic conditions. It was only when they were alone that they could impart their knowledge without restraint. Women, who traditionally took hardly any active part in political decision-making, were only used as informants concerning their particular domains of life and those who practiced certain handicraft professions.

17 Cf., e.g. BENZING (1971: 5 ff.) for the Dagomba in northern Ghana. This was later confirmed by my own studies in the Borno region of Nigeria (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 150ff., 154, 161).

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In areas where we spent a longer time, we could develop a bond of mutual trust with the informants and ultimately dealt with sensitive themes such as land rights, political attitudes or collaboration with the Italian occupants. Yet in every new area we had to start from anew, making the informant familiar with the research aims and then overcoming the barrier of mistrust. To shorten this process, it turned out to be advantageous to take along an informant who had friends and relatives in the new area and who assumed the introduction into the new group. Where this was not possible, especially recommended people were visited who were willing to give the names of friends and/or relatives to assist the start. It was principally avoided asking for authoritative pressure in order to interview those people who could not be convinced to cooperate. Such an attitude would not only jeopardise the foundation of trust and the working atmosphere, but also put into question the quality and validity of the information itself.

Showing books and illustrations on other known peoples of southern Ethiopia to informants came in useful as a good starting point and helped in removing distrust. A broadcast on the Ethiopian radio about the folklore and music of the Hadiyya compiled by the journalist Mu ammad Idris with our help in 1971, was enthusiastically welcomed. (The centralist cultural policy of that time was not at all in favour of such an action.)

Whereas the focal interest of social scientists is primarily aimed at portraying the cultural patterns of a given society in a more generalized and ideally typical manner, the study of historians is more oriented towards the analysis of individual processes which can be reconstructed from a selected basis of source materials. Over decades the heftily-led discussion about whether "anthropology" is a social science or a historical discipline appears to me to be pointless, since both spheres are ultimately inseparable.[18] The experiences among the Hadiyya suggest – and this is entirely validated by other studies in southern Ethiopia – that a promising access into the social structure in general, and the identification of the clans and lineages in particular, can only be achieved through a thorough analysis of genealogies out of which processes of segmentation, fusions and fissions, assimilations and adoptions can be derived and interpreted. It is nowhere else so obvious than right here that for the knowledge of synchronic facts a diachronic approach is absolutely essential and neither observations nor investigations of samples and statistical data are able to substitute data of historical dimension. How much an exclusively synchronically applied study can lead to ambiguous interpretations on societal conditions is exemplified by the work of C. R. HALLPIKE (1972: 139-43) on the Konso in southern Ethiopia. After painstaking field work, but largely ignorant of comparative source materials, he argued, for example, that the peasants' contempt for the craftsmen was derived from a peculiar symbolic perception of the Konso, without being aware of

18 This point of view has convincingly been advocated by well-known scholars who explicitly worked in the borderland of both disciplines such as EVANS-PRITCHARD (1961), KROEBER (1963) and VANSINA (1969).

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the cultural historical standing of this widely spread and much discussed phenomenon in north-east Africa. Meyer FORTES (1945: 26ff, *passim*) in his research on the clan dynamics of the Tallensi in northern Ghana – which is rightly viewed as a classical study in the tradition of British social anthropology – was also inclined to interpret social differentiations, which obviously trace back to processes of historical conquest, from the structural framework of the society itself.

It can be concluded that the systematic implementation of field study techniques developed by empirical social science – observation and interviewing have to be employed as both an alternative as well as complementary methodological approach – are indispensable also for diachronically-oriented research. Naturally, these methods primarily developed for research in a European-American industrialised societal pattern, could not simply be transferred to circumstances in southern Ethiopia. They always require a flexible handling according to a respective geographical and cultural context. In the end, we cannot overlook the fact that obtained data always represent only a small selection of what can be documented about the history and culture of an ethnic community. We have therefore to be aware of the fact that ***the Hadiyya*** as they are presented here, are, after all, only an exemplary abstraction of a much larger reality.

2.2 The Oral Traditions

While a comprehensive theory of field research for illiterate peoples both historically and ethnologically remains a desideratum,[19] the theoretical-methodological research in the field of oral tradition has come a comparatively long way. A debate over this topic in relation to the thematically-related works written on Africa[20] will not be aimed at here. I rather want to restrict the analysis to an interpretation of the materials which are significant for the history of the Hadiyya. Although my own interpretations often seem to be dominant, stress has been laid on the emic view of people.

Jan VANSINA (1961: 129ff.) divided oral tradition into three categories: 1. formal traditions, 2. informal traditions and 3. personal reminiscences and informants' recollections. Genealogies, lists of dynasties, and standardised chants belong to the first category. The second one comprises historical narratives giving accounts of the migrations and deeds of the ancestors up to the present generation and cultural changes. The third category has to do with biographies and the depiction of events personally experienced by the informant. Traditions concerning processes of ethnogenesis must be dealt with separately as they can only be vaguely classified or not at

19 This statement refers to the time of the first edition of his work (cf. JONGMANS/GUTKIND 1967). I am aware of the fact that the respective state of research has been enormously extended and improved since then.

20 Some of the fundamental contributions provided until the late 1970s are those of VANSINA (1961), ALAGOA (1966), VANSINA (1967), CURTIN (1968), FINNEGAN (1970), LAYA (1970), HENIGE (1974, 1980), JENSEN (1974) and MILLER (1980).

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all. However, they are able to provide important information about historical awareness and cultural ideals even when their contents are basically mythological. Narrative accounts like fairy tales, fables and myths shall remain reserved for a monograph on the culture of the Hadiyya proper.

As an important base for the historical analysis more than three hundred genealogies were collected, the recording of which usually started at the beginning of the interview. These mainly involved lists of agnates, i.e. persons related through the male lines. The lines of female ancestors were rarely recorded, because the agnatic principles were predominant in the social structure and women had little influence on the political life of the Hadiyya and other peoples in the areas of our concern. Approximately three quarters of the genealogies I recorded comprised between eight and fifteen names, the remaining quarter went beyond that and only in a few cases exceeded 20 names.[21] In addition, the majority of the informants were capable of giving an account of the places where their ancestors had lived, and where they were buried in a time-depth of five to ten generations and frequently they could also give detailed particulars about these people. As a rule, the oral traditions were more comprehensive the closer they approached the present time.

The information obtained from the genealogies has occasionally been used in the descriptions of the events without isolated cases being referred to by name. However, we want to use an example of the Shaashoogo-Hadiyya to illustrate how pedigrees convey more or less precise historical data. The ancestors' known siblings are mostly specified. When placing different genealogies of the Shaashoogo next to each other, the result is a widely branched network giving detailed information about the composition of the clans and lineages of this ethnic entity.

21 In general, the genealogies which I collected in southern Ethiopia were more comprehensive than those recorded among the Fellata of Darfur and the Shuwa-Arabs of Borno (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1992: 43f.).

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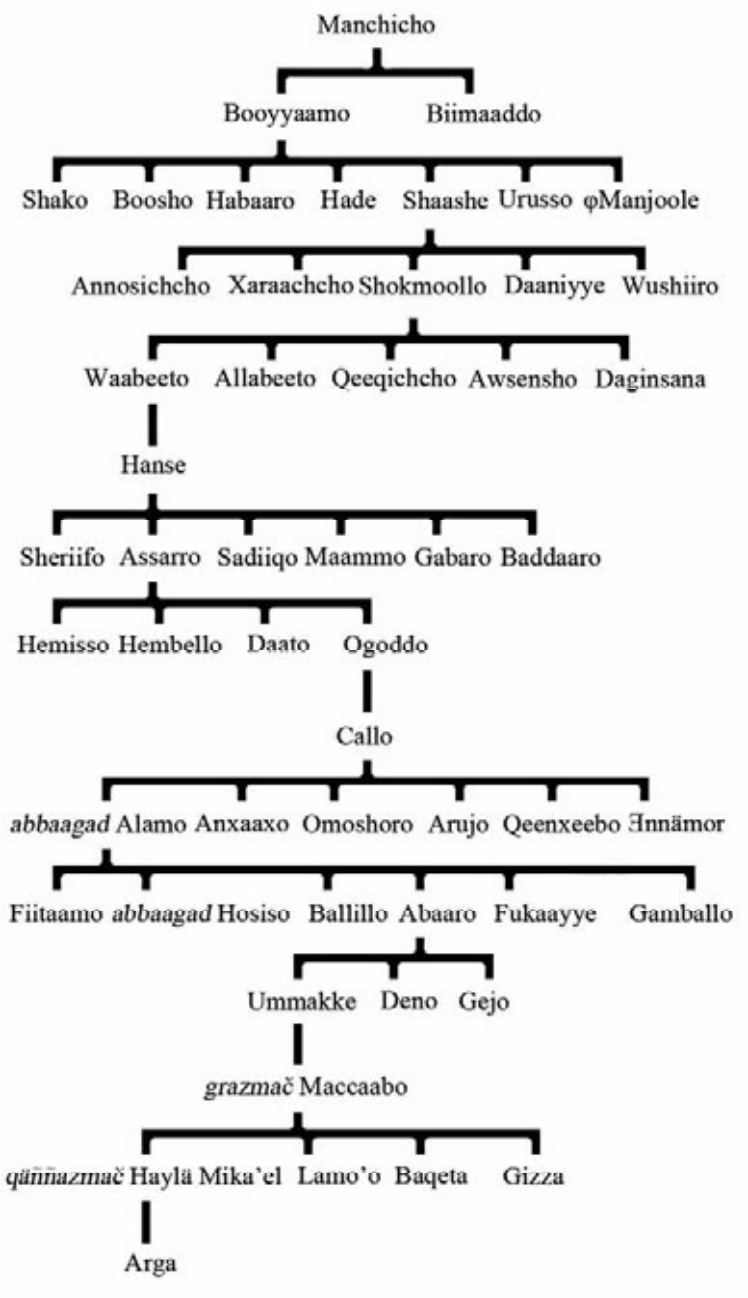
Example of a Hadiyya pedigree



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Details of this pedigree were reported by Nunishe Manta (cf. also Appendix II). The explanations start from the bottom of the genealogy. According to a common custom in north-eastern Africa and the Middle-East a child adds the name of his or her father to his or her own name.

Arga aylä Mika' l was the ruling chief of the Shaashoogo at the beginning of the 1970s. His clan (*sulla*) was Shokmoolo, his lineage (*moollo*) Assaaro. He inherited the *balabbat* position from his father whose brothers, Lamo'o and Gizza, were killed in battle without leaving any male progeny behind. Baqeta was a relatively insignificant man. Maccaabo received the title *grazma* and the ruling chief's post from the abäša conquerors, the ones he had fought against at the end of the 19th century together with his brother Ummakke. Ballillo, like Hosiso, Abaaro, Fukaayye and Gamballo, come from the marriage of their father Alamo to an Allaaba woman, whereas Fonqaamo and Fiitaamo were brothers who had been born to a Leemo woman of Alamo, Hechoote. Concerning the political skills of the Shaashoogo in the generation of Ballillo, it was Hosiso above all who was important and bore the title *abbaagad*. Their father Alamo, whom they had in common, was an outstanding figure. This was also reported of Alamo's father just like his father Callo, who preserved a glorious memory in the traditions of the Shaashoogo (cf. chap. 3.5.7). In Callo's generation the immigration to their present area of residence took place. The burial places of the next six ancestors Ogoddo, Assaaro, Hanse, Waabeeto, Shokmoolo and Shaashe were located in the lowlands of the Rift Valley between Huruufa near Lake Shaala and the Šäšämane area. The name of this place can be translated in the Hadiyya language into "people from Shaashe", and Shaashe is supposed to be buried there. His father Booyyaamo and his grandfather Manchicho, who live on in the numerous legends of the Shaashoogo, Sooro and Baadawwaachcho, are supposed to have lived in Gädäb, in the highlands bordering further to the east. Above Manchicho, Nunishe Manta's pedigree is continued with twenty-one other names of which the top ones can be identified as biblical. For the historical analysis, these do not appear to be relevant to me and should therefore not be commented on in detail here.

The ancestor Booyyaamo in the Hadiyya genealogies can be verified by written sources as a contemporary of Emperor Zär'a Yaᶜqob (1434-68) which implies that he must have lived in the second half of the 15th century (cf. chap. 3.2.5). From Arga to Booyyaamo fourteen generations must have covered a time span of about 500 years. According to this calculation, for each generation a time span of 35.7 years can be counted. One can however estimate – and in this connection other comparative values are available from other cultures in north-eastern Africa – [22] the duration

22 E.g. LEWIS (1962: 43). HENIGE 1980: 97f. For the majority of African dynasties JONES (1970: 167) gets an average value of c. 30 years per generation, whereas WAGNER (1978: 36) takes an average of 25,9 years for the length of a genealogy in Harär. He complied moreover with the instability factor of the non-recurrent plus/minus 20 and plus/minus 4 years per generation. Life expectancy in the healthier highland areas is empirically somewhat higher than in the lowland regions of the Horn of Africa, a fact which was also emphasized by numerous informants. A

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of a generation to be at best 30 years. If one goes by this, there is a time span of 420 years up to Booyyaamo, which compared to the figure of 500 years, makes a difference of 80 years. This discrepancy may be explained by the fact that a "telescoping" of the genealogy has occurred, in this case the leaving out of two or three generations. I suspect that this gap is to be placed between Booyyaamo and Shaashe. All Hadiyya traditions concur with the assumption that Booyyaamo lived in Gädäb in the highlands at the headwaters of the Wabi Šäbälle. Shaashe, however, as already mentioned, moved with his herds around the lowlands of the Rift Valley. This area had been increasingly frequented by Hadiyya groups since the end of the 16th century due to the growing pressure resulting from Oromo expansion. Furthermore, a few traditions locate the area of origin of the Shaashoogo in Seeruu (Seru), northeast of Gädäb, in which a clan named Shaashagooso (also the common Oromo name for the Shaashoogo) can still be located.

A note from the chronicle on Emperor [c] V g, . ‘ "-44) suggests (cf. chap. 3.2.2) that already in the 14th century the Shaashoogo were located in Seeruu, and that Shaashe, who according to the genealogical context has to be dated considerably later, cannot be their eponymous ancestor. Evidently after the migration of the Shaashoogo to Gädäb, they attempted to establish a genealogical connection with the local population to acquire in this way a particularly distinguished ancestor, namely Booyyaamo. The same ambition can be identified with the Urusso group of the Baadawwaachcho who, according to the majority of the oral traditions, are descendants of Booyyaamo's daughter. In their own genealogy, Urusso is either a man – a woman as an eponymous ancestor diminishes the prestige of a group according to prevailing value concepts – or is replaced by both the names Hooggo and Dodichcho. That Booyyaamo's child Manjoole was female has however not been contradicted. According to the prevailing oral tradition she married the Sidaama man Moolla and founded the Kambaata-speaking imbaaro tribe with him.[23]

With Shako, Boosho, Hade, Habaaro, progenitors of the Sooro-Hadiyya, there is no reason to doubt the ancestry to Booyyaamo. All available information suggests they had been part of the local population of the Gädäb region during the 15th and 16th centuries. However, the Sooro genealogies only mention fourteen names back to Booyyaamo on average, which again appears to be a matter of telescoping here. The continuously appearing hiatus in the genealogical materials between the end of the 15th century and end of the 16th century can be explained above all by the turmoil caused by the [c]Adal wars and the Oromo expansion which prompted many Hadiyya

value of 29-30 years appears to be most realistic for the duration of a generation in central-southern Ethiopia. SCHLEE (1994: 275-78) reveals some methodological inconsistencies in my studies regarding the number of years which can be counted for a single generation. The results of his own fieldwork among the Gabra of northern Kenya made him assume the average length of a generation of more than 30 and even approaching 40 years. BUSTORF (2011: 117) supports my chronological analysis with the argument that it basically "functions" within the context of the available data in the area of research.

23 This tradition was analysed at length in my study on the Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 27f.).

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groups to undertake extensive migrations. From Shaashe onwards, the genealogy analysed as a model here appears to be complete.

Adolf JENSEN, who researched among the Sidaama at the beginning of the 1950s, deemed that the pedigrees over 14-16 generations were "absolutely right" and moreover was convinced that a certain amount of historical information could be obtained from them.[24] Presupposing a generation period of 30 years, it enables an in-depth chronological compilation up to the beginning of the 16th century. Based on my own material, I principally would like to support this supposition. But I want to point out evident elements of uncertainty that can have arisen either through telescoping or the lengthening of pedigrees, or through the fact that groups who immigrated and were assimilated by others are inclined to adopt the genealogical tree of the dominant group in order to make them forget their foreign origin. As already indicated previously, a tendency for female ancestors to have been declared masculine also has to be taken into consideration.

In Muslim societies attempts are frequently made to gain prestige by tracing genealogies back to famous people from Arab-Islamic history.[25] This fact becomes evident, for example, in one of the genealogies of the Ittuu-Oromo inhabiting the Cärcär area. Firstly, a list of Cushitic names lead back to Oromo, the progenitor of the group, and then the pedigree continues with Arab names which then connect to Ismḍ'il Djabarti, a famous missionary in north-eastern Africa who can most probably be dated to the 11th century (cf. chap. 3.1.4 and Appendix II). The originally "pure" Oromo genealogies were extended in the above-mentioned way due to the Islamization which occurred in the 20th century. If all the genealogies in eastern Ethiopia and in Somalia which trace back to Ismḍ'il Djabarti would be assumed as authentic, then millions of Cushitic-speaking people must have descended from a small minority of Arab immigrants. For ethnic groups Islamised over the last generations in this area, manipulations of the pedigrees can thus be quite easily recognised.

A particular value of the genealogies for studies on culture history lies in their ability to give insights into the internal processes of change like, for example, the transition from a nomadic existence to sedentary farming, or profound alterations in socio-political organisation. Tradition frequently reveals under which forbears such transformations were accomplished so that at least a relative chronological dating can be achieved. Hence, a sort of "chronography" emerges which Molly MILLER (1965: 109) defined as "the attribution of dates to persons and events for which the dates are not found in the source material".

24 JENSEN n.d.: 46, 66 f., 95. However, his research interest principally applied to time depths in culture history which considerably exceeded periods of 4 – 500 years. Therefore, the period of time spanned by oral traditions did not deserve his major attention.

25 This is a wide-spread phenomenon on the whole of Africa. See e.g. GOODY 1971: 463 ff.; HENIGE 1974: 25. MACMICHAEL (1922 [1967], I: 131) was, according to my opinion, too sceptical when he apostrophised the pedigrees of Arab tribes in the Sudan as historically "true" only in the sense of being "true" as in a parable.

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The remarkably high standard of information which researchers can derive from the genealogies of the Hadiyya and many other peoples of north-eastern Africa, finds its explanation in the particular conditions of their social structure. The pedigrees demonstrate, up to a certain extent, special relationships and obligations between clan and lineage groups and between individuals. They are often communicated when people who do not know each other meet, in order to compare the descent of the other person with that of their own.[26] Moreover, the genealogies are an indispensable element for the traditional rules of marriage. Despite the occidental and Muslim influences – Islamic rules are outstanding for preferential marriages of parallel cousins and cross cousins – strict exogamous requirements continue to dominate at clan level up to the present. Before every marriage ceremony, the male elders examine the paternal and maternal pedigrees of both partners in order to check whether the marriage does not contravene the unwritten marriage laws. However, a customary rule of the Amhara simplifying the complicated traditional pattern is increasingly gaining ground. It implies that the ancestral line of the marriage partners has to be different up to the seventh paternal ancestor. In principle, it is expected of every man to be able to trace his genealogy as comprehensively as possible, and furthermore there are specialists in each group who are in a position to give coherent genealogical information.[27]

Regarding the qualitative degree to which genealogies are preserved, egalitarian societies in southern Ethiopia hardly differ from those with distinct monarchical institutions. However, among the Hadiyya it can be asserted that the genealogies of eminent families or those of dignitaries, like for example of the *anjaanchcho* (High Priest), were obviously handed down with more completeness and accuracy than those of most "commoners". This does not mean in each and every case, that the members of these "prominent" families also know them best. Professional guardians of tradition as in the Christian Ethiopian Empire or the *Griots* in West African monarchies [28] were obviously non-existent in our study area as far as the historical sources go back.

In contrast to genealogy, dynasty is usually not a linear father-son progression, because occasionally a brother of the ruler or another person succeeds him. (Female persons in the position of rulers were virtually unknown in the areas of our concern.) For the dynasties in southern Ethiopia the number of years every individual king ruled is recorded by the collective memory of the oral tradition. From the time of the Amharic conquest as a *terminus post quem*, a complete chronology can be reconstructed by adding the numbers of years of the subsequent reigns. HABERLAND could

26 This custom was frequently practiced still in the 1970s. During my stays in Hadiyyaland from the 1990s onwards I could hardly observe it any more.

27 This also applies to other areas of north-eastern Africa. For example in May 1969 KNUTSSON could record the genealogies of the whole village of Korbaria in Akkälä Guzay (Eritrea), altogether 6000 names, from the memory of six men (SAVARD 1970: 298).

28 Cf. BIOBAKU 1955: 13; BENZING 1971: 78ff. In kingdoms of southern Ethiopia, such as Wälaytta or Kambaata, professional *Griots* of the West African type were not known.

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reconstruct a dynasty list for the Wälaytta which could be dated from 1894 back to approximately 1600, constituting an important means of dating also for the history of the neighbouring Hadiyya groups.[29]

A further valuable resource for the chronology can be derived from people possessing the *gadaa* order. In its paradigmatic version this cyclical generation-set system usually implied five eight year periods recurring every forty years. The names of the officiating *gadaa* leaders were – at least before 1955 when the system still functioned – traditionally handed down for the most part. HABERLAND (1963a: 454) could compile an almost complete list of *gadaa* headmen of the Arsi-Oromo up to 1747. Information on events associated with particular individuals in this list can thus be dated within the respective eight year time span.

Detailed biographies were recorded from a number of important informants, each of which revealed certain events up to the beginning of the abäša occupation, i. e., shortly before the turn of the 19th century. Despite the individual and personal focus of their contents, the data gained from the biographical material are an important source for the analysis of the socio-economic and cultural development of the last eighty years (counted back from the 1970s). This applied not only to Hadiyya informants but also to biographical interviews recorded from abäša colonists in order to get the full picture with regard to the younger history of southern Ethiopia.

Amongst the informally handed-down oral traditions, a description of important incidents and deeds which took place in the life of an informant is particularly relevant to our study. They can either be fully or partly derived from his own experience and observation, but they can also result from the general level of knowledge which exists about such events within his clan or ethnic group. The most salient political events serving also as chronological markers for determining the age of the informants were the years when Emperor M nil k II conquered the respective areas, the battle of Sägäle (1916) which ended the rule of Iyasu Mika'el, and the Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

Where the threshold of personally experienced events in the lives of the informants is exceeded, the sphere of "orality" starts which may be labelled the "tribal" or "ethnic" tradition. Although, in principle, it represents the collective property of a respective group, it nevertheless means that only a limited number of people are familiar with its entire spectrum because of the considerable demands it puts on the intellect, memory and interests of its members. When historical methodology reached an advanced stage in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, Ernst BERNHEIM defined "tradition" as "everything handed down about the events, gone through and conveyed by human opinion" and understood by it historical paintings, legends, anecdotes and historiography.[30] With regard to the illiterate peoples of

29 Information related by Eike HABERLAND. The bulk of his materials on the Wälaytta have remained unpublished and were transferred by the Frobenius Institute to Jon Abbink at Leyden University. The chronology which I composed in the above-mentioned way for the Kambaata reaches back to c. 1600 (BRAUKÄMPER 1983, chap. 2.4).

30 Quoted from BRANDT (1969: 62; our translation from German). In modern historical anthropol-

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southern Ethiopia it must also be understood as the sum of the cultural value concepts, the "tribal laws" (*seera* in Hadiyyisa; *heera* in Oromiffaa) and ultimately also the handed-down tradition of historical facts, migrations, wars, peace agreements and processes of culture change. Reports on the deeds of famous forefathers take up a lot of space wherein events are described in detail – at least in the 18th century. They are sometimes preserved as heroic sagas which are often enhanced through imaginative fantasies, however.[31] Because such traditions represent the most important genre of source materials between the 17th and 19th centuries, researchers have to recognise the ahistorical admixtures and critically analyse the relevant contents.[32]

Inasmuch as it concerns orally transmitted traditions, appearing in the form of coherent passages as reported by informants in their own words, the names of the respected individuals have been cited. As for the rest of the material, it has been included in the overall interpretation anonymously. A reference to all individual pieces of information would hardly result in a coherent depiction of the history of the Hadiyya.

The question of the historical consciousness of the people may not be left out of consideration as it is their past that is being reconstructed here. The Hadiyya portrayed themselves as a group proud of their history for whom the glorification of their past gained an even greater significance the more they sensed the yoke of subjugation by the abäša conquerors. Their conscious and unconscious ideological concepts exert a considerable impact also on the present interests inherent in the historical discourse.[33] Manipulations of the pedigrees by the Muslims in a way already mentioned are one of the measures to strengthen ethnic self-esteem.

The way in which each individual struggles to make his family history look respectable applies in a similar degree also to the collective traditions of the group. That means they are equally exposed to the group's prestige needs and consequently to distortions. This was most apparent with reports on conflicts with neighbouring groups where warlike capability and victory were emphasized and ignominy and defeat downplayed. We endeavoured therefore to compare the respective versions of both adversaries one against the other and to take into account not only the convergences but also the divergences throughout. This led to remarkable correctives with the relationship of the Hadiyya to the Kambaata and Wälaytta, for example, or also

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ogy these genres of information sources are also known as "ethnographic data". For a more detailed analysis cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1992: 38f.

31 Examples in this category were documented by SHACK and MARCOS (1974) about the Gurage. Also the *Moora* type of the Hadiyya songs may be mentioned here (BRAUKÄMPER/TILAHUN MISHAGO 1999: 72-80).

32 Analyses in this field were carried out by Jürgen JENSEN (1973: 195, *passim*) on the islands of Lake Victoria.

33 BUSTORF ' ´ . ´ Vg , . ´T T has extensively dealt with the problem of historical consciousness and its relevance to the present political conditions. His conclusions can be regarded as paradigmatic for the Hadiyya and other ethnic unities in southern Ethiopia.

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amongst the warring Hadiyya groups themselves. It has to be stated that the contradictions sometimes remained unresolved.

For researchers who have to concern themselves with the traditions of people without written records, it has become a compulsory exercise to point out with a certain amount of melancholy that with increasing literacy the power of the memory and also the readiness to preserve and pass on the ancestral heritage by word of mouth has declined. CURTIN expressed this in the following words:

> "Today's historians are therefore the last generation that will have such an opportunity to record those older traditions that still exist. The unusual opportunity implies an unusual obligation – an obligation not merely to make use of traditions when they do exist, but to preserve them with care and to leave them for the future."[34]

I could personally identify during the short time span between 1970 and 2005 a certain dwindling of the knowledge – in part due to the death of some of the most knowledgeable elders. It is certainly true that many oral traditions fade away irretrievably even though just on the eve of the revolution of 1974 in southern Ethiopia a stronger consciousness of the intrinsic ethnic-cultural values began to emerge. Local intellectuals like Haile Bubbamo Arficio and Dr. Haile Wolde-Mikael, as well as teachers and high school students in the rural districts, began to sporadically record Hadiyya traditions. The study of the history of this region is still at an early stage, and with the many ethnic groups living there the documentation of the oral traditions is an urgent task.[35]

2.3 The Written Sources

The areas inhabited by Hadiyya and related groups are adjacent to civilizations in sub-Saharan Africa which possessed literacy before the arrival of the Europeans: the Arab-Islamic zones of influence in the Sudan belt and the Christian Ethiopian Empire. In present-day southern Ethiopia these two representatives of an autochthonous literate culture encountered each other and provided a certain amount of written records also for their neighbouring areas. Additionally, the advent of the Portuguese in the 16th century meant European historiography commenced relatively early. As a result, the situation with regard to written records is more favourable in the area of our concern than in the bulk of sub-Saharan Africa.

If we attempt to classify the written documents according to fundamental chronological considerations – an occasional overlapping of the different stages can, however, not be avoided – the following sequence results:

34 CURTIN 1968: 369. It seems to me that Western researchers, who are still in a hegemonic position concerning institutional and financial means of scholarship, are to some extent confronted with a moral challenge with regard to the documentation of cultures exposed to rapid changes.

35 It can hardly be doubted that this statement is even more topical now than three decades ago, when the first edition of this book was published.

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1. records of Christian Ethiopian chroniclers
2. documents of Arab historiographers and geographers
3. reports of European travellers and researchers up to the end of the 18th century
4. reports of the travellers and researchers from the 19th century onwards
5. archival materials (administrative documents, statistics, etc.) since the time of the Italian occupation.[36]

Chronicles about rulers of the Christian Ethiopian Empire that are written in the old ecclesiastical language G ᶜ z, in which the Hadiyya are mentioned, trace back chronologically to the 13th century A.D. The time span from presumably the oldest, the *t i ä* , which was recorded approximately in the course of the 14th cen- g R ´ ‘ ’ , ´T ´ , . T , . M . P “ ‘ -97), albeit with quite a number of gaps, covers a period of almost two centuries. As a rule, they are only annals which mention important individual events ordered in a chronological sequence. From the above-mentioned time span there are most notably details about the Emperors ᶜ V g, . ‘ ”-44), Dawit I (1382- ” ‘ G ” ”-29), Zär'a Yaᶜ qob (1434-68), Bäᶜ dä Maryam (1468-78), Naᶜod (1494-1508), L bnä D ng l (1508-40), Gälawdewos (1540-“ . VM . P “ ‘ -97).[37]

Before we enter into an extensive analysis of the information that we could glean for the history of the Hadiyya from the above-mentioned historical materials, we want to address some general points regarding the criticism of sources. The writings were mostly drafted some years after the death of a ruler as the chronicler was at risk while writing about that particular monarch during his lifetime. This danger was less evident after the ruler's death.[38] Historiography is often confronted with such a problem (see for example the Bible), nevertheless it does not seem so serious that the value of the information itself would be crucially affected. A more serious problem evolves when the writings are largely centred on a ruling personality and contain a one-sided "history of events" such as warlike operations, negotiations and dynastic politics. They were written to glorify the kings and do not constitute either a striving for an objective portrayal or a history of the people and the general cultural conditions. In the Christian Empire, literate people were a miniscule minority of clerics whose possibilities for writing were additionally constrained by the rulers. Whatever records educated ecclesiastics produced, they were written for the rulers and high-

36 Also secondary sources of data comprising both published and unpublished materials related to the topic under study have been consulted at different levels.

37 The chronicles of these rulers were translated into English by specialists in Oriental and Ethiopian Studies and a selection of these texts was compiled by PANKHURST (1967).

38 , Tj T ´T ´ , . T , RM . P , TV , have been concluded only in 1666, 69 years after the death of the Emperor (EWALD 1847a: 43). The islands on Lake Zʷay are said to have been a shelter for valuable manuscripts (cf. EWALD 1847a: 7)

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ranking dignitaries and almost exclusively dealt with the "glory" of the King and the Church. Because of these special conditions, the chroniclers did not dare to write about historical events of the period. . , Z T Tj T , . ZZ g, bearing the title *aläqa* of Gamo, who wrote a "History of the Galla" in 1593.[39]

With regard to information on southern Ethiopia the Arabic written sources are more sporadic than the chronicles of the Christian Empire. However, they are of markedly more interest to researchers insofar as they reveal a distinctive interest of their authors in the geographical and cultural conditions of the areas they were dealing with. People like al-Idrisi (1100-1166), Ibn Sa[c]id (1214-74), Ab 'l-Fidd (1273-1331), Fa l Alldh al-[c]Umari (1301-1349) and al-Ma rizi (1364-1442) to whom we indebted for valuable information about north-eastern Africa, belonged to the most learned scholars of their time. Admittedly, they do not rely on their own observations for details, which are relevant to the Hadiyya, but rather on eye-witness reports of travellers, and yet they contain a number of revealing statements including meticulous topographical data. In some cases, passages of the works had been taken from precursors. Al-Ma rizı, for instance, was faithful to al-[c]Umari and Ab l'-Fidd in his compilation of the texts. However, he extended the description of the events up to the chronological context of his own era. The eye-witness Shihdb al-Din b. [c]Abd al- ddir (1506-43), also known under the name [c]Arab-Faki , completed a monumental work containing a wealth of information about the peoples of southern Ethiopia. It covered the period of the "holy wars" under *im m* A mad b. Ibrdhim against the Christian Empire between 1527 and 1535. Handwritten copies of the historical opus commonly known as *Fut al- abaša,* which presumably still exist in southern Ethiopia up to the present, are considered to have manifested a sense of opposition against the government and were therefore kept as a sort of secret documentation. The informants telling such stories, mostly knew that a European translation of the *Fut* existed[40], and they alleged that the *Färän i* (Europeans) had "stolen" the text. Some informants believed that a sequel to the *Fut* existed, supposedly in Cairo, which dealt with the deeds of A mad Grañ's successor *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid, but (according to my state of knowledge) this has never been substantiated. Muslims of south-eastern Ethiopia tended to regard the possession of a "*kit b"* (Arabic: book), even if it dealt with trivial notes, as a kind of conspiratorial act and therefore permitted an inspection or a photographic copying only in exceptional cases. By way of contrast, priests of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were usually proud of written documents and readily permitted one to inspect them.

When it comes to portraying the events within their own group in a preferably flattering way, the Arabic-Islamic sources are subjected to the same distortions and manipulations as the Christian Ethiopian ones and, as stated before, also with the

39 See BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 61. His "Introductory Remarks" of the book on A ma Giyorgis present a comprehensive analysis of Ethiopian historiography until the early 20th century.

40 An annotated French translation was procured by BASSET (1897). The report on Shihdb al-Din will be cited hereafter as *Fut* . See also NERAZZINI 1891.

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oral traditions. PARET and WAGNER have particularly exemplified the problem of anachronisms with the example of chronicles from Harär.[41]

European records on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa were introduced sporadically from the 13th century onwards. Marco Polo, for example, mentioned the "Saracen province Adem" (cAdal) in the Somali Peninsula.[42] However, the really important phase for the documentation of source materials did not start before the powerful political and commercial presence of the Portuguese in the hemisphere of the Indian Ocean from the beginning of the 16th century. Pieces of information on the Hadiyya areas can be found by Brother Thomas from Ganget who was interviewed about his journey in 1523 by the Venetian Alessandro Zorzi, and by Franzisco Alvares who had been in a diplomatic mission in Ethiopia between 1520 and 1526, augmenting his base of information from Pero de Covilhã's reports.[43]

The first highlight experienced by European historiography in north-eastern Africa was in the first third of the 17th century. António Fernandes undertook a journey in 1613/14 starting out from the Ethiopian court which led him through Gurage, Kambaata and Allaaba and some other areas. Furthermore, we owe important information about the history and the geography of Ethiopia to the Jesuits Manoel de Almeida and Jerome Lobo, who stayed in the country in 1622 and 1624 respectively until the expulsion of the Roman Catholics under Emperor Fasilädäs (1633). A chronicle on Fasilädäs's predecessor Susenyos (1607-32) was written by the Portuguese cleric Pereira. An Ethiopian disciple of the Jesuits, Abba Gregorius, who found his way to Europe in the middle of the 17th century, served as the major informant for the pioneering work of Hiob LUDOLF (1642-1704) on the geographical, political and cultural conditions in the Horn of Africa. In Olfert DAPPER's "Description of Africa" (1670), a compilation of literary sources and contemporary eye witness reports, there are some references to be found on the territories south of the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

As Ethiopia withdrew more and more into self-imposed isolation after the enforced exodus of the Jesuit missionaries (1633), authentic reports from European travellers discontinued for a considerable time. The Scottish traveller James Bruce, who stayed in northern Ethiopia from 1769 to 1772, compiled a five volume work in encyclopaedic bands on the state of knowledge about the past and present of this country. His information about the Hadiyya was however based mainly on the literature already existing and is thus to be seen only as secondary source material for the entire region south of the Christian Empire.

Researchers travelling in the 19th century were also reluctant to bring southern Ethiopia into their working sphere. Around 1840 the protestant missionaries Carl

41 PARET 1974: 422; WAGNER 1976: 186, 196 ff. Regarding inherent methodological problems in general see also GOODY (1971: 455, 463ff.).

42 Marco Polo quoted at RAMUSIO (1606: 59, passim). For European travellers of the 15th century in Ethiopia see CRAWFORD (1958: 28ff.).

43 English editions of these reports were compiled by CRAWFORD (1958: 28ff.) and BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD (1961).

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Wilhelm Isenberg and Johann Ludwig Krapf recorded some new data from informants on areas south of Šäwa including Hadiyyaland. Research activity livened up at the end of the century, stimulated by the imperialist ambitions of the European powers, as everywhere in Africa. In this regard, the Italians and the French had the biggest share in central-southern Ethiopia. Names like Gustavo Bianchi, Vittorio Bottego, Leopoldo Traversi, Antonio Cecchi, Jules Borelli, Guglielmo Massaja, Antoine d'Abbadie, R. Martial de Salviac and Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet denote a number of important researchers. A few Europeans took part in the military campaigns of Emperor M nil k II in his conquest of the south recording their observations in travel narratives; others gathered information about undocumented historical and geographical facts in the course of various missions sent to the Ethiopian imperial court. Only a small part of this material involved modern research methods and yielded scientific results of a high standard, but they nevertheless constitute an invaluable treasure of primary source materials for areas inhabited by illiterate peoples.

At the beginning of the 20th century, after Ethiopia's victory over the Italians at [c]Adwa (1896) and its subsequent recognition by the colonial powers as an independent state, the interest of Europeans in the Empire as a target of booty temporarily diminished. As a result, journeys of foreign travellers to the southern regions annexed by M nil k II became scarcer. Moreover, exploration expeditions generally became less attractive, because most of the important geographical mysteries as to the course of the great rivers seemed to have been resolved. The Hadiyya areas were touched upon during the travels of Carlo von Erlanger (1899-1901), Robert du Bourg de Bozas (1901-03), François B. Aza s and Roger Chambard (1926), Amedeo di Savoia-Aosta and Enrico Cerulli (1928), Adolf E. Jensen and Hellmut Wohlenberg (1934/35). Before the Second World War, with the exception of Enrico Cerulli, who must be acknowledged as the pioneer of the Hadiyya-Sidaama studies, hardly anybody had looked into the history and culture of ethnic groups in central-southern Ethiopia on a comparable scientific basis. Worth mentioning is the "History of the Galla" written by the Ethiopian A ma Giyorgis Garba Mas (1850-1915) which contains revealing information about the Hadiyya, and the chronicle on the rule of s . , TVZg ´T , T Z M T V P g ""-1912).[44]

Administration files from the time of the Italian occupation (1936-41) stored in the archives in Rome and further information which could be obtained about this phase, even if only in terms of the European-centred colonial history, have recently been officially released for historical studies.[45] The Italian war reports contain only a

44 An English translation of the opus of A ma Giyorgis was provided by BAIRU TAFLA (1987). This "History of the Galla", written towards the end of the 19th century, obviously relied less ´T g , . ZZ g's text than the book written by *aläqa* TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM (HUDSON/TEKESTE NEGASH 1987). Cf. also CAQUOT 1957: 124. MAURICE DE COPPET (1930/31) produced an annotated French translation of the chronicle on Menilek by the imperial court writer Guèbrè Sellassié.

45 As one of the first foreign scholars Hermann Amborn received permission in 1976 to work on

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few indications on events in southern Ethiopia and the historical, ethnological and geographical research about this area remained scarce during the time of the colonial occupation. With regard to Hadiyya-Sidaama studies – apart from Cerulli – the linguist Martino M. Moreno and the author of a Sidaama monograph, S. Simoni, can be mentioned.

Archive materials exist inside Ethiopia as well. However, documents written in the Amharic language since the1940s, in which land disputes, criminal trials, administrative regulations, etc. are recorded, have rarely been investigated by our re-research team. In Hossäyna, for example, I could occasionally get an insight into some files which contained information on the number of inhabitants, taxation assessments and the founding of churches. With the aid of an interpreter I then wrote down some of the seemingly important data. Here lies a source on the more recent phase of history which can unquestionably be gone into more thoroughly in the future. The bulk of the information sources for the 20th century so far consisted of the published materials and the oral traditions recorded by myself.

From the 1950s southern Ethiopia became the focus of attention for ethnological fieldwork by the Frobenius Institute at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Adolf Jensen and Helmut Straube studied the cultural history of three Sidaama subgroups, but most of their results remained unpublished due to the premature death of the two researchers.[46] As far as central-southern Ethiopia is concerned, Eike Haberland worked among the Arsi of the lowlands and among the Wälaytta, the neighbours of the Hadiyya proper.

During the last decades of the 20th century, a number of linguistic and anthropological contributions about the Gurage and Sidaama have been written. Herma Plazikowsky-Brauner, who lived for a long time in the vicinity of Buta3ira as a settler, collected information on the language, the culture and the history of the Hadiyya proper, particularly the Libidoo, but unfortunately most of her field notes were lost under dubious circumstances.[47]

Fortunately, in recent times indigenous inhabitants, even though they are not trained historians or anthropologists, have also given their attention to documentation concerning their people's historical and cultural heritage and started making valuable contributions in this field. It cannot be our intention here to list all the published and unpublished contributions to the study of the Hadiyya proper and historically related ethnic groups which have been accomplished over the last three decades.[48]

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the archival material in Rome concerning the Gidole area in Gamu-Gofa.

46 Adolf Jensen died in 1965 and Helmut Straube in 1984. As a member of the Frobenius Institute (until 1995) I was permitted to look through their materials.

47 Because of this fact, the quality of the published materials of PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (e.g. 1957a and 1957b) suffered considerably.

48 A "Select Bibliography on Hadiyya" is to be found in BRAUKÄMPER/TILAHUN MISHAGO (1999: 94-96). It is, of course, now out of date. See also the contributions of LAPISO G. DILEBO 1983, 2003.

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2.4 Periodization of Hadiyya History

The essentials for defining the periods in the history of Ethiopia are so remarkably different from the rest of Africa that one has to frame a specific classification for this region. The universally accepted classification in European historiography since the 17th century of a chronological division into three periods, namely antiquity, the middle-ages and the modern era was established by historians in Europe and basically accepted also for many other parts of the world such as Ethiopia.[49] However, it is does not seem to be entirely applicable to the conditions of countries in north-eastern Africa and the question of transferability has remained a fundamental problem still to be resolved.

As from the 13th century, the Ethiopian highlands as far as Käfa and Gamu-Gofa epitomised in many ways a certain unity in their cultural development. This unity to some extent continued to exist after the separation of the southern part from Christian Empire by the Oromo expansion in the 16th century. A historical monograph of a people in southern Ethiopia has to be aware of this interconnection and for its chronological classification it must concentrate largely on the events of the past which were markedly powerful within the whole region. The major periods were determined by accumulations of important events, which at the same time correlate with climaxes of historiographical activities. They are by no means phases of approximately the same length, but they are more or less reflected by the respective availability of source materials.

For the Hadiyya, the first comprehensible phase of their history evidenced by source material begins approximately with the establishment of the Solomonic Dynasty in the "medieval" Ethiopian Empire (1269). It extends in a largely continuous development up to the outbreak of the "holy wars" which the ᶜAdal Muslims waged against the Christians (1529-68). The period of this conflict and that of the partly overlapping Oromo expansion depict comparatively well-documented epochs, undoubtedly constituting one of the apogees of literary sources. For the historical analysis of this period, oral traditions which sporadically go back to the 15th century can provide supplementary information at best.

There was a lapse in written records for approximately two hundred years after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ethiopia (1633) which had contained at least marginal references to peoples south of the Christian Empire. For the time span up to the beginning of the conquest of Hadiyyaland by the abäša (1875), oral traditions provide virtually the only category of source material. The campaigns undertaken by M nil k II to subjugate the south can likewise only be analysed with the aid of orally transmitted traditions. For these events, however, which are to be seen in the framework of modern imperialist history, some written records by Ethiopian and European authors exist. For the period after 1900 the information sources con-

49 This can to some extent be stated for the historical works of SABELLI (1936), DORESSE (1957) and SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE (1972), who have more or less intensively struggled with this problem of periodization. For the classification in European history see BAYER (1965: 129f.).

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siderably increase their value in quantity as well as in quality and thus permit a classification which is at the same time more detailed and more critical than for most of the preceding epochs. From now on the classification follows the chronology of important dates and events in the history of "Greater Ethiopia": the period of civil war turmoil from the death of M nil k (1913) up to the disempowerment of Iyasu Mika'el (1917), the start of the Italian invasion (1935) and Ethiopian Restoration ´ , P´ g M T after the defeat of the Italians (1941-44). The subsequent period until the outbreak of the Revolution of 1974 is the last chapter which concludes this present study.[50] The period thereafter must be the objective of new studies on the modern cultural and political situation.[51]

50 YAGYA (1974: 656) suggested 5 phases for the whole modern period in Ethiopia. YAGYA (1974: 656) struggled with this problem and proposed for the modern times in Ethiopia a periodization of five phases: 1. 1917/18-1930, 2. 1930-35, 3. 1935-41, 4. 1941-54, 5. 1955 to the present (i. e., 1974).

51 This has meanwhile been accomplished to an enjoyable extent by the studies of DOHRMANN (2004), HORSTMANN (2010 and in prep.) and BUSTORF (2011). Cf. also PETER (1999), who provided a thorough monograph on the socio-cultural situation of the Hadiyya proper.

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3. History of the Hadiyya

3.1 Traditions Relating to Country of Origin and Ethnogenesis

Perceptions of "original" places of abode and progenitors are of limited value for historical research as they mostly border on the realm of mythology. Nevertheless, for a historical monograph of an illiterate people it is informative and imperative to record all genres of orally transmitted legends[1] about their descent, since it is these that have helped to shape the state of ethnic consciousness up to the present day.

3.1.1 Traditions of the Hadiyya Proper

The close relationship between north-east Africa and the Arabian Peninsula which has existed since ancient times also found expression in the traditions of the Hadiyya. Almost all peoples of this group are of the opinion that their forefathers originated from a country beyond the Red Sea, the name of which they largely claim to be Arabia. Only some of the recorded traditions, in addition, went in a northerly direction and localised the ancient dwelling places in Israel. Beyond the progenitor Hadiyya, the genealogy with purely Cushitic names continued up to another category with biblical names (Yiroham, Minasse amongst others). Here, unequivocally, the limitations of the historically concrete analytical part of the pedigrees are reached.

Widely disseminated is the legend that it was Hadiyya himself who crossed the Red Sea and founded settlements on the opposite Ethiopian coastline. Up to today, he is found in praise songs of the Haballo clan as a man who originally came from Senne (allegedly ana^{c}d') in Yemen. His descendants occupied an area called Rayya or Hirayya and spread themselves out over large parts of present-day southern Ethiopia.

Informants claimed that Hirayya – provided that they were not restricted to the vague statement – was situated somewhere in northern Ethiopia "east of Gondär", mostly in an area equated with today's Wällo and T gray Provinces which was inhabited by an Oromo subgroup of the same name. However, the Rayyaa-Oromo verifiably migrated there only from the 17th century onwards (cf. chap. 3.4.3) and it was only afterwards that it became widely known as a regional designation derived from their name.[2]

1 JENSEN (1976: 179) summarised legends dealing with descent and migration including genealogies and dynastic traditions under the term "historic legends", BENZING (1971: 40) labelled this complex "myths of origin". I would like to differentiate between "legendary traditions", which will be dealt with outside the chronological survey in this chapter, and actual historical traditions that are separately analysed (cf. chap. 2.2).

2 In contrast to many other peoples of southern Ethiopia who claim descent from the name of famous sites in the north, e.g. the Gurage (see chap. 1.1) and the foremost clan of the Wälaytta

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According to a version reported by the Hadiyya themselves and by the Kambaata, the eponymous progenitor was born to an Amhara woman and a demon (*djinn*) on African soil in a place called Managator near the coast. The features formerly attributed to the Hadiyya, namely restlessness and ferocity, are interpreted as applying to a paternally inherited trait.

The name of the country most frequently mentioned by the traditions as that of their forbears is Weera (Weeri). It is said to have been located on the coast of a sea. The word also means olive tree in the language of the Hadiyya and is repeatedly used as designation for localities. Some informants tended to believe that a place called Hadiyya existed in the area around the northern Somali coast. The repeated appearance of the same name is a wide-spread phenomenon of southern Ethiopia. However, concrete historical conclusions can only be drawn from this in exceptional cases because the affinity of Cushitic languages always renders it difficult to attribute a certain place from the historical traditions to a present ethnic group.

For peoples with a marked genealogical awareness, there is a lively interest in defining the position of their own group amongst the neighbours and to find potential explanations for links in the pedigrees and mutual relationships. According to a Hadiyya legend, Minaado, one of the earliest descendants of the first man on earth, Adaamo, and sometimes equated with the biblical Noah, had four sons whom he named Hadiyyo (Hadiyya), Oromo, Goloodo and Amaaro. Hadiyya and Oromo became the progenitors of the groups named after them, whereas the Omotic-speaking peoples trace back to Goloodo and the Amhara back to Amaaro. Mythical legends report that a rivalry broke out between Hadiyyo and Amaaro over supremacy which took place in virtually the same way as the biblical quarrel between the brothers Jacob and Esau.[3] When Minaado, corresponding to Isaac in the Old Testament, was old and blind, he decided to give his favourite son Hadiyyo, who was the better hunter, his blessing and requested him to kill a buffalo and thereafter prepare the liver. Minaado's wife, who desired the paternal blessing for her favourite son, Amaaro, instructed him in the absence of his brother, to slaughter a steer and to prepare the animal's liver for a special meal. In order to trick his father and to fake the thickly haired skin of Hadiyyo, he was to cover himself with a goatskin. Amaaro did so, received his father's blessing, and fled away in expectation of his brother's

from the T gray area (HABERLAND 1965: 256 f., *passim*), parts of the Kambaata from Gondär (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 32f., 47, 171, 190, 195, 284, 290), the Amaaro from Mänz in Šäwa (STRAUBE 1963: 82) as well as the Yäm (STRAUBE 1963: 278 ff.), nnarya and Boša (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954; 150, D'ABBADIE 1890: 258; CECCHI 1888: 404, Fn. 1; LANGE 1982: 18, 50), Käfa (BIEBER 1920, 109), Gofa (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: Lxvii) and Dawro (D'ABBADIE 1890: 201; MYLIUS 1906: 411, 413; BIEBER 1908: 109) such a tradition is not particularly characterised among the Hadiyya who always report on a country of orgin in an eastward direction.

3 The story of this biblical conflict was repeatedly empathised in different varieties of new motifs among ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia. PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 81) recorded it, for example, from the Allaaba.

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revenge. Hadiyyo returned from the hunt, learnt of Amaaro's deception and wrathfully pursued him. Once Amaaro had fled over the Awaš River, the waters rose so extremely that Hadiyyo could no longer follow after him. Amaaro threw the rest of the provisions for the journey, given to him by his mother, into the water. As a consequence, fish developed which the Amhara have spurned ever since. It was the power of Minaado's blessing, the ancestral progenitor, which reserved for the Amhara the right to rule Ethiopia.

3.1.2 Traditions of the Sidaama

Knowledge of the origins of the Sidaama people's ancestral legends is due above all to the endeavours of Adolf E. Jensen and Stanislaw Stanley,[4] and show definite analogies with those of the Hadiyya, leaving no doubt about the close relationship between these groups.

STANLEY conveyed the following version.[5] The first forbear who reached the coast of north-eastern Africa was Sywo. He had a son named Byrbania who then fathered Sidee. This man Sidee is considered to be the common ancestor for the T gray as well as the Sidaama people. Under his son Seleema the two groups began to differ from each other. His descendants Bushshe and Malde'a migrated from T gray southwards going through the area today occupied by the Arsi until they reached a land called Dawa. Bushshe and Malde'a crossed the mountain region Adaro (Konia) and settled in a place called Reidje, located between Lake Abbayya and the area near the present-day site Dila. Amaachcho, one of their companions mentioned by name, stayed behind, but they continued their journey through Yanaase and Shabadiino into present-day Sidaama country, to a place called Godo. However, when Bushshe began to look down at Malde'a as he would to a servant, Malde'a moved on to Yanaase with his two sons, leaving behind him the Alatta clan. This happened at a time when King Gogoloyordea ruled the Hoofa, the autochthonous group of this area.

In a second version, Sidaama tradition relates that the Alatta, Qeweena and Sawoola sub-tribes came from the Dawa region in the south. Some Arsi and Allaaba, whose ancestry is derived from Malde'a, migrated with them. The same origin is indicated for the Wälaytta, Amarro and Hoku-Gu33i.

A third version from Sidaama tradition, similar to the above-mentioned Minaado story of the Hadiyya, recognises their demotic need to establish a comprehensible connection with the people in their range of vision. Legend there has it that six brothers, namely Sidaantichcho, Arussichcho, Hokichcho, Uragichcho, Matichcho

4 The material of these authors in which I could gratefully have access to, largely correspond with my own materials. LONFERNINI (1971: 12) who did not show great interest in historical questioning, merely got the information that the Sidaama came from Ganaale river.

5 STANLEY n.d.: 35, 37. Cf. also the traditions recorded by BRØGGER (1973) which are largely consistent with it. Cf. also my own analysis on the ethnogenesis of the Sidaama (BRAUKÄMPER 1978: 123-30).

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and Boorantichcho, lived in a place called Adoola. The area became too crowded and thus they decided to separate and search for new places to settle. Boorantichcho went south to Boorana country, Arussichcho crossed over the river Ganaale and turned north-east in the direction of Bale. Only Hokichcho remained in the Adoola area. Sidaantichhco, Matichcho and Uragichcho stayed together in the vicinity of the ancestral homeland. After that Matichcho and Sidaantichcho moved off westwards in the direction of Lake Abbayya. They migrated along the length of the Bilate and reached the present-day site Laku which is occupied today by a Sidaama group, the Shabadiino. Here they dispersed and went separate ways.

A final version which was most frequently told to me named Bushshe and Malde'a as the progenitors of the entire Sidaama. They were not brothers and had different origins. Bushshe came from Dawa which differs from the same-named river in Booranaland and was supposedly located in an area to the north-east, not able to be more closely specified by today's generation. Malde'a began his migration in an area designated as Migo, which was also to be found in the north-east. This accounts for the fact, significant culturally and historically, that all the Sidaama buried their dead in this direction.[6] Malde'a remained a nomadic herder, whereas Bushshe became a sedentary peasant.

Also the mythical traditions recorded by JENSEN (n.d.: 47 f.; our translation) in the mid-1950s contain revealing background information about the world view and the value concepts of the contemporary Sidaama. They furthermore allow certain conclusions to be made in regard to cultural historical constellations of an earlier time period. The accounts left behind by him are as follows:

> "Bushshe, whose name means soil or earth, came to Sidaama country from Boorana via Kooyira. The reason given for his escape from Boorana was that during his time two ogres made up of flesh in the front and of stone at the back, lived there. Referred to as *lekimtsa* ("Galla": devour) people had to bring their children to them to be devoured. When the people had left the country, the ogres killed each other. Thereupon, some returned again to Booranaland. But not Bushshe. He had a special means to test the fertility of the land that he passed through. He got a deep hole dug, filling it afterwards again with soil. When, by refilling the hole soil protruded, he said: 'I will stay here, the land is notably the most fertile of all those I have gone through'. – Bushshe lived in Shabadiino but died in Alatta while visiting his sick daughter. As a result of this, no Sidaama father may visit a sick married daughter. He became fatally ill in the son-in-law's house. – Nea, Bushshe's

6 This observation was confirmed by STANLEY (n.d.: 17) and by LONFERNINI (1971: 12). This custom applies largely to the Hadiyya. The north-easterly orientation of burials (also with slaughter sacrifices) can presumably be interpreted as an Islamic relic. The correct direction towards Mecca would be northwards, however, one blatantly took the Eritrean and northern Somali coast wherein Islam had spread, as the orientation direction.

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> oldest son, became the ancestral father of the *Haado* (a despised endogamous clan)."

This happened because both his younger brothers, Abo and Tummaamo, in consequence of Nea's outrageous deed, indignantly expelled him from the community. He had hunted hippopotami and pygmy antelopes (dik-dik) and eaten the flesh of these animals tabooed by the *wolawatte*, the "commonly free" Sidaama, a view still held today. Nea's descendants thereafter formed a potters' clan from the rest of the Sidaama, namely the Hadichcho, considered to be inferior. In 1955 Helmut STRAUBE (n.d.a.: 6ff., 24ff.), who carried out research on this group, came across legends differentiating the Sidaama in ancient times. These legends were similar in their general outline but varied in detail.

Bushshe is said to be the progenitor of the Sidaama subgroups Malgee (Malgaa), Yanaase, Shabadiino, Asaarado, Holloo, Harbegoona, Harbe and Garbichcho, and the descendants of his son Tummaamo were combined under the appellation Yemerichcho. Some Hadiyya groups also trace back to Bushshe whose name they slightly changed to Buchche: the Baade(ooso) (Baadawwaachcho proper), Weexogiira, Leemo, and Buchch'Allaaba. In some genealogies, namely those of the Leemo, the forbear Tummaamo appears as well, but not as the direct son of Buchche.

JENSEN (n.d.: 11, 27, 51ff., 54) could also document a few traditions about Malde'a in 1954 and 1955, which were known about in part in 1973/74.

> "Malde'a came from Migo which is possibly situated in the east, in the area around Harär. When Malde'a was born, he was initially a lump of copper or brass. He did not take on a human shape until he had grown up. Thus, up to today, the Sidaama still call brass or copper 'the iron of Malde'a'. – According to another version, Malde'a and Bushshe, the father of Abo and Tummaamo, initially lived together at the Dawa River (probably in Konia). Bushshe then made his way to Lake Abbayya and Malde'a went to Migo in the east. All traditions agreed that Malde'a came into the country before Bushshe. – He came upon a people who called themselves Sidaama. Sidaama had a son called Kusai."

A conflict developed between Tummaamo and Maldea's people because of Tummaamo's treacherous machinations. After the warlike struggle, peace was made, according to which the descendants of Malde'a should live south of Gidabo and those of Tummaamo north of this demarcation.

According to another version Malde'a had lived in Gonoba, an area today occupied by the Shabadiino group around Laku, but resettled in the south in Alatta at the instigation of Tummaamo who, in his deceitful way, had outsmarted Malde'a when demarcating the boundaries in the settlement areas. The Malde'a people are said to be the oldest of the Sidaama subgroups, but in terms of esteem, those who trace back to Bushshe or Tummaamo are considered to be of higher rank.

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Next to these legends which contain a historical core and allow certain conclusions about the ethnogenesis of the Sidaama, also myths regarding the creation of Man have survived which have been only sketchily outlined here from JENSEN's material on the origin of the "clans". Some groups are derived from altogether three mythical figures who are supposed to have descended from heaven. Gidichcha was the first of these ancestors of extraterrestrial origin who climbed down to earth at the holy place Diramo in Shabadiino. As he was a divine personage, he obviously did not die and the graves shown in Diramo are mostly signified as those belonging to his three sons. To the present day this place is a shrine and important sacrificial site of the Sidaama. According to an Alatta legend, it was the mythical ancestor Dida, who in the same way as the Hadichcho ancestor Du'a, came down from heaven by means of an iron chain. JENSEN (n.d.: 12, 35) thought it conceivable that for the group claiming a heavenly origin, this had to do with old established residents who had become integrated into the Sidaama.

As with the oral traditions of many peoples of north-eastern Africa, where Christian and Islamic perceptions amalgamated, this also happened with the Sidaama. According to a myth documented by STRAUBE (n.d.a: 24) among the Hadichcho, the first person, named Dara, was created by God out of the moist soil from the bank of the river Dawa. Dara appealed to God for a female partner and God split him in half creating out of his left half a woman and out of the right half he created Dara a second time. Both parts were animated with a soul. Out of smelted iron God is supposed to have formed another man who was said to be the ancestor of the Gu33i and the Arsi.

The first person was frequently referred to as alaqa to express the creative activities of God and is most probably derived from the Arabic verb *Qalaca* which is repeatedly used in the ur'an.[7] In the Sidaama language *Qalacino* means "make" and "create" and the name of the first person is also in the sense of "the created one". STRAUBE (n.d.: 24) is convinced that alaqa is identical to the aforementioned Dara who likewise was created on the right bank of the Dawa during the first days of creation, while on the second day God gave life to his wife on the left bank. It is worth mentioning, however, that in some genealogies alaqa appears only in the 4th or 5th position as an ordinary ancestor.

Undoubtedly behind the denominations of some groups there are corrupted Arabic names, for example Shabadiino (derived from Shihdb al-Din) or Yanaase (derived from Nd ir); and Muslim rudiments also survived in the socio-religious sphere of the Sidaama. Out of the legends certain indications can be gathered about the processes of ethnogenesis which will undergo more extensive analysis (chap. 3.4.4).

7 For this information cf. WENSINCK/KRAMERS 1941: 296.

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3.1.3 Arsi Traditions

The Hadiyya, who were assimilated into the tribal cluster of the Arsi-Oromo, adopted the popular story of Baargama (*Barigama* or *Bahirgama)* "the beautiful country beyond the sea".[8] A script by the Ethiopian author Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam contained a very popular version[9] based on etymological speculations stipulating that the Oromo originated from Asia and moved from there to Madagascar. Then they continued their migration stepping onto the shore of the African mainland at Mombasa in Kenya from where they finally reached Ethiopia. The legend that the Oromo originated from an alliance of the daughter of Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob (or L bnä D ng l) with a slave from southern Ethiopia,[10] is not familiar to the Arsi and is probably disseminated only amongst the Amhara.

HABERLAND (1963a: 443, 662) was one of the pioneer researchers in the mid-1950s who first became aware of the distinct socio-political and cultural dichotomy of the Arsi in Oromo and Hadiyya clans which one tried to explain in the local mythology as follows. Wayyuu was the progenitor of the Arsi who came down from the black heaven. "Because he is again in heaven near God and can help, the Oromo often pray: 'Wáyu g raCCa n ágay!' 'Black Wáyu, hear us!" The progenitor of the Hadiyya called Nabi Adam (Arabic: *nab* = prophet) was first created out of soil after Wayyuu. He corresponds to the biblical and ur'anic Adam, who, according to Muslim hagiology, was the first prophet. This tradition represents – at least rudimentarily – an ancient Islamic component which will be returned to in more detail later. The Oromo clans of the Arsi have derived a sense of superiority over the Hadiyya clans, taunting them with the following: "We were created before you and were not made from dust like you! We are from heaven, we have the power to let it rain!" This quotation reflects both the superiority of the Oromo in the *gadaa* system and the claim of an intrinsic and emphasized magic potency often repeated in the traditions.

In a myth again found and reported on by HABERLAND and endorsed by me, the Oromo are descended from the liaison of a young woman with a spirit named Boorantichcha, who impregnated her in the water during a bath and who then gave birth to nine "Oromo" or "Boorana". These are regarded as the original or true representatives of the Oromo ethnic cluster who stood in the way of the ninety "Garba", and in the course of the next centuries subjugated and assimilated them.[11]

8 See also HABERLAND 1963a: 410. It is mentioned as a curiosity that JOHNSTON (1854, I: 392) equated the version Bargano with Bag(u)irmi in the present-day state of Chad and the great water with Lake Chad.

9 TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM (HUDSON/TEKESTE NEGASH) 1987: 61ff.

10 Legends of this type are mentioned, for example, by authors of the 19th century such as BURTON (1856: 71) and KRAPF (1858: 94f.).

11 HABERLAND 1963a: 443. Similar to the Hadiyya, the Arsi have been seen by their neighbours as descendants of a woman and a devil (SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932:139), from whom they are said to have acquired praiseworthy belligerence and fighting strength.

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Another version reported that the black snake *bofa* lay with the daughter of Wayyuu and the snake son became the ancestor of the Arsi who were thus also called Ilmo Bofichcho, "Sons of Bofichcho". In addition to this, a myth, probably invented later, identified a yellow snake named Hadiyichcha as the progenitor of the Hadiyya. The colour symbolism which became apparent in a similar way in the aforementioned Bushshe/Malde'a legend of the Sidaama (cf. chap. 3.1.2) – dark (black) for the Bushshe faction and bronze-coloured (yellow) for the Malde'a faction – does not appear coincidental and could point to the originally lighter complexion of the Hadiyya.[12] The Arsi, with their considerable proportion of Hadiyya, embody a relatively fair-skinned population in contrast to the neighbouring Gu33i.

3.1.4 Traditions Influenced by Islam

Wherever Islam found an inlet it exerted a more or less profound influence on the whole body of folklore of peoples of southern Ethiopia including their traditions on their ethnic origins. Antonio CECCHI (1885/87: 473ff.) could already note down traditions from elders of the Šäwa-Oromo which were traceably interwoven with elements known from the monotheistic world religions. Thereafter the ancestor Esau, who originated from Gellat in Arabia, was said to have moved to African soil at Berbera on the Somali coast. He is then reported to have proceeded via Harär and Wälaytta to Arsiland, where he settled down.

The Muslim elite were frequently inclined towards manipulations which complied with their needs for prestige. For example, Baargama (Bahirgama), the mysterious country of Aurora beyond the sea, was equated with Islamic Arabia. According to oral traditions which I encountered in Bale, different groups descending from particular *shaikhs* (*shuy kh*) are still called *Wärra Bahir*. The ancestors were supposed to either have originated from the noble Arab uraish clan in idjdz – or even Baghdad is sometimes mentioned as an earlier domicile – from where they reached the Horn of Africa via Yemen after a large-scale migration. Legends connected to Baghdad were based on the saint ᶜAbd al- ddir al-Djildni, influential founder of the ddiriyya brotherhood in Iraq in the 12th century, who was later greatly revered in Arsiland. A concrete relationship between this man and the geographic sphere of north-eastern Africa is not verifiable. However, the seemingly bizarre tradition that the progenitors had their roots originally in Baghdad, may find an explanation in alleged connections of such a kind.

A further attempt to comprehend the origin of one's own ethnic group in a demotic Islamic way, is portrayed by the following narrative.[13] Abba La db, an uncle of the prophet Mu ammad had nine daughters, whom he brought up virtuously and well protected. A man by the name of Geldn, who dressed in women's clothes, pene-

12 It should only be noted here that the Baarentuu also had a myth about the origin of two different snakes (AZAÏS/CHAMBARD 1931: 77).

13 The basic frame was reported to me in 1973 by the Allaaba informant Ibrdhim Affuuso in Qolito. It was confirmed by Arsi elders.

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trated their house and deflowered the girls. Each one bore a son. After the deed became known, the daughters and their children were banished to a distant country called Irram. Geldn was not with them and the legend says nothing about his fate. The nine children, all of them boys, grew up and for the want of other women each married the mothers of their brothers. One of them, however, married his own mother and was therefore expelled by his brothers. With his wife-cum-mother he reached Ethiopia via the Somali coast. The man was called Irrami and became the progenitor of all the Oromo.

The cultural stratum of such a decidedly ambivalent legend in assessing the ancestors – they are of noble origin yet they substantiate their group as being one of outcast outsiders – is difficult to ascertain. It can be assumed, however, that it was rooted in the cultural stratum of the Hadiyya clans among the Arsi, who had at least partly been Islamized, before they were struck by the Oromo in the 16th century and subsequently amalgamated (cf. chap. 3.4.3). Although, as time went on, folktales and historical traditions increasingly intermixed, former Muslim elements persisted to a large extent among the groups of Hadiyya origin.

Significantly, the recollections of Arabia as the country of origin are found in those ethnic groups in central-southern Ethiopia most distinctively of Hadiyya descent who had been under the intensive influence of Islam for a long time, particularly the East-Gurage, Qabeena, Allaaba and a number of Arsi clans. Ismdᶜl Djabarti from idjdz who settled on the coast of " abäša" country, was seen as their most important progenitor and occupied a standard place in the genealogies of countless Ethiopian people south of Awaš River (and also the Darood-Somali). The occasional equating of Arabia with Turkey is thus comprehensible, as the entire Asiatic coast of the Red Sea before 1919 belonged to the Ottoman Empire for centuries. In the Baarentuu area the notion was propagated that Ismdᶜil Djabarti was the first ancestor who emigrated from Arabia to a place called Bontu near Zayla'.

According to some of the legends I recorded in Allaaba[14], his father was resident in Ethiopia and as a devout Muslim used to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca every year. During one of his stays in the Holy City, he slipped due to the crush of the many people and to steady himself, seized the hand of a gentlewoman. Being arrogant, she consequently cursed him saying that his hand should be chopped off for her sake because of what she perceived as outrageous behaviour. She let him be observed and hid objects belonging to her in the luggage of the devout pilgrim, which he innocently took with him on his departure. She then accused him of theft and the authorities punished him for his alleged offence by chopping off his right hand. In the following year, the abäša Muslim stayed in Mecca again and fate caused the woman who had done him such wrong to cross his path again. She had been divorced immediately before and was looking for a man with whom she could shortly marry. In accordance with the then prevailing rules to serve justice to the obligations of the pilgrimage, she turned to the Ethiopian with her request and he agreed. At night,

14 The informants were Ibrdhim Affuuso and ᶜUthmdn Sixamo in Qolito.

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while on the mutual couch, she noticed that one hand was missing. She asked him the reason for this and he told her about the course of events which had led to the loss of his hand. She was a woman armed with miracle-working powers and so she spat on the stump of the arm whereupon a new hand appeared instantly. After a time of living together, she disclosed to him that she was pregnant and that she never wanted to be separated from him. She accompanied him to abäša country and delivered twins who were named Ismaʿil and A mad. Virtually all Ethiopian Muslims consider themselves to be descendants of this pair of brothers. It is commonly accepted that Ismaʿ l was the progenitor in the area south of the Awaš and Ahmad that north of the river.

The Qabeena and Allaaba consider Mancheeno, the ancestor of the two factions asan and Bukana, to be the direct son of Ismaʿil Djabarti. Mancheeno's grave is supposed to be in Shirka, whereas the residencies of these people can hardly be localised before the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. It becomes apparent that there are considerable gaps between an earlier Arabic-Islamic wave of immigrants who began to establish themselves much earlier in the coastal areas of the Horn of Africa and whose representatives (to be pointed out later) could be the Djabarti brothers on the one hand, and the "actual" progenitors of the respective groups on the other hand. As the genealogies are incomplete for this period, they are inclined to establish a direct link to the earlier Islamic progenitors, which is a blatant manipulation.

That real people in both the figures Ismaʿil and A mad were woven around the legends is suggested in their pronounced and relatively standardised occurrence in the genealogies over a considerable time depth. The historical identity of Ismaʿil Djabarti is, for example, documented and also referred to in *Fa h*, the aforementioned chronicle of Harär drafted in Arabic[15] where he played a minor role, however. His significance was greater for the Somali people and his son Darood Ismaʿil became progenitor of the large Ogaadeen division.[16]

His grave is located twelve miles south-east of the village Hadaftimo in the Erigavo district in the northern part of Somaliland. As WAGNER (1974: 111) points out, the statements on when he actually lived diverge substantially. They fluctuate between approximately 700 A.D. (c. 75 A.H.) according to R. RÉVOIL[17] and 1400, the dating fixed in various hagiologies. Here, there is an obvious mix-up with Ismaʿil Djabarti from Zabid in Yemen who died in 1403. In notable pedigrees of people in the Horn of Africa Ismaʿil Djabarti appears as progenitor 25 to 30 generations ago (counted back from c. 1900).[18] LEWIS agreed with this age determination and dated Darood Ismaʿil in the 10th /11th century by presupposing the completeness of the genealogy, estimating 30 years for the duration of a generation. He is supported by local traditions which also specify this point in time[19] as well as through

15 WAGNER 1974: 97 f., 111 f., *passim*; WAGNER 1978: 30, 35ff., *passim*.
16 LEWIS 1959: 24; LEWIS 1967: 132, *passim*.
17 RÉVOIL 1882: 315 f.; cf. TRIMINGHAM 1965: 214, fn. 3.
18 Cf. ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI 1890: 479; CERULLI 1957/64, I: 60.
19 PIRONE (1954: 122) reported on a related tradition, which even named an exact date, the year

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the fact that the tribal confederation of the Darood which took place before that of the Ishaaq, likely occurred in the 12th/13th century. WAGNER (1974: 112), who agreed with the calculations of Lewis in principle, defined the chronological framework of the life of Ismᶜil Djabarti in the time period from 994 to 1226 A.D. However, he thinks the reference in *Fa h* is an anachronism, as there is a tendency that all great personages in the history of Harär are to be ascribed to the period of Abddir (13th century).

A Qabeena tradition lies outside the chronological framework in which their progenitor Ismᶜil Djabarti, together with six other people, who each gendered a group of its own in the ᶜAdal region, are said to have immigrated from Arabia to the Harär plateau in the year 828 A.H. (1424 A.D.). Whether there is perhaps an equation with the existing Yemenite namesake, who died at the beginning of the 15th century, has not been clarified just as in the case of the Somali.

When we acknowledge the dating of Ismᶜil Djabarti, considered by some of the Hadiyya groups as their progenitor, to the 10th/11th century, this can be assumed as an approximate chronological point of reference for the beginning of their ethnogenesis. Certainly, here the furthest point for a concrete diagnostic value in regard to Islamic pedigrees in north-eastern Africa has been reached. Djabarti, referring to a concrete person and to the father of Ismᶜil and A mad, becomes a more or less generalised ancestral appellation. In the bulk of the oral traditions he is only memorized as a legendary forebear without a clear chronological dating. It is noteworthy that Djabarti became a synonym for all Ethiopian Muslims[20] and according to TILING (1921: 20ff.) it also occurs as an ethnic term in Yemen. Ma rizi (RINCK 1790: 11) interpreted the meaning of the name Djabarti as "the scorched land", obviously because it referred to a geographical region with an ember-hot desert climate. In the beginning of immigration of people from the Arabian Peninsula to the Eritrean and Somali coasts and their subsequent spread to the hinterland, Djabarti presumably became a collective denomination of the Muslim settlers. At least from the 14th century, the Horn of Africa was known under the designation Djabarti country.

With Ismᶜil Djabarti, whose name stands for a stronger Islamic infiltration, a significant watershed in the history of the Horn occurred, depicting a kind *of terminus post quem* for the framework of genealogical orientation in this region. It became evident in the settlements which were mostly founded by trades-people that they rapidly gained political and cultural influence and began to increasingly interfere in the history of the hinterland. Regarding the earlier little known historical epochs, there are hardly any recollections, and it is obvious that the Muslims connect

295 A.H. (917/8 A.D.).

20 TRIMINGHAM 1965: 16 *passim*; PONCET 1949: 125; SAVARD 1970: 148. BRUCE (1790/91, II: 8) believed that "Gibberti" was derived from the Ethiopian word *gabra* (= slave). Some mixed groups in the area between the Arsi and Ogaadeen-Somali were explicitly called Djabarti (BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 90-95).

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their history of emigration from Arabia with the personages well known in their traditions.

Certainly, the Arab-Islamic infiltration was more of qualitative rather than quantitative importance for the ethnogenesis of people in north-eastern Africa, and its impact can be reduced into what J. Spencer TRIMINGHAM summarised in the following words:

> "A study of the history of the conversion of pagan societies to Islam shows that they all follow the same prescribed pattern. We have as a rule only native traditions and they relate how a Muslim saint of noble Arab ancestry settles among the pagan tribe and is told by the Prophet in a dream that he is the chosen instrument of its conversion. Inspired by this vision he proves the power of his God through the miracles he performs and gains the recognition of chief and people. He marries the daughter of the chief and his son succeeds to the chieftainship of the tribe; thus by peaceful means or the jihad the whole tribe goes over to Islam."[21]

The Muslim immigrants, tradesmen and adventurers trying to find their fortune in north-eastern Africa, were obviously small in number. Virtually all of them were men who coupled themselves with local women and established a new type of socio-political hierarchy which became known as the phenomenon of the "wise stranger" in many parts of Islamic Africa.[22] However, this "aristocracy" represented by a tiny minority of immigrants rapidly became mere fiction. At best they left behind traces in their genealogies as well as demotic traditions and certain customs, but most certainly did not lead to a profound transformation in their rhythm of life.

The traditions of the Hadiyya originating from Arabia are also in a sense a product of ideals and value concepts characterised by Islam. The Djabarti legend is indeed the most widely disseminated in southern Ethiopia, nevertheless is not the typical version for this people. According to an Allaaba tradition, which was also written down by the ur'dn scholar Ibrdhim Affuuso,[23] there were meant to have been 329 immigrants from Arabia who founded Islamic communities in Zayla', Berbera and in other coastal places, from which the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya emerged. The chronological classification remains obscure and they are frequently seen as contemporaries of A mad Grañ as the oral tradition is anyway inclined to associate important people and events with his spectacular age.[24] One of the foremost people of this group is said to have been ᶜUmar al-Ridd, known by the name

21 TRIMINGHAM 1965: 149. For the following explanations see also TRIMINGHAM 1965: 141 ff.

22 The "wise stranger" is a kind of archetype who comes into a "barbaric" country, introduces new ideas, value concepts and customs and frequently also founds a new dynasty. For comparative materials in the Sudan see BRAUKÄMPER 1992: 37.

23 FATHALBg RmMUHAMMAD N R AWWAL presented a Master of Arts thesis on *shaikh* Ibrdhim Affuuso and his manuscripts at Addis Ababa University in 2011.

24 Another tradition (FERRY 1961: 34) mentions 44 Muslim missionaries from Hadramawt who went ashore at Berbera in the 15th century A.D.

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shaikh Abddir, about whom the following legend was disseminated in Harär and the surrounding area.[25] A man from Banu Taimi, who traced back to the uraiš clan, arrived in the area of Harär with his 405 attendants to discover the country largely deserted. The autochthonous population, namely the arala and Gat ri,[26] had been plagued by a long-lasting famine and an epidemic which had begun 25 years earlier, and as most had either perished or emigrated, only a few survivors remained. Abddir sent out messengers to collect the people, organised a great festival, preached to them from the minaret of the mosque and heralded a new and better time. The people awakened from their lethargy, designated him to be their ruler and out of the combination of old established residents and the Arab immigrants arose the people of Harär, whose progenitor from then on was Abddir.

According to an Allaaba version, the Hadiyya originated from the liaison of this man with a local woman. They later left the Harär area and spread out westwards. An ethnic connection of the East-Gurage (as part of the old Hadiyya cluster) and the tribally affiliated Allaaba with the Harari is more likely, especially as this is supported by linguistic findings (cf. chap. 1.1).

The ongoing ethnic situation and the oral traditions provide a satisfactory validation of the theory that the Hadiyya originated from a combination of Cushitic and Semitic-speaking groups.[27] It appears to be realistic that this process was accomplished in the 12th and 13th centuries, a time of growing Islamic impact in the Horn of Africa. The evidence from the tradition that Abddir already found an Islamic population amongst the arala and Gat ri, does not need to be contradicted by the overall historical situation of this region because Islam is said to have been introduced into the Harär area in the 10th century and at around the same time the Sultanate of Šäwa was already spreading to the eastern escarpment of the central Ethiopian Highlands.[28]

Physically, the Arab contribution towards the formation of the Hadiyya as a people was certainly slight. The conscious identification with those ancestors of "noble" ancestry also led the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya as well as those who had more recently shifted to a Cushitic idiom, to commonly claim Arabic as the language of their forebears. As a linguistic idiom of entire peoples, Arabic cannot be verified in north-eastern Africa, and the internal development of the Harari/East-Gurage within

25 WAGNER 1974: 98; WAGNER 1978: 133, *passim*. YUSUF AHMED (1961:19) assessed his immigration to have been around the middle of the 10th century A.D.

26 Occasionally, in the oral traditions the Gat ri were described as tall pagan people with negroid features. According to another version they are said to have, together with the arala, expelled the dark-skinned pagan "Punt" people. A further tradition related that Gat r was said to be an ancient name for Harär. This appears to be very uncertain especially as Harär first became the capital city of the ᶜAdal state in 1521 which henceforth frequently bore the name of its capital. Previously, other urban centres like Zayla', Fiyum-Bira and Daka had had this position.

27 PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 67) approved this assumption from the linguistic perspective.

28 For this historical background information cf. CERULLI (1941: 18) and TRIMINGHAM (1965: 58).

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the South Semitic language group most probably took place before the introduction of Islam.

Where and how this process was accomplished remains unknown. The historical traditions of the Harari themselves, documented by the Ethiopian researcher Abbaba Gasan Bassa,[29] lead northwards to the area of central Eritrea. A legend relates that during the sovereignty of a mysterious ruler, Kanafro, seven Islamic T gray groups from amasen went south to search for a new place to reside. They settled in the area around Harär and became the progenitors of the Harari. This is said to have happened at the time of the Ethiopian Emperor Dawit I (1382-1413).

As the dominion of the Sultanate of Ifat around 1400 extended from the eastern slope of the Ethiopian highlands to the Somali coast and the Islamic penetration of the Harär Plateau had already started hundreds of years before, a mass immigration of Semitic-speaking Muslims developing into a significant ethnogenesis at such a late date can be ruled out with certainty. The linguistic relationship between the T gray and the Harari appears not to have been so close at that point that it can be explained by a separate development of merely 600 years. Detailed investigations from the linguistic point of view remain to be done.

It is in the realm of possibility that Semitic-speaking groups of south-eastern Ethiopia migrated to the Harär Plateau via the Eritrean coast. The tradition of the Argobba illustrates how such a migration was accomplished. This people, who have preserved their ethnic identity up to today in areas far from one another in Ifat on the slopes of the Šäwa mountains and in the area of Bisidimo near Harär, claim to be derived from the uraiš group, the Bani al- umdya, who were expelled from idjdz in 132 A.H. (749 A.D.) by another clan, the Bani al-Abbds. (In another version related in the city of Harär it was the Bani Ydfi who compelled them to emigrate from Yemen). Ma rizi told of a conflict between the Bani ᶜUmdya and the Bani Hdšim[30] which led to the exodus of the Bani ᶜUmdya; and an influencing of the oral tradition through the written source is by no means to be ruled out.[31] The same might have been applicable in regard to the history of the Wälašma dynasty of the Ifat/ᶜAdal state which lays claim to an origin from the same source, namely to the respective early migration wave of uraiš Arabs expelled from the Arabian Peninsula to Ethiopia.[32]

According to a tradition told to me the Arab refugees led by Mawdn b. Y suf crossed the Red Sea and settled on the Eritrean coast. From there they continued their migration along the eastern highland escarpments to Wällo and Šäwa. The

29 Occidental authors like MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902: 79), COHEN (1931: 48, 50) and BROOKE (1956: 82) make reference to these traditions. In a similar way they were also documented by me.

30 VOS (1888) edited this source from Ma rizi.

31 Also CERULLI (1941: 16ff.) already had knowledge of this tradition. In this context, the same author (CERULLI 1943: 284ff.) refers to the ancient sources including Ibn Khald n.

32 A document on the history of this dynasty was published by CERULLI (1931: 40-52). See also CERULLI 1943: 286ff., MA RźZm(RINCK) 1790: 17 and TRIMINGHAM 1965: 58.

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foundation of the Sultanate of Šäwa in the 9th century A.D.[33] was due quite conclusively to the stimulus provided by the newcomers. They also constituted the leading political element in Ifat which became the territorial successor of Šäwa in approximately 1285. At a no longer determinable point in time the ancestors of Argobba in Ifat around 1000 A.D. acquired an Amhara dialect, and before the arrival of Abddir they are said to have reached the Harär area with in-between stages in Arba-Gugu and Cärcär. From the 17th century onwards, in their eastern residential zones, they were gradually oromised. The Argobba from Bisidimo, whose villages constructed of stone should be dated back to when *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid (1551-68) decreed the construction of a defensive rampart, did not have enough room for settlement in the municipal area.[34] They nevertheless retained their own specific ethnic character up to the present day.

Arsi-Oromo informants in the Arba-Gugu region[35] told me that before the arrival of their group the country had been occupied by Amharic-speaking Orgobba (Argobba) who can be credited with stone-built tumuli, clay fragments, and other archaeological legacies in this area. The neighbouring Karrayyuu occasionally mention the arala and also the Argobba as builders of the dilapidated terrace system and stone ruins at Mätähara (Matahaaraa) at the middle Awaš River and compare these previously settled groups with the Hadiyya who were the original population in the Arsi area. Housing of stone and a system of agricultural terraces were atypical for the Oromo, whereas the Ifat-Argobba retained them in their settlement areas in association with relatively intensive farming practices. (This technology which is commonly employed in the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula remained restricted in Ethiopia to a limited number of pockets such as T gray and Konso). The question as to whether the cultural characteristics in Ifat trace back to an Arabic migration in the Islamic period or even prior to that, remains unanswered up to now.

As far as the previously mentioned T gray origin of the Harari is concerned, the tradition of a later migration created a potentially confusing picture. According to the account in the *Fut al- abaša*[36], a group named Balaw (Bäläw, Balawa, Balu, Belu) left the T gray area under the leadership of ᶜAbd Alldh and settled at the time of Ifat/ᶜAdal Sultan a'd al-Din II, who was a contemporary of Emperor Dawit I (1382-1413 A.D.), in the Harär area. The dating noticeably concurs with the above-mentioned legend of the Harari. a'd al-Din allowed the chief of the newcomers to take his daughter as a wife and all her male children were called Kur'ai and the females Ba'tiah. CERULLI (1931: 47, fn. 3; 78, fn. 1) believed the honorary title *awrai* was especially to have been meant for the Balaw.

33 CERULLI (1941: 35) dated the foundation at 283 A.H. (896/7 A.D.).

34 This was learnt of by PAULITSCHKE (1888a: 209 f.) and ERLANGER (1902: 59). Cf. also my own investigations on the Islamization of the Harär Plateau (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 106-28).

35 For this information I particularly refer to Gunja Gurree and Hadi Husseen (cf. also Appendix II).

36 This work by ᶜArab Faki in the French translation of M.R. BASSET (1897) will henceforth be cited in the abbreviated version *Fut* . The respective reference here is *Fut* 1987: 255.

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It is without doubt that the Balaw were inhabitants of some Eritrean and northern Ethiopian regions and that with the groups still bearing this name a historical continuity exists with the people in the ancient chronicles. The Balaw tribes likely arose from an ethnic amalgamation of Be3a and Arabs, and before the end of the 13th century they were in control of a large part of the Eritrean Plateau and at war with the Christians in the Wälqayt region. In the 16th century they were facing cliff-hanging relations with the Ottoman Turks, who had settled on the coast of the Red Sea, and they also served as scouts for A mad Grañ in the area of Aksum. Subsequently, they were partially dispersed to other areas and eventually replaced in their politically leading position by other Be3a groups. Some of their descendents succeeded in retaining their ethnic identity among the Semitic-speaking peoples of Eritrea.[37] By way of contrast, those Balaw who emigrated from northern Ethiopia to the area of Harär were absorbed by other peoples whereby only the name survived as a place and clan designation in the area today inhabited by the Noole-Oromo.

The fact that various migratory waves of Islamic groups flowed into south-eastern Ethiopia and a constant infiltration of Arabic traders took place in this region makes the coordination and chronological classification with regard to the traditions about the ethnogenesis of the Hadiyya a virtually futile undertaking. The picture is even more confusing due to the fact that a number of the progenitors of the Arsi clans who lived with Arabic names (e.g. Sa^{c}id, A mad Ab Sarri, *adjdj* Dawd, N r Amin, *adjdj* Nd ir etc.), which can be verified at the time of the Grañ wars in the 16th century, claimed a direct provenance from Arabia.

The analysis of the overall historical situation suggests, however, that the traditions of the Hadiyya refer to a homeland beyond the sea from where their forefathers emigrated in a much earlier period, i. e., approximately in the time of Ismd^{c}il Djabarti in the 10th or 11th century. The area where the immigration took place was most likely the northern Somali coast where a place called Hadiyya, and occasionally the designation of groups with this name, are said to have been preserved. Those Arabs who infiltrated the Horn of Africa were presumably rapidly absorbed into the Cushitic-speaking autochthonous populations and in the Harär region in the Semitic-speaking ones, but their names survived in the different groups.

3.2. From 1269 to the Islamic-Christian Conflict of the 16th Century

The traditions of the Hadiyya about their country of origin and their ethnogenesis can basically be summarized in two statements: 1. their earlier places of residence lay further to the east and 2. Arab-Islamic immigrants were involved in the genesis. This process had already been accomplished when in 1269 the Zag^{w}e dynasty was superseded by the Solomonic dynasty in the Christian Empire, an event which went

37 For the history and ethnography of the northern Balaw see LUDOLPH 1682: 87; MUNZINGER 1883: 279, 281, 283, 287; *Fut* 1897: 10, fn. 2, 421, fn. 1, 424, 460; CONTI ROSSINI 1914: 658, 630f.; PAUL 1954: 64-66, 71, 76-78, 82, 84, 88f., 94, 140; TRIMINGHAM 1965: 70, 98, 104, 140, 152, 156f., 162, 169; MORIN 2003: 455f.

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down in history as the Ethiopian restoration of the Middle Ages and was to be of lasting importance also for the development in the southern parts of the country. With this event the history of the Hadiyya reached a stage whereby henceforth a chronological reconstruction can be accomplished.

3.2.1 The *t i ä* and the Earliest Mentions of the Hadiyya

The earliest appearance of the Hadiyya in written records can be dated back to the 13th century. The Ethiopian version of the *t i ä* (Glory of the Kings) did not in all likelihood appear before the reign of [c] V g, . ´TR ´ R, R´T "th century. However, a translation into Arabic from the Coptic version is referred to in Ethiopia during the Zag[w]e period as early as 1225 A.D. and was apparently known about there even prior to that.[38] In the description of the "first war of the King of Ethiopia" it was written:

> "They pulled out of the capital city, encamped in Mḍja-Abau and on the (following) morning they destroyed the area of Zdwu including adja, as they had had hostilities with them prior to that, and now they annihilated them and killed them with the sharpness of the sword. From there they moved on, encamped in G rsd and again destroyed the area of vipers which had a human face and a donkey's tail on their posterior. They turned back and encamped in ´T g, R T, . ´Tg gTV ´TTR three months, decamped and came to the capital city."[39]

HABERLAND (1964a: 236) convincingly held the view that the name of the Hadiyya people was concealed behind the regional term adja. (The equalisation of geographic and ethnic terms is verifiably quite a frequent occurrence in the historiography of Ethiopia.) The above-mentioned text thus probably contains the first documentary mention of the Hadiyya, who entered the history of the Christian Empire as a "hereditary enemy". Points of reference on the localization cannot be got from the information as the name places Mḍja-Abau (Maya 'Abaw), Zdwu (Z w) and G rsd (G rr) are not identifiable. The missing evidence does not enable a connection to be made between the area called Z w and the Sultanate of Šäwa, which comprised, up to the end of the 13th century, large areas between the central Ethiopian Plateau and the western Cärcär Range.[40] Also indications of a relationship between the Maya with the same-named people who initially lived in Ar o, presum-

38 Cf. DORESSE 1957, II, chap. XII, XIV; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 250; LEVINE 1972: 151. Cf. also MARRASSINI 2007: 364-68.

39 BEZOLD 1905: 100 (our translation from German). BUDGE (1922: 165) used the version ad y for Hadiyya.

40 In an earlier study I have tried to compose the state of geographical and historical knowledge regarding Šäwa and other Muslim principalities between the 13th and 16th centuries (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 19ff.).

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ably in the southern ᶜAfar Depression, who occupied the region between Lake Zʷay and the upper Awaš in the 15th and 16th centuries, cannot convincingly be verified.[41]

From a statement in the chronicle of the Sultanate of Šäwa, it can be concluded, however, that there was a spatial proximity of Hadiyya to Šäwa. The depictions of the first acts of war by the Prince, ᶜUmar Wali Ašma', the founder of the Wälašma dynasty, who from 1285 A.D. onwards ruled the Ifat/ᶜAdal sultanate, contain a mention of " ddiyah" in the context of the destruction of the principality of Šäwa in 685 A.H.[42]

The warlike activities which followed immediately afterwards against Giddya, an area localised in the eastern Harär Plateau, and against Mora in the ᶜAfar Depression east of the middle Awaš as well as against ᶜAdal stretching towards the Somali coast,[43]substantiate a neighbourhood of Hadiyya close to these territories, possibly in the western Harär Plateau. As a whole, the fragmentary details in the 13th century document little more than Hadiyya's existence as a political territorial entity which opposed the Christian Empire and the Muslim Šäwa/Ifat Sultanate.

As already mentioned (chap. 1.1), a number of authors who remarked on the earliest history of the Hadiyya, were inclined to equate it with ᶜAdal, which occasionally also appeared in the literature under the name of its major cities, Zayla' and Harär. The ensuing inconsistencies about the localization become more intelligible if we are conscious of the overall dynamics of the ethnic and political changes in the region. From the written sources, a relocation of the Hadiyya state in the 14th century from the Harär Plateau in the east to the highlands on the western edge of the Rift Valley can be confirmed, a relocation that finds its endorsement in the oral traditions on the migratory movements (cf. chap. 3.3 and 3.4). In an early phase, the Islamic states must have been concentrated in a territory more confined to the eastern part of the Horn, before they began to expand towards the interior of Ethiopia.

Occasionally, the name of the coastal town Zayla' was still used as a collective denomination for the Muslim territories in a later period, when a spatial and political differentiation had long since taken place. How close the original solidarity was felt, can be concluded from the fact that Hadiyya was claimed to be a son of Abddir, the founding father of the Harari ethnos, and a local woman. This tradition can provide an indication that the foundation of the Hadiyya as a political and to some extent also ethnic entity took place in the Harär Plateau, where the ancestors of this people had been resident for an obviously considerable time.[44]

It remains uncertain as to who inhabited the areas in central-southern Ethiopia which were occupied by the Hadiyya after the 13th century. Omotic-speaking groups

41 Cf. BASSET (*Fut*) 1897:82, fn. 3; CERULLI 1936: 18. See also chap. 3.2.5. MERID WOLDE AREGAY (1974: 270 f.) pointed vaguely towards the possibility of a connection between the Maya with the Mayageb in the chronicle of Emperor ᶜ V g, .

42 CERULLI 1941: 13. The year cited corresponds to the time span from 27 February 1286 to 15 February 1287 A.D.

43 For details concerning the localisation of these territories cf. BRAUKÄMPER (2004: 29-38).

44 This assumption is also supported by findings of BURTON (1856: 1ff.).

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possibly occupied the region northwards up to Go33am, who in the wake of the expansion of the Christian Empire had to withdraw to the south.[45] Wide-spread oral traditions in Ethiopia report of a legendary king Motälämi who ruled the mighty state of Damot at that time, which is said to have extended over vast territories on both sides of the Omo as far as Gofa.[46]

3.2.2 The Rule of [c] g (1314-44)

The strengthening of the Islamic East under its new ruling power Ifat took place simultaneously with the rise of the Christian Ethiopian Empire. Under the reign of Emperor [c] V g, . Tj . VIV , . VT Z y to the south.

Already at an early stage of his sovereignty in 1316/17, he ordered military campaigns to be conducted against Damot and Hadiyya. A document edited by TADDESSE TAMRAT (1970: 96) reports: "[…] God gave me all the people of Hadya, men and women without number, whom I exiled into another area". In fact, this victory did not lead to a permanent occupation by the Ethiopian Empire, but the Christian claim to hegemony became clearly apparent in the exaction of a tribute. In 1329 [c] V g, . , . V TV ´ T R . P , R ´ T , . T . V ´ T VT T. VT. T of the Empire, within each of which he appointed a Governor (*mäsf n*). In this list Hadiyya was not mentioned, however.[47] It obviously still asserted itself as an independent political entity which, just like Ifat, an area ruled by the Sultan abr al-Din, strongly opposed the Christian Empire's endeavour to undertake territorial expansion. The efforts of the Hadiyya to retain political autonomy and their refusal to pay the demanded tributes were understood by the Christians as a form of rebellion legitimising their wars of aggression which led in 1329 to an outright conquest of Hadiyyaland. The chronicler of [c] V g, . HUNTINGFORD 1965: 58f.) reported the following:

> "Let us return to the original subject. This evil man [abr al-Din] then questioned the diviners, saying, 'Now tell me, I pray you, shall we conquer when we fight with the king of the Christians?' And one of them rose, a prophet of

45 PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 66 f.) expressed the hypothesis that the Hadiyya, before they began their migration to the east, were at home in northern Ethiopia and as neighbours of the Aksum Empire more or less strongly influenced its history. The proof of this is said to be provided by the ancient Ethiopian legends and the comparative etymological study of Aksumite inscriptions. HAILE BUBBAMO ARFICIO (1972: 1-3) believed that Cushitic names up as far back as to the rule of King [c]Ezana (c. 320-350 A.D.) are verifiable. He relies on the statements by LITTMANN (1910/15, IV; 25 f., *passim*), DILLMANN (1848: 26) and BUDGE (1922: 35). Interpretations of this type based on etymological comparisons dealing with huge time spans and geographical distances, appear to me to be insufficiently substantiated. This appears to be also a problem for Oromo research (cf. chap. 3.4.2).

46 MARQUART 1913: CCCLXXI; GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31: 363; HABERLAND 1965: 233; TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE 1975: 37ff.; LANGE 1982: 18-20, 50-53.

47 For information concerning [c] V g, . TRT , ´T . , . , R HUNTINGFORD (1965: 54).

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> darkness like Bal'dm, who had previously deceived the king of the adyd whose name was Amano, saying to him, 'Go not to ´T . P , R Tg, . V, . , give him gifts; if he comes against you, be not afraid of him, for he will be delivered into your hands and you will cause him to perish with his army.' And hearing the words of the lying prophet [...] in the same way Amano king of adyd hearkened to the counsel of this lying prophet and rebelled against the king of eyon. But king ᶜAmda eyon, strong like Samson, a great warrior like David, a conqueror in war and himself unconquered, rose up in anger, set out for the land of adyd and slew the inhabitants of the country with the point of the sword. Some he destroyed, and those who survived he took into captivity together with their king: their old ones and young ones, men, women, and children, he led them away to the capital of his kingdom. At the same time that false prophet took himself off and fled to the land of Ifdt, where he remained to spread his lies [...]."

The chronicler accused abr al-Din, the commander of the Muslim resistance, of planning the war of aggression against the Christian Empire which ᶜ V g, . had anticipated by his victorious military campaign against Ifat in 1329.[48] Whereas this state stretching from the escarpment of the highlands in Šäwa up to as far as the northern Somali coast could not quite be overpowered, the defeat of the Hadiyya was obviously complete and meant the end of their political sovereignty. Also later in the songs in praise of ᶜAmdä yon, Hadiyya appeared as a dependent district of the Ethiopian Empire.[49] In the eighth song, there is talk of the Emperor defeating the Zebdar from Wä3, the ata from Gänz and the Amano from Hadiyya,[50] and in the subsequent song it was said: "He puts round it a hedge of men. In Hadya to Gued la, In Bali to derd [...]"[51] As later sources reveal (cf. chap. 3.2.5), the names Gänz and Gudeella relate to sub-groups of the Hadiyya.

According to the detailed description of his victorious campaign of 1329, ᶜAmdä g, . T ´TV a place called Sasogi, where he celebrated the festival of John the Baptist.[52] His troops defeated the arala who had attacked the Christian encampment, as well as the War3ih nomads and subjugated the areas of Däwaro and Šar a where they captured large numbers of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules and donkeys and also took an amount of good clothing.[53] It is probable that the toponym Sasogi refers to the present Hadiyya subgroup Shaashoogo, whose country of origin was specified as the western Cärcär and north-eastern Arsi area, where a clan named Shashagoo(so) is still resident today. The Emperor's military campaign concentrated

48 See HUNTINGFORD 1965: 60.
49 This is approved by the different translations of GUIDI (1889: V, 622, *passim*), LITTMANN (1914: 25, 27, 30) and HUNTINGFORD (1965: 129).
50 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 129. LITTMANN 1914: 25;
51 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 132. Cf. LITTMANN 1914: 27.
52 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 104.
53 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 107f.

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on the rich agricultural regions of the highlands. In Šar a, which is identifiable today most likely with the region Shirka in eastern Arsiland, and in Däwaro north of the Wabi Šäbälle bend, the Ethiopian troops presumably clashed with populations who essentially corresponded to those of the Hadiyya state.[54]

After their defeat, the Hadiyya had to join the Emperor's armies and contributed with a contingent of cavalrymen and foot-soldiers to his victory over the Fälaša in northern Ethiopia.[55] Nevertheless, as [c] V g, . T g T , R ´ T , g g of his new vassals, he is said to have forbidden the carrying of offensive weapons and the riding of bridled horses.

After a rebellion of the Hadiyya had failed in 1332, auxiliaries were again recruited from them who had to follow the Ethiopian army on its further campaigns against Ifat/[c]Adal.[56] At the end of his reign, [c] V g, . V , ´ T ´ V , g Hadiyya leader who developed stud farms to supply the imperial army with horses and who was rewarded with a substantial land grant.[57] During this time, a process of Christianisation began and missionaries from northern Ethiopia were sent in as far as Hadiyyaland.[58]

Like most of the southern Ethiopian people the name of the Emperor, [c]Amdä g, . . ZT . , . , ´ T T T. Vgg informants. It was solely the Gurage who had a mythical perception of him. In 1327 their forebears are said to have migrated as a contingent of military colonists from Akkälä Guzay in Eritrea under the leadership of *azma* Z to the settlement area inhabited by them today. What should only be mentioned here is a tradition related by a Christian priest in the Asälla area of Arsiland which maintained that the residence of the Christian Emperor at Mt. Celalo (Däbrä Silalo) dates back to as early as [c] V g, . [59] The building of a Christian outpost in an area later designated as Wä3 as early as the first half of the 14th century is indeed not to be discounted, but this dating is difficult to correlate with the overall historic circumstances and cannot be substantiated by other sources. Commentators of the [c] V g, . ´ , . T T . . TV , , . , Amano, the defeated leader of the Hadiyya, not as a personal name but as a title.[60] This appears plausible as later this was the terminus occasionally used as a synonym for the Hadiyya "kings" as well as employed as a leadership title by other Cushitic- and Omotic-speaking people.[61] Amano also appeared in the pedigrees of the Sooro as the personal name of an ancestor who lived approximately 30-35 generations

54 This is basically my own interpretation (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 68-76).

55 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 61.

56 PERRUCHON 1889: 287, 293, 335, 339f.; cf. TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 192.

57 TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 102f., fn. 3) received this information from the original manuscript No. 821 kept in the British Museum, London.

58 COHEN 1931: 85; cf. TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 173, 176, 192, *passim*.

59 Personal communication from the Orthodox priests Bäträ Mälässä in Sagure and Zäga Wäldä s g . á , ´, , , T TV . ´ ´ ´Tg T ed to read.

60 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 58, fn. 2; ERNESTA CERULLI 1956: 85. This was confirmed by LITTMANN (1914: 30).

61 E.g., by the Agäw (D'ABBADIE 1890:61) and by the Yäm (STRAUBE 1963: 330).

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before the 1970s. Regarding the Hadiyya it can be repeatedly verified that the name of a famous leader continued to exist in later generations as a title.[62]

3.2.3 Aspects of Cultural History and Geography of the 14th Century

Whereas the Ethiopian chroniclers in their endeavour to depict political events by glorifying their rulers conveyed practically no cultural background information, we owe a great deal to the Arab historians for such portrayals with important data about the country and people of north-eastern Africa in the 14th century. In his geographical work *Takw n al-Buld n* (1321 A.D.), Ab 'l-Fidd' mentioned Hadiye or Hadea as a locality; the exact topographical position was specified at 57° 3´ longitude east and 7´ latitude north, between the equator and the first "Climat".[63] Many slaves were said to have been castrated into eunuchs there.[64]

Al-[c]Umari named Hadiyya as one of the seven Islamic sultanates or "kingships" of Ethiopia next to Awfat, Däwaro, Arabäbni, Šar a, Bale and Dära which were all under the suzerainty of " ", the Christian Emperor. At the time of the formulation of his document, [c] V g, . TV, T ´T ´, . T[65] These sultanates were described as being relatively weak and poor with low agricultural productivity and a fragmented population. They paid a tribute in silk and other fabrics, which had been imported from Egypt, Yemen and Iraq, to the ruler of the Amhara. Although the institutionalised framework of Islam was relatively underdeveloped, the population was attested by an awkward observance of the religious law code. Camels are said to have been lacking in the extremely hot area by that time. The population was described as being light-skinned and less frizzy-haired than in the other areas of Africa south of the Sahara. The architecture of this area, generally termed the "Zayla' country", with its unclad towns and houses made of mud, wood and stone was characterized by AL-[c]UMARm(1927: 1-4) as remarkably inconspicuous. What this Arab historiographer specifically reported about the Hadiyya state, which was ranked fourth on his list, is interesting enough to be quoted in full:

> "The same savants told me that the sovereign of Hadya is more powerful than his brothers, the other rulers of the seven kingdoms. It is he who possesses most cavalrymen and foot-soldiers and is mightiest, although his territory is said to be less extended than 'Awfdt; it has indeed eight days in length and nine in breadth. The king has an army of approximately forty thousand cavalrymen, not counting the foot-soldiers who constitute an immense crowd, at least double the amount of cavalrymen. Regarding their customs, their money and their products such as cereals, fruits and vegetables, they are the same as

62 E.g., the Leemo title *asha'n garaad* is said to have been derived from the name of the ancestor Ashaange.

63 Ab 'l-Fidd is quoted from the translation of RÉINAUD (1848, II: 329). "Climat" is a terminus for the graduation of the degrees of latitude.

64 Ab 'l-Fidd (RÉINAUD 1848, II: 239).

65 Al-[c]Umari is quoted from the translation of GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES (1927); here 1927: 24.

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> in ‘Arabdbni and in Dawdr . – It is the country of Hadya to which eunuchs are imported from the countries of unbelievers. The merchant El ajj Fardj el F ni told me that the sovereign of the ‘Am dra banned the castration of slaves, considering this act as outrageous and rigorously observing its repression. But the slavers go to a town called Wašlu which is inhabited by a mixed population and without religion; it is there where the slaves are castrated. These are the only people in the whole of the Abyssinian country who dare to do this. After the merchants have bought the slaves, they take them on hidden routes to Wašl , where they are castrated, which considerably increases their value. Thereafter, all those who were castrated are taken to Hadya. Here, they are subjected to a second operation in order to reopen the urinary tract [...]. Afterwards they are treated in Hadya until they are healed, because the people of Wašl do not know how to cure them. I asked El F ni why Hadya had made a special expertise of this field more than anyone else of the seven principalities. He responded to me that this was because of the vicinity of Wašl and because the inhabitants there had acquired a special ability to cure eunuchs. Nevertheless the number of those who die is higher than the number of the survivors, since it is terrible for them to be driven from one place to another without care. If they were treated in the same place where they are castrated, this would be more beneficial for them. On the other hand, if one would not take them to a place where one treats them, not a single person would survive. Allah knows it! – The people follow the anafite law school.”[66]

With the exception of Bale, where the territorial ruler was appointed by the Amhara, the Islamic principalities were ruled by local dynasties, which meant the suzerainty of the Christian Empire was based on a kind of indirect rule. As far as the data transmitted by AL-CUMARm(1927:19) refer in a more general sense to the Muslim states in the region of south-eastern Ethiopia, a precise differentiation as to which of them applied to Hadiyya in particular is not always possible. As a close cultural relationship between this state and its neighbours Däwaro, Arabäbni, Šar a and Bale was emphasized, however, and ethnic ties within the political entities were also verifiable (cf. chap. 3.4.1), the bulk of the information may equally be applicable to all of them. In an ecological sense, obviously Awfat and Dära, which had a larger percentage of arid zones, were significantly different to the others which were primarily localised in highland areas with more favourable agricultural conditions. Although Ifat (Awfat) was by far the biggest of the seven states in terms of surface area, its army of 15,000 horsemen and 20,000 foot soldiers comprised only a third of the contingent which could be mustered by Hadiyya (AL-CUMARm1927: 6). If we assume that according to the standard expectation of the society a “general conscription” existed and that military potential comprised the number of male persons fit to

66 AL-CUMARm(GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES) 1927: 15-17 (our translation from French).

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bear arms, a conclusion about the whole population of the individual states can be drawn. The number of soldiers in relation to their territory in Däwaro, Arabäbni, Šar a and Bale points to a relatively big population which was rendered possible by the favourable environmental conditions. If Hadiyya was indeed able to mobilize 120.000 warriors, its entire population must have numbered over a few hundred thousand people. Such figures from historical sources have to be viewed highly sceptically. They appear much to be too high in many cases, particularly when contrasted with significant statistical data of recent times. For example, the whole province of Arsi did not substantially exceed a million in the 1970s.[67] Even if the population figure is estimated as much lower, the Hadiyya state and its neighbours, for the conditions at that time, were of considerable size demographically speaking.

Their weakness and the lack of resources and products in these states, which al-ᶜUmari emphasised, are understandable from a comparative point of view when looking at other Islamic countries like Egypt or Yemen. In accordance with the prevailing conditions, then the opposite has to be assumed, in as much as cultivation with various grain crops and types of vegetables, fruit trees and cat (*Catha edulis*) were, for all intents and purposes, abundant and the keeping of domestic animals, cattle, horses, donkeys, mules, goats and sheep represented a valuable supplementary base for the agropastoral economy (AL-ᶜUMARm1927: 26). The explicit reference that camels were not to be found (cf. AL-ᶜUMARm1927: 4) is a remarkable fact for the Arab historian due to his own cultural background. It suggests that in the lowlands of the Horn of Africa their usage was not very common in the 14th century, (although their earlier existence is proved by rock pictures and other archaeological and cultural documents).

In some areas the planting and harvesting took place twice a year, dependent on the rainy season, as is customary today in northern Bale and other areas. Trade, for the most part, involved the exchange of natural products like sheep, cattle and grains. In the coastal areas however, gold and silver coins came into general use, and in the states of Hadiyya, Däwaro, Arabdbni and Šar a the monetary unit was a type of iron needle termed *akuna*. For 5.000 *akuna* one good cow could be bought, three thousand of these iron pieces equated to a good sheep or one *dirham*, a coin of Egyptian provenance.[68] The custom extensively practised today in south-eastern Ethiopia of wearing metal jewellery (especially made of copper alloys) and of rubbing fat all over the body, was documented in AL-ᶜUMARm̓s (1927: 29) account as early as the 14th century.

67 According to the ETHIOPIA. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (1972: 23) the population of Aru(s)si Province amounted to 852,900.

68 AL-ᶜUMARm(GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES) 1927: 15, 26. Iron money in the form of a bent flat bar (*marca* or *marco*) was customary in Wälaytta, Kämbata, 5 imma and other areas of southern Ethiopia up to the 20th century. Copies exist, for example, in the ethnographic collections of the Frobenius Institute at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1961, I: 200) mentioned iron money as currency also for Angot in northern Ethiopia.

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In his description of Hadiyya, the Arab historian emphasised as a remarkable fact that in this state slaves, who had been castrated elsewhere, received special healing treatment there.[69] The strict ban on the inhumane practice of castration by order of the Ethiopian Emperor was circumvented in Wašlu. This place which was once again mentioned in *Fut al- abaša*[70] cannot be localized. The description of its mixed population and the fact that one could evade the above-mentioned imperial decree speaks for its location in an area beyond the direct control of the Christian Empire.[71] The need for eunuchs was considerable in the centres of the Islamic world and while one regarded the castration itself as an abhorrent and illegal practice there, the origin and supply of those castrated was a question of special interest.[72] Sub-Saharan Africa was the main supplier of slaves and also of eunuchs whose numbers could hardly satisfy the demand of the harems in Arabia, Egypt and Turkey.[73]

In his description al-ᶜUmari stated that in Hadiyya for the purpose of healing the urinary tract of those castrated, a surgical procedure was done to open it in order to remove puss, thereby cleaning it. When the mortality rate was generally higher than the survival rate, one could conclude that this involved total castration whereby both penis and testicles were cut off. As a result, the danger of haemorrhaging and infection being fatal increased considerably.[74] However, the value of the eunuchs castrated in such a manner rose accordingly, as it was believed that in curtailing the procedure by only cutting off the testicles, a certain ability to produce an erection via the penis still remained. The chronicler al-ᶜUmari pointed out that immediate medical treatment for the castrated would have reduced the mortality rate, as the biggest losses on the march from Wašlu to Hadiyya resulted from the untreated wounds of the slaves. The fact that only the Hadiyya were acquainted with such healing procedures presupposes their having had above-average medical knowledge. Which

69 PAULITSCHKE (1884: 15) and PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 67) concluded wrongly from information sources provided by Ab 'l-Fidd that the castration itself was carried out in Hadiyya.

70 *Fut* 1897: 201. It appears in BASSET's translation of the version Ouachloh.

71 AL-ᶜUMARm(GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES) 1927: 16 ff. The *Fut* (1897: 201) named the peripheries of Gänz province as a possible localization. This area was situated according to my own reconstruction on both sides of the lower Bilate (cf. chap. 3.2.5, 3.2.6 and BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 47ff.). GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES (1927: 16, fn. 3) indicates the possibility of an ethnic relationship between the mixed population of Wašlu (*Hamaj*) and an identically-named population in Tekrur, which in the Ethiopian region frequently applied as a synonym in the broadest sense for Muslims from west of the Nile (see BASSET 1897: 426, fn. 1; BURTON 1856: 258; JOANNISSIANY/TIMOTHEUS n.d.: 26; PAUL 1954: 146). With the Takruri it mostly involved the Mecca pilgrims who settled during their travels in Darfur, Kordofan, northern Ethiopia, Eritrea and other areas (see also BRAUKÄMPER 1992: 90-96).

72 This became apparent from the fact that this point nearly a century later took up a large part of Makrizi's work based on Ab 'l-Fidd' and al ᶜUmari's notes. See MA RRZm(RINCK) 1790: 14 f.

73 In later centuries Coptic monks (BURCKHARDT 1981: 240f.) as well as specialists in the precolonial state of Bagirmi (BOUJOUL 1939) and certain Somali groups are reported to have particularly been involved in the castration of slave-boys and in the trade of eunuchs.

74 In Bagirmi only one in ten castrated boys was said to have survived (BOUJOUL 1939).

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surgical, medicinal or other procedures were applied at that time is not known. A certain passing on of these skills and practices evidently did take place. The present-day Hadiyya are perceived by their neighbours as having particularly skilled healers, and we documented statements about men in the area who had been castrated through warring conflicts and had survived. According to the narratives of the elders, a defeated enemy could save his life if he sacrificed his genitals to his conqueror without resisting. This was seldom if ever practised, and in most cases it involved wounded warriors presumed dead, whose sought after organs were cut off as trophies. In fortunate circumstances, however, they could be nursed back to health.[75]

The reports on the role of the Hadiyya in their treatment of eunuchs have induced some authors to see this state as a centre for the slave-trade within the entire area of southern Ethiopia.[76] Primary source material does not provide concrete information on this. However, the fact that the territories of Hadiyya verged on the "pagan areas" of south-western Ethiopia, the traditional slave reservoir for the Muslims as well as the Christians, tends to substantiate such a conclusion. TADDESSE TAMRAT's (1972: 137) interpretation that the conquest of Hadiyya by [c] V g, . VT ´ Z, to the slave-trade at its operational base that the impact was felt right up to the Red Sea coast, certainly goes too far. It remains absolutely uncertain whether, and in what way, the Christian Ethiopian rule tried to influence human trafficking in the 14th century.

From sources like the [c] V g, . ´, . T . V -[c]Umari's notes, TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 136) believed that at this time Hadiyya was a predominantly non-Islamic state, where Muslim elements were at best represented by a minority of immigrant traders and indigenous converts, whereas the mass of the people turned as little to the new religion as did the ruling elite. With regard to the large majority of the population it seems indeed conceivable that the Muslim penetration was not yet so advanced and deep-rooted, although al-[c]Umari explicitly noted it as one of the seven Islamic principalities in "Abyssinia". As the adoption of Islam in Africa always ensued through the social leaders, one can however presume a comparatively fixed entrenchment in the cultural system of Islam by the political elite.

Indications about the geographical position of Hadiyya in the first half of the 14th century are only fragmentary. We assumed the hypothesis that this political entity, prior to the Muslim states becoming differentiated and expanding, was to be found in the area of the Harär Plateau. For the first half of the 14th century at the latest, a significant shift to the west became evident, and Hadiyya appeared henceforth as the area of the Islamic principalities pushed forward the most in the direction of the lakes of the Rift Valley. Sasogi, Šar a and Däwaro, territories either belonging to Hadiyya or bordering it to the east, which were ravaged by the troops of [c]Amdä

75 Such a case was made known to me, for example, from Shonee (Baadawwaachcho).

76 LEFEBVRE 1845-49, I: 377; MARQUART 1913: CCCXXII; CERULLI 1925: 604; PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER 1957a: 67; TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 136f.

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g, . T ´T , Tg , ZT , dTV ZT TT. ´T , . . .V ´T Wabi Šäbälle bend.[77] In accordance, Hadiyya must have expanded westwards, in all probability up to the eastern slopes of the Rift Valley. This is suggested by the reference in AL-[C]UMARm(1927: 29) that in its area there was a lake with remarkable aquatic birds, whereby a lake in the lowlands of the Rift Valley (e. g. Lake Z[w]ay or Lake Langano) could have been meant.

According to my reconstruction, around the 14th century the Hadiyya state constituted an area from western Cärcär and the area of today's Shirka in Arsiland up to the Lake Region, and as it was a western neighbour of Bale, it must have included a large territory south of the upper Wabi, such as Gädäb. In this last-mentioned area there is also the network of parallels and meridians defined by Ab 'l-Fidd' indicating the position of Hadiyya at 57° 3´ eastern longitude and 7´ northern latitude according to the then customary system in the Arab world. If one takes the prime nought meridian determined by Ptolemy as a basis, corresponding to the Ferro-nought-meridian referred to by the western cape of Ferro (Canary Islands), situated today at 18° 39´4" west of Greenwich, the correlating point can be localised in the Urgooma massif of Bale.[78] According to oral traditions, the ridge of these highlands formed the border between the principalities of Hadiyya and Bale. On the basis of these data most of the authors can be refuted who localised Hadiyya in the region of the upper Gibe west of the Rift Valley in the 14th century. Transferred onto the modern map of Ethiopia, the state covered a territory which corresponded to a large part of the Ar(u)si province (after 1962), the north-east of Bale as well as some border areas of the former provinces Hararge and Sidamo.

3.2.4 From [c] g I to Zär'a Ya[c] qob (1344-1434)

The time of [c] V g, . T TT. TV ´T R ´TP´ , R , , T . ´T history of the Christian Ethiopian state which, because of its imperialistic aspirations, started to have a growing impact on the fate of neighbouring territories in the south. The ninety years from his death to the coming to power of Zär'a Ya[c] qob reflected a certain stagnation in expansionist politics, and these years are comparatively sparsely documented by the chroniclers. At the end of this phase, a report by Ma rizi on the Islamic principalities in "Abyssinia" largely repeats the pieces of information provided by Ab 'l-Fidd' and al-[c]Umari, but also records a number of political events of his day.

The epochs from 1344-1434 were filled with the Christian Empire's military conflicts against the Muslims under the leading power of the sultanate Ifat-[c]Adal. An Ethiopian hagiography relates for example that "…a rebel called Sä'alädin…son of Haqälädin in the country of Adal…fought against King Ddwit whose army he easily

77 I have already forwarded detailed arguments for this localization in another work (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 61f.).

78 For information on the historic network of parallels and meridians I would like to thank the German geographers Helge Schmitz (Cologne) and A. Hempel (Bonn).

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destroyed".[79] This personage, Sala al-Din, who died in 1422, was the brother and direct successor of Ha al-Din and not his son as erroneously stated in the document. He is portrayed by the Egyptian encyclopaedist A mad al- al ashandi (died 1418) as a powerful and successful adversary of the Christian Empire.[80] However, he eventually had to bow to the superior forces of the Amhara, and the same occurred with his successors Man r (died 1424) and Djamdl al-Din (1425-33). After Dawit I (1382- " ' G ((1414-29) succeeded as ruler of the Christian Empire after a short interruption. A song in praise of this Emperor referred to splendid victories against the rebellious Allaaba and Gudeella,[81] who can be identified as subgroups of the Hadiyya (cf. chap. 3.2.5). The triumphant advance of his troops up to as far as the coast of the Indian Ocean reaching a climax in the conquest of Zayla', meant a serious setback for the Islamic principalities of eastern Ethiopia, but could nevertheless not permanently curb their steady advancement. A short time later, they again represented an existential threat to the Christian Empire so that in the year 806 "' ' G (V , ´ T T. VTTP , . , ´T w . P , R ´T "Franks" – presumably the Venetians and Genoese – requesting backing against the Muslim enemy.[82] At that time a vassal of the Sultan of ᶜAdal, Djamdl al-Din, had defeated an Ethiopian army of 7,000 men and won another victory in the border districts of Bale.[83] To safeguard the Empire at the south-eastern flank, Dawit I had stationed troops in the further advanced dependencies of Bale and Däwaro which suffered heavy losses thereafter in various battles against the Muslims.[84]

In connection with these Islamic-Christian conflicts the Hadiyya are only mentioned once. Their principality functioned as a vassal to the Ethiopian Emperor and supported his campaign against Ifat-ᶜAdal with a contingent of troops. To MA RmZm (RINCK 1790: 23) we owe the following report:

> "He [a'd al-Din] fought also with Amano, the Hati's emir in Hadya, and put him to flight, capturing a large number of his men. Withdrawing from this district of Fawra he next attacked Zalan, and took from there so much booty that the portion allotted to the Sultan amounted to 40,000 head of cattle, all of which indeed he distributed among the poor and needy and the soldiers, leaving nothing but what might suffice for one of his wives."

79 CONTI ROSSINI 1904: 38 (Text). Translation by TADDESSE TAMRAT 1972: 151.

80 LITTMANN 1914: 18f.

81 In this context see GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES 1927: 37, fn. 1.

82 This is reported in Makrizi's "*Kit b al-sul k*" (Quatremère, Mém. II, p. 277 f.) cited by MARQUART (1913: CCLXXVI), from which I took this information.

83 F. T. RINCK translated Ma rizi's history of the Islamic principalities in Ethiopia into Latin (1790) and G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD provided an English version of this text. In the following I shall quote MA RmZm(RINCK) 1790. Here MA RmZm(RINCK) 1790: 32, 34; cf. LEJEAN 1870: 101.

84 MA RmZm(RINCK) 1790: 35f.

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The places or districts mentioned, which were obviously situated in Hadiyya territory, are not identifiable. The vast number of cattle looted by the ᶜAdal troops is remarkable and only believable with scepticism.

á´T ,.(T ,RE g Zg T, G (remained a peripheral event and did not lead to a permanent occupation of the Somali peninsula. The Christian ruler, however, succeeded in incorporating Kämbata and some neighbouring territories into the abäša state and evidently more or less comprehensively Christianised them.[85] At that time, the Kämbata territory was with certainty not yet inhabited by Hadiyya. Cohen's assumption that the Qabeena-Hadiyya are said to have immigrated to the present residential districts at the upper Gibe region as early as the time of Dawit I, i.e., thus at the turn of the 14th to the 15th century[86], clearly contradicts all the historical findings (cf. chap. 3.5.1). One can suppose that this version came about by blending in the traditions of the neighbouring Gurage.

3.2.5 The Epoch of Zär'a Yaᶜqob (1434-68)

When Zär'a Yaᶜqob ascended the throne of the Christian Empire, a pest epidemic had afflicted its territories to an extent that in some areas apparently not enough survivors were left to bury the dead.[87] The crisis however was rapidly overcome and the forthcoming decades were historically seen as the zenith of the medieval Ethiopian state.[88] The Empire's sphere of influence up until the end of the 19th century was never more extensive as in this phase and at no other time did the Christian cultural influence have a comparable intensity. As far southward as Gamu-Gofa and the Sidaama territory, Zär'a Yaᶜeqob is virtually the only Ethiopian monarch before M nil k II whose memory is preserved in the oral traditions. His name became – e.g. in the version d Serdqo – quite often a synonym for all Christian Emperors.[89]

Hadiyya was one of the numerous tributary states under the supremacy of the Christian state. However, there was a strong opposition to foreign dominance which was asserted in the initial phase of Zär'a Yaᶜ qob's reign by the refusal to pay levies. According to the understanding of the ruling Amhara this attitude simply meant open unrest. The chronicle dedicated to the Emperor gave an account of this conflict which, in comparison with other events, is astonishingly detailed. It shall therefore be quoted as a whole.[90]

> "However, when he [Zär'a Yaᶜ qob] sent a messenger to the Gar d of ady in order to remind him to pay his tribute, this governor called M hikô who was the son of Gar d Me mad and brother of Itê J n Zêl , Qañ Ba'altihat, answered as follows: No, I shall not go to your gate and I shall not leave my

85 GUIDI 1889: 56, *passim*; CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 76.
86 COHEN 1931: 96. In this context he refers to the "Documents Schlobies".
87 PERRUCHON 1893: 73f., 93.
88 According to BRUCE (1790/91, II: 67) Zär'a Yaᶜ qob was viewed as the "second Solomon".
89 For this fact cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 276; BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 44.
90 PERRUCHON 1893: 16-23 (our translation from French with the original accents).

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country; then he sent the royal messenger back and refused to comply with the order of the king. – One of the functionaries of the ady named Gad ytô Gar d who had noticed the rebellion of the Gar d of the ady , went hastily to the king in order to let him know the stupidity of the last-mentioned. As he told the king: He, Gad ytô, has made great preparations to go to war and has asked the inhabitants of Adal for support in order to ravage the kingdoms of Daw rô and B li. – The king asked Gad ytô Gar d: Who are his allies? All people of ady or only a part of them and what shall I do according to your advice? Gad ytô Gar d answered him: His allies are Gudol Gar d, Diho Gar d, adabo Gar d, Ganazo Gar d, Saga Gar d, Gab Gar d, Qab'ên Gar d, Gogala Gar d, Halab Gar d. These are all those who are with M hikô, and, to my mind, what is to be done furthermore, o my master, is to let the Gar d B mô, his uncle, come, who is at Dagên and to appoint him as Gar d of ady in his place that he may overthrow his project and destroy his power. Our king Zar'a Y 'eqôb followed the advice of Gad ytô Gar d and hastily ordered the Gar d B mô to come from the country of Dagên, who soon arrived. Our king was at Dabra Berhan by then. The Gar d B mô was appointed Gar d of ady and received rich clothes, just as Gad ytô. Both of them were sent with a very large troop made up by Ba ar Shôtal from the province of D môt. All people of D w rô and of B li were ordered to join. The king told them: Watch out that he does not escape and reach the country of Adal. Then the trumpet was blown. A large number of monks and priests came together and the king ordered them to pray in their churches while he offered a great deal of incense and distributed clothes among the poor and beggars. On this day, after the incense was burned, I had a vision in which our king Zar'a Y 'eqôb appeared who said to the holy men: Take this rebel to be tied with a strong cord and let him prostrate himself in front of me. The following night I saw before I fell asleep our Holy Virgin Mary. The holy men prayed and begged God, the Lord, that this vision would be realized. – With regard to B mô, the new Gar d of ady , he departed to his province and arrived there with the troops which the king had given to him. All the chiefs who had revolted appeared in front of him [the king] and submitted. After he had received this information M hikô went with his troops to the country of Adal. The soldiers of D môt pursued him up to S g and reached him just at that moment when he entered his quarters [amba]. He had disseminated many precious objects on his way, namely Marwé and Gemadj , hoping that his enemies would interrupt their pursuit in order to collect them. But the pursuers did not stop there, they vigorously charged after him, entered his quarters simultaneously, killed him and chopped off his head, his hands and his feet. This news reached the king rapidly and greatly pleased him and the whole court. And they celebrated this event by excessive dancing and singing just as in the Easter season. All the holy men thanked God in

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> many ways, because he had answered to their prayers and those of their sovereign Zar'a Y 'eqôb, and because He had overthrown his enemy so quickly.
>
> B mô, Gar d of ady , then came with the people of D môt and took along the head, the hands and the feet of the rebel. They presented themselves to the king and they told him what had happened. The king thanked the Gar d and the men of D môt. They were offered drinks and as much food as they wanted. [...] Some time later the king sent all the warriors, to whom he had donated precious clothes, back to their countries, Gad ytô Gar d and also his descendents up to the third generation were discharged from the authority of the Gar d of ady and the Ba ar Shôtal who killed M ikô received a land grant in his province. Praise to God who has secured our king Zar'a Y 'eqôb who through the hand of his servant has gained a prompt victory".

Henceforth Hadiyya, just like Bale, became a province of the Christian state which the Emperor made secure by establishing a settlement of numerous military colonists (*kätäma*) there.[91] According to oral traditions, the Garada, an Arsi clan southwest of the Wabi Šäbälle source, for example, trace back to such settlers.

The Christian position on the southern flank had grown into a serious threat by the time Sultan Shihdb al-Din A mad Badldy (r. 1432-45), called Arwe Badldy (the snake Badldy) by the Amhara, ascended the throne of ᶜAdal and prepared himself to pursue the expansionist policy begun by his brother and predecessor, Djamdl al-Din (1425-32).[92] Occasionally, Shihdb al-Din succeeded in wresting the province of Bale away from the Christians where he is supposed to have settled 10,000 Muslim families.[93] However, ᶜAdal had to yield to the superior power of the Ethiopian Empire under Zär'a Yaᶜ qob. Shihdb al-Din A mad Badldy is said to have even sent a delegation to Cairo to call attention to the desperate situation in the struggle against the Christians. The Islamic brothers in faith gave no practical help, however.[94] An advance into the province of Däwaro became a disaster for the Muslim troops and their leader.[95]

In this conflict between ᶜAdal and the Ethiopian Empire, which found expression in the chronicle of Emperor Zär'a Yaᶜ qob as well as in the work of Ma rizi, the Hadiyya also appeared marginally.

> "The Gar d of ady sent a message also to the king in order to tell him to let him know in case he needed his help. At the same time he assured 'Arwê Badl y of his fidelity and his support, but this was only a wrong promise. –

91 PERRUCHON 1893: 46f.

92 In Ma rizi's account of Djamdl al-Din (RINCK 1790: 32 ff.) it was said he won many battles, subjugated territories, captured a lot of spoils and contributed considerably to the enhancement of power in his dominion.

93 MA RIZI (RINCK) 1790: 40f.

94 CERULLI 1943: 293f.

95 TRIMINGHAM (1965: 75) based on PERRUCHON (1893: 88) set the date at 1445 A.D. Cf. CERULLI 1943: 293.

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> Our king Zär'a Y^{c} (Z T , . Tg , ´T V, R Vg ., , , T , stay at 'Ayfars, to encamp there and to stand by there, until he was called. The king then gave him a Malkañ , and pursuant to the order which he had received, the Gar d of ady stayed at 'Ayfars. This Gar d called Me mad was the father of the queen 'Elêni, Qañ Ba'altê at. One did not trust him since he was a Muslim like 'Arwê Badl y, and it was because of this motive that he was kept away from the place of the battle, because his intention was suspect".[96]

Afterwards, a decisive battle took place presumably in the region of the middle Awaš River, which resulted in the annihilation of the Muslim armies and the death of A mad Badldy. The Hadiyya ruler, who had remained neutrally observant, was then ordered by Zär'a Ya^{c} qob to the battlefield in order to witness the Christians' sublime victory with his own eyes. The chronicle reports this event as follows.[97]

> "The king also let the Gar d of ady come, who had stayed in 'Ayfars, in order to let him personally witness this miracle, and he donated rich clothes to him in order to give him proof of his good intention. Thereupon, the head, the hands and the feet of the unbeliever 'Arw Badl y were cut off. His body was chopped into pieces and parts of them were sent to all provinces: his head to 'Amba and the other limbs to Aksum, to Man adbê, to W shl, to Djendjenô, to Lawô and the Wiz".

The records in the chronicle of Zär'a Ya^{c} qob essentially refer to military and political events. But due to the possibilities to correlate them with oral traditions and to analyse the cultural conditions of the present populations, more coherent data for the interpretation of the historical occurrences can be composed.[98]

Gärad (*garaad*) denoted the title of the leader of the entire Hadiyya as well as of those listed Hadiyya subgroups associated with this title. It is still used by the present-day Hadiyya in the area west of the Rift Valley, but has obviously experienced a functional transformation and as of now is a somewhat honorific title.[99] Most of the subgroups mentioned in the chronicle and particularly those belonging to the then politically defined cluster of the Hadiyya can be identified with ethnic groups of today, so that their historical continuity as far back as the 15th century most likely holds true. Gudola, just another form of Gudeella, is a name which corresponds with

96 PERRUCHON 1893: 58f. (our translation from French).

97 PERRUCHON 1893: 65 (our translation from French).

98 I have already dealt with the possibilities of correlating the Zär'a Ya^{c} qob chronicle with oral traditions elsewhere (BRAUKÄMPER 1973: 43f.).

99 Cf. CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 188; CERULLI 1942: 7 ff.; BASSET 1897: 10, fn. 3. The origin of the title which is also still commonly used for the chiefs of local districts and for political leaders among the Baarentuu-Oromo and the Somali of eastern Ethiopia remains uncertain. LEBEL (1974: 100) expressed the hypothesis that it is derived from the Amharic language and means "female servant". This is doubtful, however, and has also not been approved of in a recent analysis (GORI: 2005: 696f.).

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the rest of the scattered Weexo-giira and Leemo (cf. chap. 1). Gab is probably an abbreviation of Gadab (Gädäb), the designation of a region after which the Hadiyya groups Sooro, Shaashoogo and Urusso collectively call themselves Gadabichcho. The Allaaba and Qabeena still exist under these names. The descendants of the Ganz all live as splinter groups among the before-mentioned groups as well as among some of their neighbours, like the Kambaata and Yäm. The Saaga now exist as a clan of the Eaha in West-Gurage, where they formerly held a leading position. Later they were known as specialists for the production of thin-walled ceramics and were not discriminated against in the typical way as towards the potters generally called *Fuga'a*. Among the Kambaata, they occasionally earned their living as smiths. The Hadabo (Adaba in Bale), Diho and Gogola are possibly groups who were assimilated by the Arsi.[100] Regarding Gadayto *gärad* an explanation was given to me in Shaashoogo that it had to do with a chief who had been elected for a certain period of time: *gadaitto* was said to mean "year of lucky fate". It could have referred to a representative designated by the Ethiopian Emperor – as is actually recorded in the chronicle – who reported to the supreme authority on the public feeling in the country and was not, like the other *gärad*, a chief of a subgroup. A Hadiyya group named Gadayto (or Gadaitto) is not known.

The names of some of the people mentioned in the chronicle are to be found in the genealogies. Moreover, folk legends are linked to them which are undoubtedly echoed in some areas with the circumstances being found in the written source materials. There is Mehmad or Mä mad (obviously a local form of Mu ammad), his daughter leni, the wife of the Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob, and Mahiko (Mihiko; Mayuko), Mehmad's son, who met his death as leader of the uprising against the Christians, and finally his brother Ba(a)mo, who as a loyal vassal, contributed to the rebellion's exposure and suppression.

The pedigrees collected among the Hadiyya agree that Booyyaamo (Booyye) and Biimaaddo were the sons of the *garaad* Suuf Nuur Manchicho. Although the meanings of the Islamic word f(i), which refers to a follower of mystic beliefs and practices, and of the Arabic word N r (light) are commonly not known by the bulk of the non-Islamic Hadiyya any longer, it was generally emphasized that he was a fervent Muslim. In the vast majority of the genealogies, Manchicho appears in approximately the 16th position which suggests the time of his life at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century. According to historical data debated above, he must have lived in the first half of the 15th century, however. Thus an incompleteness of the pedigrees for approximately two generations must be assumed. Despite this obvious discrepancy, the identity of Manchicho's sons with the figures in the Zär'a Ya^{c} qob chronicle most likely holds true. Booyyaamo corresponds with the Baamo in the

100 The problem of identification is additionally heightened by the different versions of the names and their spellings. BRUCE (1790/91, II: 72), for example, identified the following designations: Goodalu, Alarea, Ditho, Hybo, Ganze, Saag, Gidibo, Kibber, Gugule and Haleb.

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documents, and behind Biimaaddo a local version of the name Mehmad is concealed. The contents of the written document and of the oral traditions also entirely correlate in the statement that Baamo/Booyyaamo is seen as the faithful vassal of the Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob. It is furthermore worth mentioning that he is said to have been entrusted with the care of the imperial herds, as the Hadiyya have always been famous for their expertise in animal husbandry. There is the following narrative about Booyyaamo which is occasionally also associated with his father Manchicho.

> Zär'a Ya^{c} qob had one of his palatinates on the mountain Hossis Ambarichcho [situated in an area today inhabited by the Shaashoogo-Hadiyya at the upper Bilate River] and as his servant Booyyaamo was responsible for the imperial livestock. One day at the king's court he made away with a red coat [a piece of clothing symbolising royal grandeur which is known by the present Hadiyya under the name *jaano*] and went with it to Hadiyyaland. There he clambered up a tree in a place where women went to fetch water and concealed himself there for a time until one of the women discovered him through the reflection of the red coat in the water. Greatly surprised, the people wondered about the peculiar stranger's origin and asked him to climb down from the tree. They would have liked to do him the honour of accommodating and entertaining him in a hospitable way as they mistook him for a *wa'amanchcho* [a kind of magician]. However, Booyyaamo declared his willingness to come down only if three conditions could be fulfilled: 1. His feet should not touch the ground, but rather he was to be carried away on the shoulders of the people. 2. A virgin of noble blood must be allocated to him as a wife as he could only receive nourishment from such a one. 3. A new house must be built for him as he could not live in any house inhabited previously. The people accepted his demands and men from the Hayyibba clan were instructed to carry Booyyaamo on their shoulders.
>
> (Sooro, Shaashoogo and Urusso tradition, according to Nunishe Manta).

With this act, the Hadiyya acknowledged Booyyaamo's claim to leadership, and still today it is deemed a particular honour when one can trace one's family tree back to him and thereby identify oneself as Booyyaamanna. It remained customary for Hayyibba men to carry a dignitary on their shoulders when proclaiming him a Booyyamanna-*gärad*. The Hayyibba of today, who live widely dispersed among the Hadiyya tribes, do not however value this tradition which classifies them as servants to the Booyyaamanna. They rather defy this role with the observation that formerly it was customary to carry newly bought slave children home on the shoulders. Consequently, the Hayyibba were to be considered the masters.[101]

101 As already mentioned, I could experience a remarkable change in the evaluation of these oral traditions in the late 1990s. The Weexo-giira and other Hadiyya groups vehemently started opposing the elitist position of the Booyyaamanna and their allegedly privileged access to

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Sometimes the story of Booyyaamo is simplified by stating that he came from "Gondär" as a herdsman with Zär'a Ya^{c} qob. This version is evidently the source of a tradition that the Hadiyya originated from this area which stood for the northern Ethiopian highlands in the broadest sense, and that their original "homeland" Rayyaa is consequently to be located there. This tradition was certainly promoted by prestige thinking, as Gondär, founded only in the 17th century, was a place in Ethiopia which was held in high esteem.

The oral traditions of the Hadiyya proper have preserved the names of Booyyaamo's seven children, six sons and one daughter who represented the beginning of a new tribal differentiation. The four brothers Shako, Hade, Habaaro and Boosho stayed together and formed a sort of confederation which became identified with the Hadiyya word for "four" and was thus termed Sooro. Shaashe became the progenitor of the Shaashoogo which however remains questionable as the group had already been mentioned at the time of ^{c} V g, . R ´ ‘ ’ ´ ´ ´ V obviously developed independently from the Sooro north of Gädäb. A further tribe was named after Urusso, the sixth son – he has occasionally been identified as a female, a version rejected by the group bearing his name – which detached itself relatively early from the others and joined the ethnic cluster of the Baadawwaachcho. Manjoole, Booyyaamo's daughter, is said to have married the Sidaama chief Moolla in Yemererra in present-day Sidaamaland, and together with him founded the imbaaro people.[102]

The second son of Manchicho, Biimaaddo, was Booyyaamo's older half-brother having been born to another mother. For an unknown reason he was cursed by his father and this malediction was said to transfer to his descendents, who were separated from the Booyyaamanna, and in the course of time were scattered all over and then disappeared, except for a remaining few. Biimaaddo was seen as the ancestor of the Libidoo (Maräqo) and a few other groups who live dotted around Qabeena. The oral tradition reported that he was an important magician, and the introduction of the popular religion called *Fandaanano*, characterized through Islamic relics, is substantially connected with him. With regard to Biimaado's sons, Mahiiyo and Mansuuro, the tradition does not relate anything except their names. Presumably, Mahiiyo is a local version which corresponds to Mahiko in the Zär'a Ya^{c} qob chronicle.

The oral traditions are in agreement about Zär'a Ya^{c} qob's wife being from Hadiyya, but are not able to state her name or often give exact information about her

administrative jobs. In this new trend, the so-called Agara-Hadiyya (*agara* = land) emphasize that they are the oldest inhabitants of the country and also constitute the majority of the population. The first-mentioned claim is undisputed; the latter cannot yet be proved by demographic statistics. The dispute has verbally become radical and will hopefully not escalate in violent actions (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2005: 369).

102 Cf. PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER 1957a: 83. A more detailed description of this oral tradition is presented in my monograph on Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 26-28).

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ancestry. Most commonly, she is said to be the daughter of Biimaaddo, who as Mehmad in the chronicle, was in effect the father of Empress leni.

When we try to match the statements made in the Zär'a Ya^{c} qob Chronicle with the oral traditions, the following picture of the Hadiyya in the 15th century emerges:

Hadiyya was one of the most important vassal states of the Christian Empire which was subdivided into a number of territorial or more specifically ethnic clusters which presumably formed a sort of confederation lacking a rigid, unified leadership. Among the different *gärad*, Mehmad (Biimaaddo) had such a prominent role that the Christian Emperor tried to ensure his loyalty by marrying his daughter leni (Helena). This must have taken place in approximately 1445, before Prince Bä' dä Maryam was born.[103] In line with the custom, she married very young and outlived her husband, Zär'a Ya^{c} qob, by 54 years. After her conversion to Christianity, which was obligatory due to the marriage regulations, she rose to the position of *Qañ ba'altehat*, "Queen of the Right", and, as a result, had a leading position among the women of the court. She was praised as a committed patron of the Orthodox Church and was seen as a prominent politician in the Ethiopian Empire until her death in 1522.[104] She held the title Princess of Zayla' ("Ite Jan Zela"),[105] which on the one hand was meant to express the overall Christian claim to power over the Islamic East, and on the other hand also accounted for the fact that she was descended, at least nominally, from the territory belonging to the Zayla' Federation.

As the Arab names in the genealogies suggest, in Mehmad's pedigree Mansuur, his grandfather, was at the very least a Muslim. The tradition that the *Fandaanano* religion was supposed to have been disseminated at the time of Mehmad (Biimaaddo) is indicative of an Islamic wave of expansion in Hadiyyaland. As already pointed out, this syncretistic religion contained so many Muslim elements that it was sometimes viewed as equivalent to Islam.[106] This is also confirmed by a tradition reported by the Qabeena that the Muslim religion gained considerable ground under Sultan A mad Badldy, a contemporary of Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob.

Baamo's religious affiliation is never mentioned. It is noteworthy, however, that he gained the Emperor's appreciation, whereas the Christian Ethiopians continuously mistrusted the Muslim Mehmad as a potential sympathiser and ally of the Islamic adversaries under the leadership of ^{c}Adal. As the adoption of Islam was understood to more or less signify political rivalry, he and his people may not have been fervent Muslims but al best superficial ones. Significantly, the Booyyaamo of the oral tradition was also not specified as an adherent of the *Fandaanano* religion. Likewise, there are no indications that he was a Christian.

103 PERRUCHON 1893: 16, 59. TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 288 f.) believes that the marriage was undertaken because of political reasons which took into consideration the growing importance of this mighty state south of the Christian Empire.

104 For this date see BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD (1961: 425, fn. 1).

105 PERRUCHON 1893: 16.

106 For details see BRAUKÄMPER 1997. At present, I am working on a monograph on the socio-religious system of *Fandaanano.* Cf. also PETER 1999.

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At any rate, the fact that the historical fate of Hadiyya was determined by the actions of the two rival half-brothers is not as relevant as the conclusion that it reflected a basic political dichotomy of the Hadiyya in the 15th century. Obviously, two blocs of different political and cultural orientation were facing each other by then. On the one hand stood the dominating Muslim party which, in conjunction with the leading Islamic power ᶜAdal, strove for independence from the Christian Empire and only remained neutral out of fear of the superiority of the Ethiopian weaponry in Zär'a Yaᶜqob's war against Shihdb al-Din A mad Badldy. This party was faced, on the other hand, by a faction less intensively touched by Islam, which sought to improve its position by actively supporting the Emperor.

Indications of a cartographic reconstruction of the political and ethnic circumstances cannot be gained from the sources as the places mentioned like 'Ayfars, for example, are not identifiable. The maps originating from this period (1454) by Egyptus Novelo (CRAWFORD 1958, fig. 1) on which "Adia" is put between the Abbay bend south of Go33am and the ocean, indicate that particularly in this geographical area a falsification has occurred to such an extent that with regard to the localization of Hadiyya hardly any conclusions of informative value can be drawn. Also Fra Mauro's map from 1460 does not show any details which could be of use for this purpose.

According to a tradition which I recorded, Zär'a Yaᶜqob is said to have built a camp on the Hossis Ambarichcho at the upper Bilate (which is not to be confused with the Ambarichcho in Kämbata country), where he also received Booyyaamo. From Ambichcho, a place situated a few kilometres west, gangs of porters supplied the imperial court with foodstuffs and water. In those days, the neighbouring Lake Booyyo covered a bigger area than today and is said to have been traversed by boats. From the Hossis Ambarichcho, a route led to the hill of Shonee in an area today occupied by the Baadawwaachcho west of the middle Bilate River, where according to the local tradition an imperial camp was located. The hill is called Fara'tgolla by the locals which means "hill where the horses are looked after". In the neighbouring district of Amburse we were shown (in 1971) remnants of a building constructed out of stone and mortar out of which a giant sycamore tree has grown. The people call the tree Haxee-oda'a (the Emperor's sycamore) and are convinced that the ruins date back to the time of Zär'a Yaᶜqob. It was undoubtedly an unusual construction in a region like this; only archaeological investigations can provide data for its chronological placement, however. The residence Däbrä B rhan mentioned in the chronicle can most likely be identified as the town of this name in Šäwa whose foundation is attributed to Zär'a Yaᶜqob. A place named Zar'a in the area of the YäCärät (Gyeto)-Gurage, where the Emperor is meant to have camped on a march against the Hadiyya, has been linked to Zär'a Yaᶜqob.[107]

At the time of this sovereign, the whole area to the west of the Lake Region from Gurage to Gamo was a dominion of the Ethiopian Empire. As in the previous cen-

107 This was reported by LEBEL (1974:102).

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tury, the settlement areas of the Hadiyya in those days still stretched eastward of the Rift Valley from the Cärcär Range up to northern Bale and in the south-west probably went as far as the lowland regions of Lake Abbayya. As already pointed out, a political and cultural dualism in connection with the rivalry between the Mehmad and Baamo factions was certainly reflected in the territorial situation. Most likely groups of fervent Muslims lived in the north of Hadiyya state, the Libidoo led by the *gärad* Mehmad, the Qabeena and the Allaaba. The Gadab(ichcho), Gudeella, Ganz and other groups in the south were obviously less influenced by Islam and had an outstanding ruler in the figure of Baamo. This constellation was partly due to the geopolitical circumstances, as in the north the proximity to the hegemonic state of ᶜAdal suggested a political, economic and cultural orientation in that direction, whereas in the south with its higher degree of dependence on the neighbouring Christian Empire, advantages were to be got out of this. A dichotomy of the two parts became also evident in ethnic and linguistic conditions. The state of Hadiyya was inhabited by both Semitic- as well as Cushitic-speaking groups – the bulk of the last-mentioned in the south – who closely interacted but were sometimes rivals of each other. The ethnic name Hadiyya evidently traces back to a political term for a territorial unit populated by heterogeneous groups. Whereas for the time frame before the 15th century, no points of reference present themselves for the precision of the ethnic-linguistic conditions, the identity of the names mentioned in written records with those of ethnic groups of today can suggest certain conclusions about a historical continuity and, moreover, the linguistic classification and cultural position. In the description of further developments in this regard more will be said in detail later.

The present-day Cushitic-speaking Allaaba and Qabeena stated that they had lived in the area between the Cärcär Range and the Shirka region (cf. also map 6) before the wars of A mad Grañ. They moreover reported that they had originally , T. T an East-Gurage language related to Harari, and it was only after their westward migration to the vicinity of imbaaro and Kambaata, that they adopted their present-day Cushitic language from these groups. According to the oral traditions, this linguistic change could not have been accomplished before the 18th century (cf. chap. 3.5.1 and 3.5.2). Consequently, at the time of Emperor Zär'a Yaᶜ qob, they must still have been Semitic-speaking. It can further be stated that close genealogical relations exist between the Allaba and Qabeena on the one hand and the neighbouring East-Gurage on the other hand. All these people explicitly lay claim to being descendants of the ancient Hadiyya. The forebears of the East-Gurage were, until the middle of the 16th century (for a detailed description cf. chap. 3.3.4), in the Cärcär area and migrated in the wake of the Grañ wars to the west finally settling in the Gurage Mountains ´T T ´T . T T . , T. , . TV . ´T E Yaᶜ qob chronicle, a land by the name of "Seltagi T-PT . V, R ´T T [108] was referred to already at the time of ᶜ V g, . . , ZT , sed in the

108 For this information see HUNTINGFORD 1965: 24.

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Cärcär region. A T *gärad* does not seem to have ever existed, however, and this , VZT ´TTj . ,. ´g ´T TVV., T Zg. T. ´T "th century as an independent group.

The ethnic and linguistic position of the Ganz, Saga, Hadabo, Diho and Gogola is obscure, but all these groups most likely settled south of the ethnic bloc which was identified as Semitic-speaking. By contrast, the Ga(da)b could be seen as representatives of the Cushitic-speaking part of the population in the state of Hadiyya. Booyyaamo is supposed to have lived and been buried in the region named after them, comprising southern parts of the former Arsi Province and north-western parts of Bale. Statements which eventually depict his "homeland" and that of his people as the area of Z kwala or Gamayya in the vicinity of Lake Booyyo on the upper Bilate can be discarded as anachronistic on account of the averall analysis of genealogies, migration traditions and entire historical findings (cf. chap. 3.5.6). The Gudeella were evidently the Hadiyya living furthest to the south – already in the songs in praise of c V g, . T, TV ´ ´T Z P TV Vgg , Gudela"[109] – occupying the area around Lake Abbayya and the upper Ganaale. According to their tradition, from the outset they had a close relationship with their neighbours, the Oromo, whose language they are partially supposed to have spoken. How far the Hadiyya-Sidaama languages were disseminated in this area in the 15th century and which linguistic changes took place, remains uncertain.

A group not mentioned in the Zär'a Yaᶜqob chronicle, the Libidoo (Maräqo), existed between the Semitic and Cushitic blocs within the Hadiyya conglomerate under the leadership of Mehmad (Biimaaddo). They seem to have predominantly been Cushitic-speaking, but genealogical connections with the Qabeena and East-Gurage imply a considerable intermixture with Semitic-speaking Hadiyya. The Libidoo were allegedly resident east of the lakes Zʷay and Langano where the burial place of Biimaaddo is said to be located.[110]

How it happened that linguistically heterogeneous groups of Semitic- and Cushitic-speaking people could establish Hadiyya as a political entity of considerable territorial extent, is an unresolved research problem. However, it seems certain that it did exceed in its development beyond a status of a relatively loose confederation where the individual sub-territories kept far-reaching independence under their *gärad* and were held together by means of a range of mutual interests and goals in politics and the economy. As the genealogical ties and the kinship relations of the clans illustrate, intensive marriage connections between the different groups existed. Some of our informants were explicitly conscious of the complexity of the origin of the Hadiyya and expressed the conviction that Harari, Somali, Amhara and Arabs contributed to their ethnic substance.

109 LITTMANN 1914: 27. Cf. chap. 3.2.2.

110 Information related by the Libidoo informants Faaqiro Farde and Ochorro Xubbe in 1973.

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3.2.6 From Bä' dä Maryam to L bnä D ng l (1468-1508)

After the death of Zär'a Ya^{c}qob (1468), his son Bä' dä Maryam ascended the throne of the Christian Empire. His name in the oral traditions of the southern Ethiopian people is just as unknown as that of his successors up to L bnä D ng l. He saw himself confronted with the difficult task of defending the inherited situation against rebellious vassals and the expansionist aspirations of the Muslims in the east. The sultans of ^{c}Adal at first tried to secure the existing *status quo* through the payment of tributes[111], but a short time later seized the apparently favourable opportunity of a change of leadership in the Christian Empire by undertaking a military incursion from which they had to retreat with substantial losses.[112] In Bale, the Ethiopian dominion adjacent to Hadiyya, a conspiracy was revealed involving an opposition party which sympathised with ^{c}Adal;[113] in Däwaro and other regions the activities of spies intensified to such a degree that the Muslims were often opportunely informed of the movements of the Christian troops.[114]

In the chronicle of Bä' dä Maryam no clashes were reported with Hadiyya itself, but this does not necessarily mean that the relationship was without conflict. The Emperor is, for example, supposed to have resettled Hadiyya people to the west, possibly to Kämbata territory.[115] Bä' dä Maryam appointed local leaders with the title *gärad*[116] so that these territories were obviously governed in a system of indirect rule by the Christian Empire.

leni, the stepmother of the Emperor, continued to hold the honorary title *Qañ ba'altehat*, "Queen of Right".[117] The new sovereign respected her abilities which the chronicler characterised with high esteem in the following words (PERRUCHON 1893: 176):

> "[...] she stayed in amiable relations with God through her good deeds and her good faith, and by performing the prayer and the Holy Communion, and she was admired by everybody for her capacity to dress herself at dinner, her grace in the ceremonies and her knowledge of literacy and cultivated conversation. It was because of these qualities that Ba'eda M ry m loved our Queen 'El ni very much and treated her as if she was his own mother."

111 PERRUCHON 1893: 131.
112 PERRUCHON 1893: 166ff.
113 PERRUCHON 1893: 157.
114 BRUCE 1790/91, II: 86f. This is of course to be rated as a secondary source.
115 This can be assumed from HABER 1962: 78ff. According to an interpretation by the Hadiyya researcher Haile Bubbamo Arficio (personal communication), which he said he had obtained from oral traditions, they were termed *jannaacho*, "agitators". This could, however, not be specified by my own investigations.
116 PERRUCHON 1893: 112.
117 PERRUCHON 1983: 125. Cf. also the thorough analysis of her position by TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 289).

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Under Bä' dä Maryam, relations between Hadiyya groups and the Christian Empire were established above all through the principality of Gänz (Gänäzo), the name of which appeared in different versions in the written sources, (Ganze, Genze, Ganj, Ganazo, Ganzum, etc.), whereby substantially wrong conclusions came about in regard to its historical evaluation and localization.[118] Its first mention as a political entity can already be found in the songs of praise to Emperor [c] V g, . . which the chief of Gänz, a a, was reported to have been defeated in battle.[119] With regard to the time of Zär'a Ya[c] qob it is recorded that it referred to a territory subordinate to the Christian Empire, which was administered by a *hegano* (*hegäno*).[120] At the same time, it can be assumed that the principality Gänäzo in the chronicle which belonged to the Hadiyya territorial cluster was identical with Gänz.

Under Bä' dä Maryam, Gänz as a political entity had obviously acquired far-reaching independence from the principality of Hadiyya, and was governed by its own *gärad*.[121] This fact, however, may not have had any repercussions for the ethnic substance. The sons of the Emperor were entrusted to the Gänz *gärad* Matewos (*žandaraba* Matewos) for their education and grew up in his land.[122] TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 277, fn. 1) assumed that this man was initially a personal adviser of the Empress Romna and later became promoted to the more honourable post of *gärad* of Gänz.

From this information it can be concluded that in the second third of the 15th century, the Christian cultural influence must have been considerable in this territory, because it is hard to imagine that the princes of the Ethiopian Empire were allowed to grow up in a predominantly non-Christian milieu. It can therefore be assumed that Gänz experienced a distinctly different development from that of Hadiyya, so that in the historical analysis this principality must henceforth be understood as a separate political and cultural entity. The ethnic kinship of the Gänz population to that of the Hadiyya region continues up to today. The Gänz people living scattered amongst the Qabeena consider themselves as Biimaaddo's descendants, and thereby claim a genealogical kinship with the Libidoo.

For the localization of Gänz, the most important basis was the Portuguese map which plotted the principality (R[no] Ganz) north-west of Gurageland.[123] After thorough examination of historical data prior to this period, it emerges, however, that in the wake of the Grañ wars a territorial relocation took place. The "original" Gänz was most likely situated in an area north-east of Gamo and south of Kämbata and

118 For a detailed analysis on Gänz cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 47-55.

119 GUIDI 1889: VIII, v. 8; LITTMANN 1914: 25; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 129.

120 DILLMANN 1884: 13. *Hegäno* is attested as an administrative/military title in the Christian and Muslim spheres of Ethiopia in the 15th and 16th centuries (KLEINER 2007: 9f.).

121 PERRUCHON 1893: 112.

122 PERRUCHON 1894: 345-7, 362; PERRUCHON 1893: 155f.

123 The map was drawn according to data composed by Mendez, Pais and Lobo (see PERRUCHON 1893, map appendix). Ludolf's map of 1683 is also based on this (see SKELTON 1949: 182ff.).

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Wä3. This corresponds approximately with present-day parts of the Rift Valley between the lakes Langano and Awasa.

During the time of Bä' dä Maryam, a remarkable increase in the Christian influence in the northern Lake Region, in the territory of Wä3, can be assessed. It had been conquered in part already by ᶜ V g, . ´, VT , gTV P, T., ´TT with the title *mäsf n*.[124]

Under Zär'a Yaᶜ qob, a *hegäno* governed Wä3 and Bä' dä Maryam assigned the administration to a *kas* there.[125] According to the oral traditions, which local Orthodox Christian priests in the area had written down[126] it was stated that it was this Emperor who founded a residence at Däbrä Silalo on the Celalo mountain and built churches in the present-day districts of Colle, Haliilaa, Robee and Diima. The residents of Wä3 from the middle of the 15th century until the Grañ wars are said to have been Christians to a considerable degree. They had migrated there from Gurage and Amhara and had occupied this agriculturally favourable highland area after the defeat of the Hadiyya rebellion by Zär'a Yaᶜ qob. This settlement took place at the expense of the Hadiyya who, according to the traditions of the Libidoo, were, however, able to retain their pastures in the lowlands less valued by the highland farmers. They had to share these grazing areas with another nomad group, the Maya (al-Maya, Maye), who had infiltrated from the east and who emerged as an important power in the area of Wä3 until the expansion of the Oromo. Traditions uphold that their descendants still live scattered among the northern Arsi in the Arba-Gugu and Seeruu territory and among the clans of the Baadogo-Hadiyya between the Omo and Bilate.

CERULLI assumed that in the time of ᶜ V g, . ´Ts g lived on the periphery of the Islamic states.[127] In the second half of the 15th century, a locality by the name of Ar o is indicated as their territory in the western part of ᶜAdal [128] and from this geographical situation an ethnic kinship with the ᶜAfar was inferred.[129] On the map of 1454 by Egyptus Novelo (CRAWFORD 1958, fig. 1) they are entered in the region of Lake Zʷay with the annotation "fortes gentes" (strong people). By that time, they were assumed to have traversed the bush-lands as cattle herders south of the Awaš River in the direction of Mt. Z kwala. A striking feature of this ethnic group was that they fought with bows and partially poisoned arrows, weapons which

124 LITTMANN 1914: 25, 30; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 54. The territory is listed under the designation Wage, but its identity as Wä3 is not doubted by most of the commentators. The name appears in a large number of variations: Wadj, Wage, Wed, Vague, Voge, Hage, Ouadj, Oyja, Ogge, Oggy, Oye, Ogia, Oge etc. (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 43-47).

125 PERRUCHON 1983: 15, 112.

126 á´TT T TT s R, P T .VE P V s g R, á ,

127 CERULLI 1936: 18. Cf. MERID WOLDE AREGAY 1974: 270 f. See also chap. 3.2. The fact that Maya exists as a locality name (e.g. Hara Maya) in the Harär area and as a name of a subgroup of the Baabbille, an Oromo-Somali mixed tribe in the 5 i3iga area, is only to be stated here without claiming a particular historical cohesion.

128 PERRUCHON 1894: 359.

129 See BASSET (*Fut*) 1897: 82f., fn. 3.

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apart from the professional groups of potters and hunters among the Gurage, Somali, Maale, Gamo and other groups, were uncommon up to the present. The infiltration of the Maya took place as an act of violent land occupation which the Christian imperial power was not in a position to curb. Bä' dä Maryam's successor, skender (1478-94), was killed by a Maya arrow.[130]

The Christians obviously accepted the presence of the powerful nomads in their sovereign territory and tried to win them over as allies. For the time of Emperor Na^{c}od (1494-1508), who is supposed to have built his main residence in the unidentifiable city of Jarecho at Lake Z^{w}ay,[131] nothing has been handed down about warlike conflicts between the Maya and the Ethiopian Empire. In the Islamic-Christian conflicts of the 16th century contingents of Maya archers, who fought on changing fronts on the sides of both opponents, played a significant role (cf. also chap. 3.3.2).

3.3 The "Holy War" up to the Death of *Am r* N r B. Mudj hid (1529-68)

Although a certain deterioration of power started to become apparent after the death of Zär'a Ya^{c} qob, Ethiopia at the beginning of the 16th century embodied a strong empire and seemed not to be vulnerable to any serious threat posed by the Muslim states under the leadership of Zayla'-^{c}Adal. Hadiyya, whose population was decisively involved in the political upheavals of this time, became an important arena of events during the long-lasting bellicose conflicts which were labelled "holy war" (*djih d*) by the Muslims or the "Grañ wars" by the Christians.

3.3.1 The Eve of the "Holy War"

The arrival of the first Portuguese naval forces and delegations at the beginning of the 16th century signified a momentous event in the historiography as well as in the socio-political development of north-eastern Africa. In 1508, L bnä D ng l (Dawit II), known as Dinglis or Dingila in the Hadiyya traditions, followed his father Na^{c}od to the throne of the Christian Empire. Queen leni, as a guarantor of political continuity, still held an influential position within the state.[132] It was to a large extent her initiative to take up diplomatic relations with the Portuguese to secure for the Ethiopian Empire the friendship of a leading military power from the occidental Christian hemisphere.[133]

On the other hand, the Islamic adversary had successfully endeavoured to receive moral and material support from all Arabian Muslims. A growing number of mili-

130 PERRUCHON 1894: 325; cf. BASSET 1882: 183, *passim*. Elsewhere (SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE 1974: 550), it was said that skender was shot with an arrow by an aristocrat named Wäldä Silus, a nephew of *ras* Amdu out of revenge.

131 SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE 1974: 551.

132 DE ALMEIDA (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 459, *passim*) emphasized her role as an energetic patroness of church institutions.

133 SERGEW HABLE SELLASSIE (1974) provided the edition and translation of a letter which leni sent to King John of Portugal.

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tant preachers from beyond the Red Sea began to stir up the willingness of the Islamic population in the Horn of Africa for a "holy war" against the Christians. They equipped Ma f z, the war leader of Zayla'-ᶜAdal, with a green banner and a tent made of black silk – symbols of the *djih d* – and sent weapons and experienced warriors to boost his military force. Repeated incursions into the Christian provinces brought rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners who were partially handed over to allied Arabian princes and to the authorities of Mecca as gifts.[134]

In 1516 the ᶜAdal armies penetrated the Christian border province Fä ägar, but were repulsed by a successful retaliation of the Ethiopian troops. Ma f z, the Islamic commander, fell and Emperor L bnä D ng l's army overran ᶜAdal with a counter offensive which culminated in the destruction of a fortified residence of this state at Zankar.[135] A Portuguese fleet surprised and destroyed Zayla' while the garrison was engaged in raids at the Ethiopian battlegrounds.[136] Just during this phase when the Islamic threat to Christian Ethiopia seemed to be decisively nipped in the bud, a new military leader came forward in ᶜAdal, A mad b. Ibrdhim al- dzi (1506-43). Under his rule, ᶜAdal was to rise to become one of the strongest powers in north-eastern Africa and to conquer and control a large portion of the Ethiopian highlands.

Hadiyya, on the eve of the "holy war" was largely untouched by the escalating Christian-Islamic conflict, as far as the scanty notes of the Portuguese travellers allow such an interpretation. Its name is missing on the list of territories plundered by Ma f z's troops.[137]

Emperor L bnä D ng l, who controlled the chief of Hadiyya through a representative with the title *malaganha*, had one of his palaces near Lake Zʷay. leni preferentially stayed in this region[138] which was situated on the periphery of her country of origin. In 1523, a year after her death, Alvares experienced the arrival of a Hadiyya delegation at L bnä D ngel's residence and recorded this encounter with the following words:

> "It was fifteen days since a Moorish Queen had been at this Court; she was the wife of the King Adea, and sister of one that came to be the wife of the Prester John, and he rejected her because she had two big front teeth, that is to say, long ones. And he married her to a great lord, who was Bamagais and now is Betudete. This Queen came to the Prester to ask him for help, saying that a brother of her husband had risen against her and was taking the kingdom from her. This Queen came quite like a queen, and brought with her fully fifty honourable [well-dressed] Moors on mules and 100 men on foot,

134 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 411ff.
135 CONTI ROSSINI 1894: 617ff; ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 411.
136 BARROS 1628: 11-14; BRUCE 1790/91, II: 140.
137 In this list Adigo is mentioned as a territory. BECKINGHAM and HUNTINGFORD (1961: 411, fn. 2) assume that Hadiyya could be concealed in this name, but there is no proof for this.
138 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 425 and fn. 1.

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> and six women on good mules; they are not very black people. She was received with great honour, and the third day of her arrival was called and came before the tent of the Prester, and she came with a black canopy. She was robed twice that day, once at the hour of Prime, and the other time at the hour of Vespers: both robes were of brocade and velvet and Moorish dresses from India."[139]

The Emperor pledged his support to her and immediately mobilised a troop of 15,000 men under the command of *Qedug ras* (*adrugaz* in the text by Alvares) to help the party of the petitioner to overthrow the usurpers. The rapid and decisive intervention in this conflict was determined by the insight that the Hadiyya prince who was loyal to the Emperor could, if not strengthen the position of the Empire in this region, at least keep it stable while an opposing party would try to give backing to the fellow Muslims in the East and to join the anti-Ethiopian bloc under the leadership of ᶜAdal. The claim to dominance which the Ethiopian monarchs had asserted in this region since the time of ᶜ V g, . , . T , T reinforced by L bnä D ng l in a letter to Dom Manuel, the King of Portugal, in which the title King of Hadiyya was also cited amongst the Ethiopian Emperor's titles.[140]

Despite his sizeable armed force, the *Qedug ras*, in league with the loyal Princess, could not bring Hadiyyaland under his control. In an urgent message he communicated to the Emperor that the residents there had refused obedience to him and had eluded the offensive of his troops by escaping into the mountains. Instead of sending further reinforcements which his commander had urged him to do, L bnä D ng l decided to lead the enterprise himself, thereby emphasising the military and political significance of this action. In fact, the news of the personal intervention of the Emperor with his army advancing far southward, compelled the Hadiyya into submission.[141] During the campaign, the Ethiopians are reported to have founded numerous churches and monasteries in Hadiyyaland.[142] Oral traditions of the present-day Arsi identify the dark-skinned Addoona at the middle Wabi Šäbälle as descendants of the slaves who were settled there at that early date. We could find evidence, however, that these groups were vassals of the Hawiye-Somali and starting out from the region of Imi moved upstream in the 19th century and finally reached the middle course of the river (cf. chap. 3.8.3).

As L bnä D ng l started his military campaign to the south-east, he left his court and his family behind in the principality "Orgabeja", on the boundary to Hadiyya.[143] If this refers to a version of the name W lbaräg (Ulbarag, Urbarag, Werbarag)[144]

139 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 427 f. BRUCE (1790/91, II: 71 f.) equated this woman with leni.
140 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 495.
141 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 434 f.
142 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 453f.
143 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 435.
144 BECKINGHAM and HUNTINGFORD (1961: 435, fn. 1) are also inclined towards this view, but are ignorant of the historically approved migrations of the W lbaräg and therefore wrongly

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which is quite probable, this area must have been located in the Shirka region. The exodus of the forbears of the ethnic group of this name from their eastern domiciles to Gurageland in the west ensued only after the Grañ wars (see chap. 3.3.4)

What the written source materials reveal about the geographical position of the Hadiyya on the eve of the "holy war" is indeed sparse but does, however, give indications of the localisation of the state. As ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1961: 453f.) found out in 1523, Hadiyya extended from central ᶜAdal and from Wä3 in the direction of Mogadaxo (Mogadishu). This note can only be understood in that its territory extended so far south-eastward that its extension exceeded the geographical horizon of the informants. No concrete proof can be found for a direct connection with the Somali coast. Gänz lay to the west of Hadiyya,[145] which roughly corresponds to present-day parts of Wälaytta and Kämbata. Therefore, an idea of the political geography of south-eastern Ethiopia at the beginning of the 16th century can be gained approximately, and doubt about the reliability of ALVARES's statements as BECKINGHAM and HUNTINGFORD (1961: 435, fn. 2) express in regard to the cardinal points, are most likely unjustified.

However, unresolved topographical contradictions appear in the report compiled in 1524 by Zorzi in Venice. It is based on the disclosures of the Dominican monk, Thomas of Ganget, who had lived for a length of time at the court of the Ethiopian Emperor L bnä D ng l in Barara. ZORZI specified as follows (CRAWFORD 1958: 185, cf. 188f.):

> "Item, another great river not less than the Nile which is called Ubi, which has its source towards the Cape of Good Hope in the Southern Ocean…; and so rising on longitude 50° the great province of Adia, and running northwards through the provinces of Teso and Voge and through Gorage, and so between the province of Damot and Naria through the province of Conce, it reaches the province of Gange and enters the Ocean on the east by several mouths at the city of Quiloa, captured by the Portuguese."

Elsewhere, it was said (CRAWFORD 1958: 193) that the river named Ubi had its source in the mountains of Hadiyyaland and continued through the Teso province in the direction of Zefala (Sofala). It can hardly be doubted that the Wabi Šäbälle was meant which flows into the Indian Ocean. There is a remarkable lack of knowledge of its upper course, however. As on the 15th century maps (e. g., Egyptus Novelo), the succession of Ethiopian provinces is basically represented in a north-south alignment, namely Damot, Wä3, Gänz, Mugar, Alamale, Hadiyya and Gurage.[146] It can be recognized that it is considerably distorted with regard to the actual position of the coastline. Even in the 17th century the question of the course of the rivers Awaš and Wabi Šäbälle was not yet solved by European cartographic research (cf.

locate the Orgabeja of that time in today's Gurageland.

145 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 454.

146 CRAWFORD 1958: 98f., 189.

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chap. 3.4). Gurage and Wä3 have certainly never converged with the Wabi, and Zorzis's geographical error is particularly blatant when he also gives Damot and Narea (nnarya) as examples amongst those territories watered by this current. A suspicion arises regarding the upper course of the Wabi Šäbälle that there was a mix up with the Omo in the records analysed above.

The cultural historical data in the descriptions of the Portuguese travellers of the 16th century seem to be in every respect more reliable and illuminative than those on topographical issues. According to the notes of Alvares, the ruling class of the Hadiyya Muslims, exemplified by the queen's delegates, distinguished themselves by having developed a high cultural standard. Their state was so significant that the Christian Emperor's marriage relationships with them had almost become institutionalised.[147] According to oral traditions, which were transmitted to me by Arsi informants,[148] an Amharic dignitary *ras* Gädlu, a contemporary of L bnä D ng l, is said to have married a woman from the Buchche group. The Digaluu clan in the southern Arsi lowland is said to trace back to this relationship.

The exchange of trading goods was chiefly orientated eastward, and Indian products found entry into Hadiyyaland via the Somali coast. The breeding of mules as mount animals, viewed even in the 20th century as being especially prestigious, was limited in Ethiopia in those days to regions and societies with an advanced civilization status. One can assume that the keeping of mules spread within Hadiyyaland through the influence of the Christian Empire, and – also in later times – was reserved for high-ranking people.

3.3.2 F ´ w re (1529) to the Death of A mad b. Ibr him (Grañ) (1543)

For many centuries, the Hadiyya found themselves before the outbreak of the Grañ wars in a profound cleavage: the party loyal to the Christian Empire stood against an opposition faction sympathising with the cAdal Muslims. The triumphal march of cAdal began in 1529 with the victory of *im m* A mad b. Ibrdhim al- dzi over the ´ . g Z w^w re.[149] Already two years previously, an advancing Amharic army under the Bale governor *azma* Dägälhan, suffered a severe defeat most likely at the Mo3o River flowing down from the Garra Mulläta mountains south-west of Harär. This event heralded a turning point in the military balance of power in the Horn of Africa of the 16th century.[150] The invasion of the Ethiopian

147 ALVARES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1961: 193, 427-36; LUDOLPH 1681: 14; DE ALMEIDA (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 69f.; cf. also HAILE BUBBAMO ARFICIO 1973: 151f.

148 Information related by Eddoo Abbayyee and Wodeeso Bunee in 1973.

149 According to the "Tarik Nagashat za-Hagara Gondar" (History of the Kings of Gondär) this battle, in which 50,000 Christian soldiers were said to have been killed, signified for the Ethiopian Empire one of the biggest defeats in its history. For the analysis of the event see DAVIS (1963:579), which served me here as a secondary source.

150 Cf. PAIS 1945/46, II: 257 ff., *passim*.

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border provinces by the Muslims mobilizing for the "holy war" began with the capture of Däwaro in 1529, and four years later the advance had reached the Amharic heartland (Lasta, etc.).

Directly after ´T Z T , R Z w[w] re, Hadiyyaland became an important arena for the Islamic-Christian conflict, because the remnants of the Ethiopian army under *ras* "Eslamo" had retreated there.[151] The pursuit of those fleeing did not lead to a permanent occupation by [c]Adal. However, immediately after the terrific victory, the Muslims started undertaking preparations for the conquest of Hadiyya and its neighbouring territories Bale, Šar a, Wä3 and Gänz, which were to a great extent realised during the year 1531.[152] The Hadiyya people evidently joined the Muslim brothers in faith without a struggle because at the beginning of 1532 it was reported to A mad Grañ, residing in Däbrä B rhan, that in the event of his arrival in Däwaro 1,000 mounted soldiers from Bale and Hadiyya each would rush to his aid as reinforcements. The messenger, Faracha am Din, advised against a proper occupation of these "provinces" as he estimated them to be reliable allies.[153] Hadiyya became the base of operations from which the [c]Adal general [c]Abd al-Nd ir set out on his conquest of Kämbata, Gänz and 5 itu.[154] 5 itu, which could hitherto not be localised, is to be found as an area between East-Gurage and Allaaba, thus in the vicinity of Kämbata and the historical principality of Gänz.

In contrast to the other states of southern Ethiopia which stood under the indirect rule of the Christian Empire and in which the Islamic conquerors appointed governors, in Hadiyya the local rulers were left in their positions. How highly the [c]Adal Muslims valued the alliance with Hadiyya was evident by the fact that A mad Grañ married Murias, the daughter of a Hadiyya ruler, whose name is not known. She died three months after the wedding ceremony.[155]

After [c]Abd al-Nd ir had subjugated the residents of Gänz and was appointed governor of this territory, the Hadiyya ruler in question turned to his son-in-law A mad and made the following appeal:

> "Since you ordered [c]Abd al-Nd ir to stay in the country of Gänz, which is adjacent to my territory, let him come to you, my Lord, and establish an alliance between him and myself. If we shall be united, nobody can do anything against us".[156]

A mad Grañ fulfilled his father-in-law's wish by sending for [c]Abd al-Nd ir to come from Gänz and induce him to wed the sister of the Hadiyya ruler.

That the state of Hadiyya had been governed by a central ruler discounts the historical facts which were handed down before and afterwards. A mad Grañ had

151 *Fut* 1897: 188f.
152 *Fut* 1897: 325.
153 *Fut* 1897: 359.
154 *Fut* 1897: 366, 378.
155 *Fut* 1897: 377.
156 *Fut* 1897: 378f. (our translation from French).

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evidently achieved a tie with the most important *gärad* through marriage and, as a consequence, was to be assured support by the largest proportion of his subjects.

In connection with the sojourn of A mad Grañ in Hadiyya, it was reported that Lake Z[w]ay lay a short distance away. Christians from Wä3 and other territories had taken refuge on its islands. As the Muslim troops refused to build rafts, the islands remained an impregnable stronghold, from which the Ethiopians put up sustained resistance.[157] Alongside Gänz, Hadiyya was so heavily afflicted by Christian raids that A mad Grañ felt compelled to leave the fighting forces of these principalities temporarily there for their own protection.[158] When shortly afterwards the Ethiopian troops invaded Gänz, [c]Abd al-Nd ir confronted them from the territory of Hadiyya, struck them after a five-day forced march, captured them and forced them to convert to Islam.[159]

Eleven years long, from 1532 to the death of A mad Grañ on 21 February 1543 in the battle of Wäyna Däga against the combined Ethiopian-Portuguese forces, the Hadiyya stood as his ally in the mostly offensive struggle against the Christian Empire. Contingents from the Hadiyya state even fought in the Muslim campaigns far away from their own land. For example, [c]Abd al-Nd ir, who had a close relationship to the Hadiyya as the governor of Gänz and brother-in-law of one of their rulers, was killed in action in T gray.[160] This person will be referred to at length later on.

It can be assumed that with regard to their historical fate and their ethnic composition the neighbouring territories of Däwaro, Bale, Šar a and Wä3 were closely linked to Hadiyya. The "province" Däwaro situated north of the Wabi Šäbälle bend is to be distinguished from an identically-named Ethiopian borderland at the central [161] both stood under the sovereignty of the Christian Empire until the Grañ wars. The southern Däwaro, noticeably surpassing the other sub-territory in size and political importance, was occupied by a Hadiyya-Sidaama population (cf. chap. 3.4). In contrast to the indirect rule in Hadiyya, a governor, *am r* usayn b. Ab Bakr al-Gat ri, according to the *Fut* (1897: 16ff., 59) one of the most loyal followers of A mad Grañ, was appointed there by the victorious Muslims. A proportion of the inhabitants had certainly been Islamic already before, but the chronicle reported on a largely forcible conversion policy. The remnants of the Christian population under *ras* Banyat resisted against the conquerors for some time.[162]

At one part of its course, the Wabi Šäbälle constituted the boundary between Hadiyya and Bale[163], an acknowledgement which provides a significant indication for localising both territories. A Hadiyya contingent had participated in a campaign

157 *Fut* 1897: 371f.
158 *Fut* 1897: 392.
159 *Fut* 1897: 392.
160 *Fut* 1897: 449. An exact date is not stated in the document.
161 I have tried to analyse this elsewhere (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 73). Cf. also maps 4, 5, 6 in this book.
162 *Fut h* 1897: 135, 144 f.
163 *Fut* 1897: 381.

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in the summer of 1532 against Bale, which was inhabited by people ethnically related to them. In this territory, as the *Fut* (1897: 390) reports, the Ethiopian defence collapsed in the first Muslim onslaught. The position of the Christian Empire in its south-eastern boundary province of Bale had always been precarious, although it was secured by considerable numbers of military colonists.[164] Because of the eastward extension of its territory which affected an early expansion of Islam and resulted in a strong politico-cultural orientation towards ᶜAdal, a particularly pronounced competition between Christians and Muslims had evolved in Bale.

One of the most important missionaries of Bale was *shaikh* N r usayn (Shek Hussen), who is said to have reached this area in approximately 1300 A.D., and together with his disciple, f ᶜUmar, successfully endeavoured to convert the autochthonous Hadiyya-Sidaama population.[165] His grave in Anaajiina (Annajiinna, Anaajiinna; also Dirree Shek Hussen) is to this day the most visited pilgrimage site by the Ethiopian Muslims.[166] It was above all owing to the activity of *shaikh* N r usayn and his followers that the political elites in Bale were Islamized at the beginning of the 14th century. The "Prince" of this territory bore the Muslim name ᶜAli[167] as the songs in praise of ᶜ V g, . V, T. . VT T , ᶜod, the Christian Bale governor Wana3-5 an was converted to Islam but failed in his attempt to convert the whole province to Islam and had to flee to ᶜAdal where he actively took part in the "holy war" as a commander of the Bale troops.[168] These are certainly only some of the highlights in the Muslim-Christian conflict which have been historically recorded.

As a result of the extensive Islamic penetration, the population of Bale tended to be all the more eager to collaborate with the violent religious endeavour directed from ᶜAdal. Their leader therefore mostly approached the commanders of the *djih d* armies immediately after the invasion in order to negotiate separate peace agreements or alliances.[169]

When the "holy war" broke out, Šar a, a dependency of the Christian Empire bordering Bale and inhabited by a Hadiyya-Sidaama population, was administered by an Ethiopian governor called Limu, who fell in the battle of Zalla against the Muslims in 1531. The conquered territory was put under the control of the *gärad* Sidi b. ᶜAli. It was mentioned by the chronicler ᶜArab-Faki [170] on various occa-

164 They had been established since the time of Zär'a Yaᶜ qob (PERRUCHON 1893: 46f.). Cf. also chap. 3.2.5.

165 CERULLI 1932 147ff.; CERULLI 1938: 33; ANDRZEJEWSKI 1972: 1ff; BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 129-51.

166 The assumption by MARTIAL DE SALVIAC (1900: 40) that at this place there had originally been a Christian church which was then transformed into a mosque by A mad Grañ, contradicts all available written and oral sources and also the Amharic custom of constructing churches on mountain peaks and not in plains in a malaria-stricken lowland area.

167 GUIDI 1889: VIII, v. 12; LITTMANN 1914: 26; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 129.

168 *Fut* 1897: 165-8.

169 This becomes evident from the *Fut* (1897: 154, 162).

170 *Fut* 1897: 92, 141, 192, 194, 198, 240, 325, 344, 373, 377, 380f., 385, 389f., 395.

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sions, particularly in connection with the campaigns led against the Ethiopian army commander slamo. After these events, which meant the end of the political and military presence of the Christian Empire in Šar a for centuries, Islam experienced a particular intensification, which became characteristic for this territory within the later Arsiland.

The province Wä3, from which the Hadiyya had evaded the advancing Christian-Ethiopian colonisation southwards, became a highly contested theatre of war during the *djih d*. Occasionally it served as a refuge for the imperial court and it was repeatedly conquered by the Muslims.[171] It has already been mentioned that the islands of Lake Z^{w}ay during the "holy war" remained an impregnable Christian bastion which threatened the Muslim positions in the northern territories of Hadiyya and Gänz. The chronicle of the Grañ wars mentioned the Maya, who lived in Wä3, as occasional allies of the Christian Empire, but obviously they did not refer to themselves as Christians. When the ^{c}Adal commander, for example, sent troops from Fä ägar in a southern direction to Däwaro, they had to face the army of the Wä3 governor, *azma* Fanil, at the Awaš. His troops had been reinforced with Maya archers, whose acrimonious fighting made the crossing of the river very hard for the Muslims.[172] According to the descriptions in *Fut* (1897: 94, 108, 113f., 180, 345f., 361f.), the Muslims still had to withstand repeatedly fierce skirmishes against the Maya. When they had finally quelled the bellicose nomads, A mad Grañ appointed the *gärad* Faracha am Din as governor. But it was only after unsuccessful uprisings against the new ruler that the people converted to Islam under its leader Zarji and thereafter appeared as followers of the Muslim armies.[173] The Portuguese soldiers, who intervened in the final phase of the Grañ wars (after 1540) in support of the Ethiopian Christians, had also faced archers in the ranks of their adversaries,[174] who could presumably have been Maya.

The intervention of the Europeans directed the *djih d* towards its decisive turning point and with the death of *im m* A mad b. Ibrdhim in the battle of Wäyna Däga near Lake ana in 1543 the offensive power, which had expedited the armies of ^{c}Adal from victory to victory for one and a half decades, collapsed. In the oral traditions of the Ethiopian people, A mad Grañ held a position unlike any other historical figure beside him; and depending on their religious and cultural orientation, there was, and still is, an obvious dichotomy in their estimation of him. As already mentioned in the critical assessment of sources, a remarkable bias becomes apparent concerning the provenance and the contents of the oral traditions. In the memory of the Christians he remained alive as a murderous incendiary, while the subsequently oppressed Muslims revered him, the commander of the "holy war," as one of the greatest heroes in their history. Ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia, who up to a few

171 *Fut* 1897: 212, 234, 240-45, 281, 325, 359, 363, 390-95.
172 *Fut* 1897: 340ff.
173 *Fut* 1897: 126, 191, 353, 357, 362, 365, 367, 390.
174 This was reported by an eye-witness MIGUEL DE CASTANHOSO (LITTMANN 1907: 24, 38).

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decades ago belonged to neither bloc, remain mostly neutral in this regard. The stories about Grañ Mu ammad, as he has commonly been called in the narratives of this region, are basically so stereotypical throughout that a diffusion from group to group can be assumed.

3.3.3 Folktales and Traditions about the Time of A mad Grañ

What the Hadiyya preserved about A mad Grañ and his time is largely the common property of the southern Ethiopian people but occasionally also contains references to their own ethnic situation. It deals with a type of heroic saga in which numerous anachronisms and ambiguities have crept in.

In order to outline the historical background of this heroic saga, the historically documented biographical facts on *im m* A mad b. Ibrdhim have to be summarised briefly.[175] He was born in 1506 in ᶜAdal – different information about the place of his origin exists – and spent his youth in the region of Hubat, south of Harär. The assumption that he was a Somali is unable to be proved. However, he is said to have been related or related by marriage to Somali chiefs.[176] His father entrusted him to the care of a freed slave Adli (Adole), who later became one of his most ardent followers. Ahmad's marriage to Bati D l Wämbära, daughter of *im m* Ma f z of Zayla', assured him of the loyalty of this military commander who was killed in action by the Christian enemies in 1516. After the elimination of Sultan Ab Bakr, A mad b. Ibrdhim *de facto* assumed governmental power in ᶜAdal, revoked the tribute to the Ethiopian Empire and began the invasion of the Christian state in 1528/9. After long-standing military campaigns, he was killed in the battle of Wäyna Däga in 1543.

One of the Hadiyya legends about A mad Grañ proved to be so widespread that it cannot be seen as a specific oral tradition of this particular ethnic group. According to this narrative "Grañ Mu ammad" had been fathered by a Christian priest whose land of origin was mostly specified as the T gray province. The priest fell in love with a woman who had come with a delegation from the region of Harär to the Ethiopian court in order to pay tribute. While she still lingered on there, her lover was killed by fellow Christians because one day he mistakenly entered the church wearing the headscarf of his beloved round his head instead of his priestly turban. His pregnant wife returned to her country of origin full of thoughts of revenge and bore a son, who already as a small child became legendary because of his extraordinary physical strength. The boy grew into an indomitable giant of a man, and the mother constantly implanted hate into his mind against the murderers of his father so that it became his sole ambition to take revenge on all Christians. Before he began to implement his plan, he indicated his strength and ferocity to the Ethiopian Emperor

175 For this purpose I refer to TRIMINGHAM (1965: 85) and MUTH (2003: 155-58) as well-arranged secondary sources.

176 This was stated, for example, by SCHLEICHER (1893: 2).

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by means of an allegoric story. Then he began his campaign of annihilating the abäša in which the Hadiyya fought on his side.

Even more mythical is the legend of his death, which was relocated to a place which was most probably never frequented by A mad Grañ. His victory over the Ethiopian Christians had been accomplished, he had devastated their lands and burnt their churches. The Emperor, whose name was mostly cited as Zär'a Ya^{c}qob, fled with the rest of his army through Kämbata via 5imma to Käfa where he hid in a cave. Grañ, a man of 40 cubits in height, whose sword and war horse each measured 40 cubits in length, pursued the Amhara Christians, barricaded the entrance to the cave with a block of stone and started to starve out the trapped opponent. In serious difficulties, the Christians resorted to a trick in which they let one of the beautiful daughters of the Emperor, who had the reputation of being an irresistible temptress, to furtively approach the Muslim camp. She was captured there and taken to Grañ, who upon first sight of her desired her as a wife and from then on shared his time with her.

It was known to the Amhara that the Islamic commander regularly drank forty large receptacles containing *koso* (a healing substance extracted from the blossoms of the *Hagenia abyssinica* tree used especially to treat tapeworm infections) and, as a result of this, then became weakened. After Grañ took *koso* once again and then withdrew alone to a canyon to defecate, the princess notified her father's troops and led them to the place where she knew her husband was. The Amhara began to hurl their spears at the giant of a man who at first only perceived them as similar to insect stings. Only when whole salvos of missiles as well as fired bullets entered his body, did Grañ sense the mortal threat. He hurled his sword with such a force against the assailants that many of them were killed and an enormous cleft in the rock face was left. Thereafter, the Amhara killed the opponent and dispersed his army.[177] The Christian Emperor ordered the heart of his enemy to be cut out from which he ate a piece in order to be imbued with the supernatural strength of this man. Immediately after he had tasted it, he fell dead to the ground and was buried in Käfa just like his adversary A mad Grañ.

Except for slight differences in details, the Sidaama also know these stories about the conqueror from ^{c}Adal, whom they call Dingama Koyye (Dingama the Strong). The scene of his death in the struggle against the Amhara has been relocated by them to Šäwa.[178]

The Kambaata relate yet another legend about A mad Grañ, which is evidently to be associated with *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid (see chap. 3.3.4), who is sometimes equated with his more famous predecessor in the traditions. Once Grañ had devastated the entire country, the Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c}qob decided to take revenge, at-

177 This legend is also known in northern Ethiopia in a similar form (see JOANNISSIANY n.d.: 54) and there is much indication that it was spread via the Amhara as the media of diffusion to the south where the popular versions were generated on the base of this model.

178 Similar traditions were also recorded by HABERLAND (1963a: 276) from the Gu33i-Oromo.

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tacked the Muslims and defeated them. Grañ retreated to the Hadiyya who received him hospitably in the territory of Kämbata as they too were Muslims like him. He stayed there a while and the Hadiyya said "*kamat kam*", which supposedly meant "how long did he [Grañ] stay?" According to a wide-spread belief the name Kämbata is said to have been derived from this.

Before Grañ left Harär, he had asked advice from a hermit famous for his wisdom as to how he should conduct himself on his campaign and which dangers he should avoid. The man, who had clairvoyant abilities, told him the following: "When you reach the territory Käfa in the direction of the setting sun, you will meet a lady and her four attendants. Bring her to me". Grañ set out and arrived at Käfa where he actually met the lady and her four attendants. But instead of obeying the words of his adviser, he married the strange woman and stayed in Käfa. Tired from all his enterprises, he uttered the word "käfania", which is said to have meant as much as "now is enough", and he is supposed not to have conducted any more campaigns. After some time he died in Dawro (Kullo) close to the territory which, from then on, became known as Käfa, in accordance with his utterance.

Varying versions of the Grañ legend have survived among the Oromo as well. Most of the Baarentuu are convinced that the name Grañ refers to *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid who is thus conceived as identical with A mad b. Ibrdhim. The mother of the left-hander is said to have been a *gäbbar* woman who, according to the rules of the Christian Ethiopian feudal system, delivered her tribute to the church of Z kwala Abo. Then the story of his conception and the death of his father continued in the same way as already reported by the Hadiyya. The place of Grañ's birth was specified as Bäläd Wäyna near 5 i3iga. He was able to perform miracles to an extent that were beyond the , R´ . P . , . 8 T T. g TVZg u Z. D ng l at a place called Eilinga near Gondär and was buried in a 40 foot long grave. Other versions of the legend, however, report that he had lost his life in the Käfa province after a military campaign which he had waged in Sidamo and Arsi.

The Arsi in Bale enhanced the narratives with a further version which was also occasionally known to the Hadiyya as well. A mad Grañ had crossed the Wabi to the west and encamped in the territory of Gälb from which, according to the *Fut* (1897: 380ff., 390), the invasion of Bale had actually started in 1532. From there he sent the following message to the Christian sovereign, *a* Fasil: "I am as fast as a cheetah, as strong as a lion and as cruel as a woman. Hence you cannot stand up to me. Become a Muslim and bow to me". Fasil resolved to test his opponent's words and to begin with sent out 40 people to catch a cheetah. However, it escaped and they came back empty-handed. Thereafter, he ordered eighty soldiers to slay a lion, but the predator killed them all. Finally, to test the third-mentioned of Grañ's criteria related to his invincibility, he promised a woman who was known for her extraordinary virtue a rich reward if she would bring him her husband's head. When she promptly slew her husband and brought the king his head, Fasil recognised that his position was hopeless. Nevertheless he was resolved to engage in death or glory, and confronted the [c]Adal troops with his army at Baiya, which is said to have been situ-

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ated near present-day Robee in northern Bale. The Christians were scathingly crushed and sought refuge in forests and mountain caves. The *djih d* warriors then occupied the whole country.

According to the version widely known among the Arsi-Oromo in Bale, Grañ came "at the time of the Hadiyya". This statement indicates their acknowledgement that the Hadiyya were the autochthonous inhabitants of this area before the immigration of the Oromo.

There is one aspect in the legends about Grañ which virtually all the southern Ethiopian people agree upon to an extent that a diffusion of this motif can be assumed. At every place which the Muslim commander reached on his military campaigns, he rammed huge stones into the ground to tie his war-horse up to. He is said to have carried these up to three metre long cylindrical stones around with him.[179] It has already been mentioned that a striking accumulation of stone monuments, mostly recognizable as phallic symbols, can be found in the territories of the Gide'o, Sidaama, Wälaytta, Hadiyya, Kambaata and Gurage[180]

In the language of the Baadawwaachcho, Leemo and Sooro the stones were referred to as *Grañ kina* or *Grañ soda*.[181] Such stones were formerly utilized at council boards for swearing oaths in a way that the opponents had to put their hands on them. Frequently, megalithic monuments of this type were selected for such ceremonies which were thought to be imbued with magic power. The common interpretation regarding their historic origin which contemporaneous people associate with them usually relates to the above-mentioned legend of A mad Grañ. The Allaaba occasionally mention the *Grañ kina* also as being memorial stones for meritorious soldiers. The custom of some Arsi groups, especially in the Lake Region of the Rift Valley and in Gädäb, to surround the graves of prestigious personalities, particularly killers of people and dangerous wild animals, with decorated gravestones has, in my opinion, no recognizable association with the so-called Grañ stones regarding their historical background and the technical criteria for their construction. It was probably also due to the belief in their own grave cult that the Arsi enhanced their Grañ legends by adding that the burial site of the hero in Käfa was said to have been surrounded by four large stones.

The origins of the sepulchre traditions in southern Ethiopia have to a large extent remained enigmatic. Neither the hitherto rudimentary archaeological findings nor the vague and often contradictory attempts at interpretation by contemporary informants have so far been able to provide convincing answers to the unsolved

179 Experiments carried out later have demonstrated that several men are hardly able to move a single one.

180 AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 226ff.; JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 449ff.

181 Some of these archaeological monuments still existed in various parts of Hadiyyaland. In 1999, I photographed and documented such a megalithic stone in the Baadawwaachcho village of Siike. However, shortly later I was informed that it was destroyed by local Christians who disgusted it as a relic of the "pagan" past and a symbol of the devil.

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research problems.[182] HABERLAND (1963b.: 116) tended to believe that the custom of stone compositions among the Arsi traces back to the autochthonous Hadiyya population and is to be interpreted as the legacy of a strong Muslim impact. However, it could hardly have related to a custom somehow connected to Islam because on the one hand the Islamic prohibition of displaying figurative motifs would not have been beneficial to this custom, and, on the other hand, the major concentrations of decorated gravestones are found in those areas of Arsiland which were Islamized most recently and most superficially. Within the last quarter of the 20th century, the custom to surround graves with decorative stones has developed further in bizarre forms and extended westward to the Hadiyya territory at the lower Bilate. Graves with figurative paintings performed with modern colours obviously have become more numerous in the Lake Region despite the Muslim prohibition of image representations (cf. also chap. 3.8.3).

A particular correlation with Islamic ethnic groups and cultural traditions was occasionally assumed for the phallic stones.[183] In this context the legends of A. mad Grañ appeared to provide some relevant indications. Examples of stone constructions which are to some extent similar to those in the Lake Region are also known in the Harär Plateau and in northern Somalia, thus in those territories from which the westward expansion of Islam towards central Ethiopia primarily started. The question arises as to whether and how a diffusion of this syndrome of techniques, customs and beliefs could have been completed. This will remain unresolved unless archaeology is able to provide concrete data.[184] Even if one can assume that the name Aḥmad Grañ as a term in itself stands for the Islamic expansion in central-southern Ethiopia, there is no concrete evidence to correlate the diffusion of the phallic stone settings with the Muslim advance in that area.

The *im m* of ᶜAdal and commander of the "holy war" was such an outstanding figure that compared to him, the memories of other historically important person-

182 This become g P. R . ´ TP V , ´T T T, R g . PT. Archaeologists succeeded in dating them in the 12th and 13th century A.D., but precise information regarding their ritual importance, their symbolic implications and functions are hardly available (cf. JOUSSAUME 2010: 939f.).

183 Helmut Straube, for example, attempted to verify an origin of the phallus stones in the Lake Region from Islamic eastern Ethiopia with the help of comparative ethnographic and archaeological data. His premature death prevented the publication of these materials.

184 There is much to be said against a diffusion of phallic stone settings from the Horn of Africa into central-southern Ethiopia via Islamic cultural representatives. The cultures of north-eastern Africa which had been more or less intensively influenced by Islam have indeed possessed "megalithic" features up to the threshold of the present time. The large stone graves of ᶜAfar are one example to mention. However, the value concepts and practices associated with phallic symbols (such as the Grañ *kina*) and the genital organs as trophies, have been repressed particularly in the Muslim social environment with increasingly stronger religious pervasiveness to the extent of almost having vanished. By contrast, among the "pagan" groups particularly in those regions where the phallus stones are most frequently found, they have counted as one of the central cultural patterns until the 20th century (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2002).

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ages at that time look unimpressive.[185] Out of all of the commanders under A mad Grañ, it was the *gärad* ᶜAbd al-Na ir who had the closest relationship with the Hadiyya. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Š mb ra K^{w} re and other combats as a commander of the cavalry, and as secretary to the *im m* he was assigned a key position amongst the political elite of the ᶜAdal sultanate. In 1531 he was appointed governor to the conquered province of Gänz, and became related by marriage to a *gäräd* of Hadiyya (cf. p. XXX).[186]

There is good reason to believe that the *sayyid* (or *ḥadjdj*) Nd ir Alldh in the oral traditions of the Islamic Gurage and Qabeena was the ᶜAbd al-Na ir in the chronicle. According to the records of informants his pedigree comprises twenty generations back to ᶜAli, the son-in-law of Prophet Mu ammad. As a fervent supporter of A mad Grañ, Nd ir had set out from the Harär region and established friendly links with the inhabitants of the state Hadiyya. ᶜAbd al-Saldm is given as the name of his father, whereas for his mother three names are mentioned: Fd ima, Ayshat or Haikallu. For the history of the Hadiyya it is, however, unfortunate that the significant names of his wife and his brother-in-law are not recorded. ᶜAbd al-Nd -ir's sons were Ayy b, Maḥm d, Hdr n, ᶜAli and ᶜAbd al-Rahmdn. The last-mentioned son died childless. The descendants of the other sons are said to have survived up to the present as a significant and respected group under the collective name Naasirro in ä ZTT. T, Eaha, W riro and in the region of the ancient state nnarya.

The Hadiyya and other Muslims from the upper Gibe make an annual pilgrimage in droves to Cora-Kubba, a place in Limmu, which they worship as the burial place of *sayyid* Nd ir Alldh. This territory was situated in the region general ᶜAbd al-Nd ir had conquered in 1532 and which was allocated to his governorship of Gänz. The early Islamic wave in the territories belonging to the ancient state of nnarya,[187] which is associated with names like *adjdj* Nd ir and Kabir dmid prominent in the oral traditions, certainly traces back to this time. An even earlier Muslim infiltration into this region, a zone exposed to strong Christian cultural influences since the 14th century, appears unverifiable to me. A partial introduction of Islam, established in the 16th century, could not maintain its ground, however. The so-called Djabarti (i.e. Muslim) colonies in Sakka (nnarya) first emerged in the second half of the 19th century,[188] when the Muslim faith asserted itself in the kingdoms of the upper Gibe region. The chronicle reports that Nd ir met his death 1534 in the northern Ethiopian

185 By far the majority of my informants knew from among the prominent commanders of the "holy war" only the name of 2 hmad Grañ.

186 Details about the deeds of this man have been compiled by BASSET (1897: 63f., fn. 2) according to information in the *Fut* .

187 STRAUBE (1963: 274 ff.) could establish numerous pieces of evidence of an ancient Islam in Yäm.

188 See ABIR 1968a: 85. Nevertheless an older Islamic stratum was most likely in existence there. Oral traditions of the Qabeena and Gurage emphatically point to this. According to CERULLI (1930/33, I: 130), *grazma* Mu ammad in Mole, north of Sakka, passed himself off as a descendant of Abddir.

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province T gray, but as with many Muslim saints, several localities are deemed to be his burial place.

The Hadiyya in Arsi, the Allaaba and the Baadawwaachcho considered *ḥadjdj* Nd ir or *ḥadjdj aw* Nasroe, as a forefather to whom, according to their own traditions, members of the widely-scattered Sha'amanna clan in Arba-Gugu trace back. The name is said to be a variation of the name *shaikh* A mad, a great-grandson of *ḥadjdj* Nd ir, combined with the Hadiyya word *manna* (= people).[189] The Awlijaanna (Allujaanna) in Arsi are said to be identical, but they themselves claim to be descended from *aw l* ᶜUmar, allegedly an adopted son of *ḥadjdj* Ndṣir – *aw* was a customary honorary title in ᶜAdal and among the Somali, *l* means child in Harari as well as in other languages in north-east Africa and *anna* (actually "father") is a common suffix for the word descendant in Hadiyyisa (cf. p. xxx.). However, it is not impossible that it related to two different lines descending from *ḥadjdj aw* Nd ir, something which is undisputed by the Madarshoo who felt closely related to the Awlijaanna. The Awlijaanna and Madarshoo together with the Aminya, Adamoonyee and Funyamuura – occasionally the Abosaara and Sayymanna added by way of substitution – [190] were seen as Qall chcha shan, the five "priestly clans" amongst the western Arsi. For the eastern Arsi, it is consistently deemed to be the Ataaba, a group of the Awaan shan; *shan* means "five" in the Oromo language and *awaan* was derived from the Somali title *aw*.[191] The forefather *asw* Mu ammad (Ataaba) is said to have married Fdt ma, the daughter of *ḥadjdj* Nd ir, and their common descendants acquired the noble "*sharific*" ancestry.

The kinsmen of the Qall chcha clans among the Hadiyya and Arsi enjoyed a special status as they laid claim to *shar f*, direct descendants of the Prophet Mu ammad. They are believed by their people to thus dispose of special magic power (see also chap. 3.5.9). Through the maternal line, the Haballo or Haballoosa are related to the Sha'amanna. One of their clans commands the same ritual abilities especially with regard to rain magic, which is performed with the alleged assistance of a spiritual being named *golfa* by means of wooden instruments called *kaballa*. It could be observed that after a gradual weakening of Islam from the 17th century onwards, Muslim "survivals" were preserved most significantly among the Qall chcha clans.

Traditions of the Baadawwaachcho refer to Nd ir as the personality who realized the breakthrough of the *Fandaanano* religion at the time of Biimaaddo, which meant nothing less than a reinforced campaign of Islamization. It was said that the Hadiyya loyally provided military support to such an extent, that they were termed servants (*garba*) of *ḥadjdj* Nd ir. This is sometimes also given as an explanation why the Oromo use to call the Hadiyya and other assimilated groups *garba* (cf. chap. 1.1). According to the oral tradition, Nd ir came from Bale; the name of his father was

189 Among the Arsi-Oromo the version *mannaa* is common.
190 HABERLAND 1963a: 445 f. This was largely confirmed by my own informants.
191 For the title aw cf. LESLAU 1963: 37.

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mostly specified as Shabarkalle, that of his mother as Baata or Baatuta. From this information it can be concluded that the personality referred to here can be identified as *gärad* Nd ir b. Bale-*gärad*, the governor of Bale, who after the conquest of this principality by the Muslims, is repeatedly mentioned in the *Fut* (1897: 141, 145, 151, 153, 159).

The mausoleum of *hadjdj* Nd ir is located in Hersa between Meraaro and the Kaakkaa (Qaqa) mountain in Arsiland. It is regarded by the Sha'amanna or Awlijaanna respectively as their greatest shrine, where hundreds of cattle are slaughtered on the occasion of the Islamic festivals each year. Two gigantic cedar trees stand close to the tomb in which it is said white bees nest so as to drive off those approaching the place, who are impure and sinful, with their stings.[192]

The Sha'amanna related a legend about *hadjdj* Nd ir in which an anachronism becomes apparent, because *shaikh* N r usayn of Bale occurs as his contemporary.[193] I recorded the following narrative about Nd ir from the Allaaba informant ᶜUthman Sixamo in 1973.

adjdj Nd ir once lived as a rich cattle herder in Arsiland, on the boundary to Bale, and the saint *shaikh* usayn, undetected served him in the position of a herdsman. He was not accustomed to wandering around in search of fresh pastures, so rather stayed in one place. There he thrust a spear shaft into the ground and water immediately came gushing out, and the ground became covered in lush grass so that the cattle could graze to their heart's content. One day a woman observed this event and reported the strange spectacle to *adjdj* Nd ir whereupon he climbed a hill to watch his herdsman. Once he had witnessed the miracle, he fell down in front of *shaikh* usayn, kissed his feet and praised him as a holy man, who thereupon went back to his home country of Bale and is said to have performed many further miracles there. However, a curse was put on the woman who had revealed his secret to *adjdj* Nd ir, and she was turned into stone. One can sometimes see her from afar wearing the typical pearl ornamentation of the Arsi on her leather clothing. Yet, when one draws closer, she turns into stone.

As b ᶜUthmdn, another companion of A mad Grañ and important combatant in the "holy war", is reported to have been born in Shakmara in Bale and to have begot the Hadiyya clans Dooda, Weege and Malgee. As the governor of the ᶜAdal *im m*, he is supposed to have resided in the town called Geesa, founded by Zär'a Yaᶜ qob near Roobee (eastern Arsiland), in the former Christian territory of Wä3. In the course of internal disputes among the Muslims, he was killed by an Ogaadeen warrior, i.e. a person of Somali descent, by the name of Axaliibo. Thereupon *as b* ᶜUhtmdn was venerated as a martyr of the *djih d* and received a spectacular stone grave built in a place named after him, near the present to . , Rá o. It counts as one of the most frequented pilgrimage sites in the eastern Arsiland (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 17, 169). An identification of this man with persons mentioned

192 These details refer to information and personal observations of the 1973/74.

193 *Shaikh* N r usayn of Bale must be dated around 1300 (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 130ff.).

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in the *Fut al- abaša* appears to be unlikely, and this is also the case for a number of other alleged contemporaries who were named as ancestors of Arsi clans, as for example, *ḥadjdj* Shaalee, Fakii Abuun, Nuuranna Abdooye and Adamoonyee, whose graves have remained places of worship for their descendants. Most definitely it is only in exceptional cases that they concern authentic graves, especially if several localities lay claim to the tomb of saint simultaneously. Two burial places for *ḥadjdj* Nd ir are known to me in southern Ethiopia, whereas the historical figure [c]Abd al-Nds r was killed in action as a *djih d* combatant in T gray in the north of the country. Verifiably, in the wake of an Islamic revival since the second half of the 20th century, in many places tombs of "holy" personages were constructed in order to promote prestige and prosperity in the respective areas. In this way, in the 1930s a tomb was built at Qolito in Allaaba for N rullah Aḥmad, a son of the famous *shaikh* usayn of Bale, although no definite information is available that he lingered in this place at all.[194]

Not only mythical legends have survived about the time of Aḥmad Grañ, but this period allowed insights into events and circumstances which can be meaningfully incorporated into the entire historical framework. The bond of friendship the Hadiyya tied with the Muslim *djihadists* from [c]Adal must have been close as is reported in the migration traditions of several clans stating that their forefathers joined the "holy war" combatants in their campaign against Kämbata (1532/3) and central Ethiopia. It was above all the Weexo-giira who can be traced back to the first wave of Hadiyya immigration from the east to the region between the rivers Omo and Bilate. The relatives of this cluster of clans who stayed behind now live scattered amongst the Arsi-Oromo in Gädäb, Dallo and in the territory of the former principality of Bale. It is supposed to have occurred that also a faction of the Leemo already by that time left the region of Lake Abbayya and migrated northwards. Together with the Libidoo they occupied parts of the territory which formerly had belonged to Wä3. The Sooro began to leave their ancestral "homeland" in Gädäb and infiltrated into the lowland areas on the upper Bilate. Another Hadiyya group, the Saaga, whose country of origin remains unknown, likewise at this time penetrated the western peripheries of the Rift Valley and established sovereignty over a number of autochthonous groups in the Gurage highlands.

The rest of the Christian population of Kämbata, in so far as they did not flee westward across the Gibe, could only withstand the Muslim invasion on the steep mountain massif of Ambarichcho. Among the numerous Kambaata clans, the Haxee-Amhara and the Gafat are particularly considered to be the descendants of the imperial Ethiopian defenders during the time of the Grañ wars. Christians from the Wä3 region saved themselves, as reported in the traditions of their descendants called the Laaqii,[195] on the islands of the lakes Z[w]ay, Langano and Shaala, where

194 I have dealt with this problem at some length elsewhere (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 158, 161).

195 HABERLAND 1963a: 654ff. I carried out some interviews and observations on the shores of Lake Shaala.

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they are partly today and have tenaciously preserved their Semitic language and their Christian religion. Some Hadiyya under ᶜAbd al-Na ir, together with warriors from Gänz southeast of Kämbata, are said to have proceeded as far as nnarya where they established their rule in a region where Christianity dominated. The *Fut* (BASSET 1897: 63f., fn. 2) reported that ᶜAbd al-Nd ir also conducted a campaign against the province Damot, situated on the periphery of the Ethiopian heartland, and from there headed back eastwards towards Wä3. The establishment of Muslim Gänz, north-west of the upper Gibe, is to be dated at this time. The Sidaama tradition that A mad Grañ (Dingama Koyye) advanced as far as Siisso, to the region of the present Yanaase, is historically not unequivocally verifiable. His soldiers are supposed to have destroyed the Christian churches as far as Amaaro (Kooyira) and Bur3i,[196] but it is doubtful whether they ever reached this region.

More comprehensive, and in the whole historical framework more plausible, are the recollections passed on by the residents of the ancient Bale state about the "holy war". Emperor L bnä D ng l is supposed to have prayed in a blasphemous way that a war should descend upon his country in order to overcome the problem of overpopulation. This act resulted in the ᶜAdal army inundating the land. With regard to the information about the events already described in the *Fut* , some of the details about the invasion from Gälb and the subjugation of the Christian defenders can be confirmed. Hadiyya contingents are said to have joined the *djihadists* at Dobi Abba Galballa, near the present-day town of Gobba, and the *Fut al- abaša* (1897: 380ff.) awarded them a considerable share in the conquest of Bale. A popular narrative portrays that *azma* Dägälhan (the brother-in-law of L bnä D ng l and governor of Bale) had been invited by A mad Grañ to match him in a military combat. He marched to the north in order to strike the Adal commander and was annihilated with the entire army of his province at Mo3o (in Šäwa). Although details of the actions and their background sometimes appear legendary and confused, they nevertheless coincide with the historical core. The orally transmitted data in essence refer to this expedition which Dägälhan led against ᶜAdal in 1527 which ended with the demise of the Christian army – presumably in the region of Hubat in the Harär Plateau where a locality, or more specifically, a river named Mo3o exists. The traditions I recorded in the Cärcär region indicate hardly any connections to Hadiyya history at the time of A mad Grañ. It is said that the commander of the ᶜAdal army began his "holy war" from the place Balad Wäyna in the vicinity of 5 i3iga, defeated the Amhara in Daro (Däwaro), and then destroyed the Christian sacred sites in Cärcär, which was presumably part of the Ethiopian province Fä ägar. The manuscript of the priest Bäträ Mälässä, which I was allowed to investigate, mentioned the destruction of this region by the Muslims in (approximately) 1533.[197] In regard to A mad Grañ's soldiers, it was reported that they had been recruited especially from among

196 AZAÏS 1927: 27; STRAUBE 1963: 82; STRAUBE n.d.b: 4.

197 This information originating from the manuscript of Bäträ Mälässä from Sagure in Arsi can be classified expediently within the overall chronological framework.

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the arala and Somali, who were then joined by the Hadiyya, either voluntarily or forcibly.

3.3.4 Events up to the Death of *Am r* N r B. Mudj hid (1543-68)

With the defeat of the ᶜAdal army at Wäyna Däga near Lake ana, the offensive of the Muslims against the Christian heartlands collapsed. They could, however, initially maintain their position in those territories south-east of the Christian Empire which had been under its direct or indirect rule before. After the death of the *im m* A mad b. Ibrdhim, the *waz r* ᶜAbbds b. Ab n established sovereignty in the provinces of Däwaro, Fä ägar and Bale. Immediately after the military turning point in the *djih d*, the Ethiopians began to concentrate all efforts in the re-conquest of these territories. At the end of 1544, the Muslims had invaded Wä3, but were soon faced with the army of the Emperor Gälawdewos advancing southwards. ᶜAbbds fell together with a large part of his troops, and the Ethiopians established themselves in Däwaro where they began to rebuild the destroyed Christian churches.[198]

In the chronicle of Gälawdewos, nowhere is there talk of Hadiyya as a sort of state, but the Empire was obviously involved in a fierce military conflict against a people of this name. The abäša chronicler reported about this as follows:

> "From this moment onwards the king Gal wd wos, may peace be with him! did not stop to fight. He waged war against the Hadyas and the Gall s, conquered them and took into captivity their sons and their daughters whom he employed to fetch water and to chop wood, while he amused himself with their chiefs. He obliged certain persons from among them to pay a tribute to him and appointed a supervisor for them".[199]

This occurred according to the chronicle during the three years that Gälawdewos spent in Däwaro.

At this time, during which the Christian Empire endeavoured to restore its power and its territorial rights as they had existed before the Grañ wars, the Islamic counterpart began to reorganise itself through the rise of *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid, ruler of Harär-ᶜAdal. In the year from 1551 to 1552 A.D., the nephew of A mad Grañ, at the instigation of the surviving dependants of the *im m*, was appointed by the people of Harär "Leader of the New Conquest" (*ib al-fat al-th n*) and "Commander of the Faithful"(*am r al-mu'min n)* in order to continue the *djih d*. The reign of *am r* N r became an epoch distinguished by extraordinary displacements of peoples in the southern Ethiopian region, in which the Hadiyya were significantly involved. In the oral traditions of the ethnic groups of the region, who were afflicted by such occurrences, N r lived on as an important historic personality.

198 CONZELMANN 1895: XXIIIf., 139ff., 149. BASSET (*Fut* 1897: 317 f., fn. 1) cited the date of the decisive battle as October 1544, whereas CONZELMANN determined the date of the encounter at the beginning of the year 1545.

199 CONZELMANN 1895: 141 (our translation from French).

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According to the current tradition among the Qabeena, Allaaba and East-Gurage, *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid is descended from the line of the Harär ancestor Abddir (ᶜUmar al-Ri d) and was born at Funyan-Bira on the mountain Kununo. One of his wives was the daughter of a Hadiyya *gärad* named *adjdj* Aliye *adjdj* ᶜUmar[200], and from this matrimony the Toggo in Allaaba emerged as well as the clans Negger and Sarrar, who live widely scattered among the ža-Gurage. The informants reported furthermore that the Aminnya, widespread amongst the Arsi, form one of the five *Qall chcha* clans, which trace back to the learned *am r* N r whose title and name in the current Oromo-Hadiyya version was altered to Nuuranna Amin.[201] The Aminnya and the Wolashe, who were related to them and who live in the Bale region, worship a shrine at Mt. Faracho in the Agafra district of this province, where the founder of their clans is said to be buried. Another gravesite of *am r* N r has been located on the hill Matokomma at the foot of the Mt. Daato where the Allaaba and Kambaata settlement areas border on each other. His actual grave is situated in Harär, his residential town, which he fortified with a circular wall as a protection against the Oromo who had invaded ᶜAdal by that time.[202]

With varying degrees of success, *am r* N r continued to lead the "holy war" and achieved his greatest triumph in 1559 after an invasion of Fä ägar when Emperor Gälawdewos died in action against the Muslims. In keeping with the strategy of his predecessor A mad Grañ, he was anxious to decisively defeat the Christians in their own land and thus advanced far into enemy territory. According to the Arsi-Hadiyya traditions in the Lake Region, N r is supposed to have established his headquarters for some time at Mo3o in the south of Šäwa and in pursuit of the Christian military forces reached as far as Käfa.[203]

On this westward march, the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya from the area north of the Wabi Šäbälle bend probably comprised the most important troop contingent alongside the Harari, arala and Somali who traditionally dominated the ᶜAdal army. According to the traditions I recorded in the Cärcär territory, *am r* N r is said to have stayed for a considerable time there and fought against the Amhara at Burka near present-day Asbä Täfäri. He pushed them southwards to Biyyoo Arabaa and dispersed their troops. In a place by the name of Bakha, the Muslims also won a great victory against the Christian forces who allegedly marched away from their

200 The state of research on this outstanding person as a forebear in the traditions particularly of the Azärnät T and the other subgroups of the East-Gurage, was considerably extended by BUSTORF (2011: 115-23, *passim*). Aliye (Aliyye) became the common version of ᶜAli in this region of Ethiopia.

201 PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957b: 314) also received this information.

202 Cf. CERULLI 1936: 2, fn. 4. The wall surrounding Harär has remained one of Ethiopia's most impressive historical monuments.

203 Whether the Muslim combatants from the hot and dry lands in the east actually found their way so far into the south-western parts of Ethiopia with its humid primeval forest, highly unsuitable for the use of cavalry, remains uncertain. However, it can be assumed that in this tradition the widely spread legend is rooted that A mad Grañ, who indeed was often viewed as an identical figure with N r b. Mudjdhid, died in Käfa.

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quarters in Asaboot in the direction of Shirka. For *am r* N r's army, the Cärcär territory became an important base, from which the invasion of Fä ägar and central Ethio TV á´T .´ Z . , R´ TP , . T T , g T, who belonged to the Hadiyya cluster and were closely related to the Harari in their language and in their culture (cf. chap. 3.2.2). We already encountered their name in the chronicle of [c] V g, . T . ´T TR T . , ZT ´T T , . g , , PT. , , R T , . which the oral traditions creditably date to the 16th century. (Occasionally the name has been corrupted to "Sultan", the interpretation of the alleged title of *adjdj* [c]Ali, which is to be considered popular etymology without historical evidence). According to the traditions of the East-Gurage and Allaaba, *adjdj* Aliye, the father-in-law of *am r* ´ T ´T ´ TR, R ´T T

In the south, the dwelling-areas of this group bordered those of the genealogically and culturally closely related W lbaräg, who formed an independent political entity (cf. p. xxx.). The area between Shirka and Däwaro was occupied by the Allaaba and Qabeena who most likely also represented the dominant population in Shirka itself, the historical Šar a. They had probably constituted a compact Semitic-speaking Hadiyya bloc for two or three centuries in the territory between the western Cärcär and the upper Wabi. In the military campaigns of A mad Grañ, parts of the southern Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya from Gädäb and Dallo had left their territories in a north-western direction to invade the Christian provinces of Wä3 and Kämbata (see below), forerunners of the Oromo migrations mostly starting out from the upper Ganaale. As a result, a perceptible vacuum was left in the part of Gädäb lying to the north of the upper Wabi, into which other peoples from the north-east could now invade.

In the course of the enterprises undertaken by *am r* T , . , R ´T T and W lbaräg, mostly as soldiers, moved westwards into the territory of the upper Gibe and then returned to their native land in Cärcär. Eventually, they are supposed to have decided to emigrate with their families and herds and, with stopovers in Shirka and Gädäb, forced their way as nomads plundering through the areas of Wä3. The W lbaräg for some time inhabited the region at the Duuro mountain south-east of Lake Langano . V , T, R ´T TP , T . ´ T PT g j TV ´ , , , stayed in the region of Muneessa. At the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains, the Hadiyya had become tired of the indefatigable fighting and the hardships of their migratory existence and decided to settle permanently in this land which they liked exceptionally well.[204] N r b. Mudjdhid permitted them to stay there, especially as thereby the area of Islamic control spread westward towards the Christian heartlands. The rest of the previous Christian population, termed the Jerra, who had only survived the Grañ wars with heavy losses, were not in a position to withstand the Haddiya invaders. These became known as the Ajjar, which is said to mean in to-

204 This tradition had already been recorded by other authors, by MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902: 79), by COHEN (1931:72), who relied on the works of TRAVERSI, by AZA S/CHAMBARD (1931: 186) and by PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957b: 317).

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day's East-Gurage "people from beyond." In regard to the autochthonous inhabitants, these were composed, as already mentioned, of Omotic-speaking groups, who were close to the population of nnarya, and colonists from northern Ethiopia. This mixture was particularly evident in the region of Kämbata, where the members of a clan named nnarya rank among the oldest inhabitants of the area, and a number of "noble" clans lay claim to an origin in northern Ethiopia.[205]

Male persons among the autochthonous inhabitants to a large extent were said to have been killed by the "Adaree" conquerors, whereas the women were spared and subsequently assimilated by them. As a consequence of this, the special cultural position of the East-Gurage amongst the Hadiyya with regard to the cultivation of nsät farming becomes comprehensible. At this stage of their history, i.e., from the late 16th century onwards, they started adopting the basic elements of the economic system, which was predominant in their new habitat. But at the same time they preserved the . P PT . V ´T T P , . ´T. ´T T settled on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley, they are supposed to have already encountered factions of Gudeella who had advanced northward during the Grañ assaults. The Libidoo had immigrated from their bases east of Lake Z^{w}ay into the sprawling lowland areas south of the Awaš River.

Amongst the troops recruited from the eastern parts of the Horn of Africa for the *djih d*, warriors of Somali descent occasionally stayed in the conquered territories of the west and settled in the principalities of Hadiyya, Šar a and Bale. In present-day Arsiland, there are still sporadic recollections of these "Ogaadeen people". Occasionally, they are still identifiable by their ethnic origin, like the Habr Yuunis and Garjeeda, preserving bonds of interethnic clan relations with the Somali-inhabited region. Whereas the Gajeeda lived scattered among the Ittuu and Arsi, the Habr Yuunis from the vicinity of Hirna in Cärcär joined the exodus to the west at the time of *am r* N r and occupied an area suitable for livestock-breeding east of Lake Z^{w}ay. For the Arsi, the Habr Yuunis are considered to be a Hadiyya clan and were called Habarnoosa (children of Habr), a designation which the group then accepted for themselves. Here the complexity of the name Hadiyya is particularly manifested, because the Oromo more or less inclusively applied it to the autochthonous, partly Islamic population in their new living-areas.

During the military campaigns of *am r* N r, a troop contingent reached the slopes of the Gurage Mountains whose descendants have preserved the name Bärbäre which is said to be derived from the seaport Berbera on the northern Somali coast. The groups bearing the same name in northern Dallo and in the region of Ginnir in Bale are supposed to be of the same origin. This information was approved by the Bärbäre in Gurageland, but I was unable to receive verification from their alleged clan relatives in the other regions.

205 With regard to the historical origins of the Kambaata I have presented a detailed analysis elsewhere (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 190-97).

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Šar a, a territory which must have considerably exceeded the size of present-day Shirka district, became the exit area for a large migration which led to profound changes in the ethnic situation of central-southern Ethiopia. There were other Hadiyya sub-groups in Šar a, the Allaaba and Qabeena, who were sucked into the stream of migrations and swept along with them in the direction of Gädäb. In the territory north of the Wabi Šäbälle ´Tg T TV ´T T T P . .V ´T T-W lbaräg group turned to the north-west. They traversed the lowland of the Rift Valley with the majority – a section remained east of the Lake Region – and settled in the 1560s[206] in the region at the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains, which has been the residential area of these people ever since.

According to the traditions preserved by the Allaaba[207], part of their ancestors stayed in Gädäb at the time of *am r* N r, particularly in the area of the Wabi Šäbälle headwaters, which still bears their name. Another section continued from there to Malgee in present-day Sidaamaland. A contingent, however, attached itself to the T V P , . , R ´T T-W lbaräg and from then on lived as nomads in the pasturelands east of the central Bilate. They were called Uull-Allaaba, "the old established residents" (derived from *uulla* = "earth" in the Allaaba language) and are distinguished from the asan-Allaaba (cf. chap. 3.5.2) whose emigration from Sidaamaland occurred at a later date. They refer also to themselves as Buchch-Allaaba after the prominent ancestor Buchche, whom the Gudeella and Baadawwaachcho – and in the slightly modified form of Bushshe the Sidaama – preserved as a common forebear in their pedigrees as well. Their tradition reports that they still spoke Adaree , , T T R g T T ´T T idiom of the East-Gurage, and only after having lived for about two generations in close contact with Kambaata-speaking people shifted to their present-day Cushitic idiom at the end of the 18th century (cf. chap. 3.5.2).

In Gädäb, the Qabeena were still together with the other above-mentioned ethnically related groups. Like the asan-Allaaba, they moved off to the south, established themselves in the territory Qeweena subsequently named after them, and were later considered to be one of the thirteen main groups of the Sidaama cluster. According to the traditions preserved by the western group in the Bilate region, the bulk of the Allaaba and Qabeena probably stayed for only a short while in Gädäb. Their exodus westward and southward evidently did not yet take place under pressure from the invading Oromo, who brought about later waves of migrations from this area.

The Hadiyya groups who emigrated to the Gurageland were, according to the traditions of the East-Gurage and Allaaba, under the leadership of the ur'an scholar

206 Occasionally, in the oral traditions of the Hadiyya regions the date given for the campaign of immigration of Adaree (Harari)-speaking groups under *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid to Gurageland is the year 973 A.H. (1565/66 A.D.).

207 With regard to the oral traditions of the Allaaba, *shaikh* Ibrahim Affuuso and *balambaras* ᶜUthman Sixamo were my main informants in 1973.

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adjdj( ) Aliye *adjdj( )* ᶜUmar, whom most of them claimed as their progenitor.[208] His origins are obscure, but ancestry from the noble Arab uraish clan is commonly accepted. This is in the same way just as unverifiable as a genealogical connection with the famous N r usayn of Bale. In their traditions, the subgroups of the East-Gurage trace themselves back to *adjdj* Aliye in a more or less fictitious way. The T emerged from the marriage of their eponymous forebear to a woman called Sagaate who, according to her genealogy, is descended from a group of Cushitic-T .P Vgg T´ ZTT. . , . VT P. , . , R . T´. P , . T the 14th century (cf. chap. 3.2.2), but the traditions of the East-Gurage and Allaaba often equate a person of this name with *adjdj* Aliye. As is the case here, Ethiopian Muslims often lay claim to an Arab progenitor, whereas the maternal line of the T , TV , TZ , RR , , . T , R ´T , , . . T , , R the Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya. The close relationship and interaction between both linguistically and culturally heterogeneous groups within the Hadiyya cluster becomes particularly evident here. á´T , R ´T T , ZT ´T , V .P ´TV group of the East-Gurage group is laid down in a legend, in which *gann* T – *gann* is a traditional honorary title – is personified in the following way.

> *adjdj* Aliye one day located a honey wine (ä) tavern, which was in contradiction to the commandment of the Prophet. He returned home drunk and vomited. He requested his sons, one by one, to clean up the vomit. All of ´T TR TV . ´T . , R T who willingly did what his father wanted. Subsequently, he received his father's blessing: his descendants would be the most numerous and would rule over those of his brothers and sisters.
>
> (According to Ibrdhim Affuuso in 1973)

The narrative obviously emerged much more recently, as honey wine taverns were unknown before the conquest of central-southern Ethiopia by M nil k II. It was . T. TV . , VT , TP T ´T T claim to primogeniture and sovereignty among the subgroups of the East-Gurage.

The sons of *adjdj* Aliye, born to a Gurage mother from ndägañ, were named Allaqiiro, Abeechcho, Dilaapa, Samardiino and Ajaamo, and his daughter was called Oyyata. The Wälane and W riro subgroups trace back to Abeechcho, the descendents of Allaqiiro, Samard . , . V T T TV , . P ´T T, Azärnät and W lbaräg. The leading group of the Qabeena, the Ajjaamo, descends from an ancestor of this name and is closely related to the Sidee, the leading clan in Allaaba. Ajjaam(o) was the title of a ruling personality among the Hadiyya, which is also documented in the written records (cf. chap. 3.4.5). This word is said to mean "patient" according to an interpretation of the East-Gurage. It was denied by the informants that among the Baadawwaachcho the common designation *anjaanchcho*

208 With regard to different versions in the traditions cf. BUSTORF 2011: 118ff.

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(pl. *anjaama*) for the High Priests, still usual up to the present, is connected with the old title Ajjaamo.[209]

Oyyata, the daughter of *adjdj* Aliye, is insofar important in the history of southern Ethiopia, as she married amälmal, the abäša governor of Kämbata, and became founder of a new dynasty, which was named after her. This fact is extraordinary, and Oyyata is therefore frequently transformed into a male person in the oral traditions of the area.[210]

Sidee, who lived eleven or twelve generations ago, according to most of the pedigrees (counted back from the 1970s), is said to have been a nephew (father-brother-son) of *adjdj* Aliye, and together with him went away from the eastern part of Gurageland to nnäqor. As a result of sibling rivalry over sovereignty, the two fell out with each other and Sidee tried to eliminate his rival by means of a hired assassin. Because of a misunderstanding he himself was killed in the assassination attempt and was buried in Dangaw, in the area of nnäqor. His sepulchre is a site of veneration for his descendants in Gurage, Allaaba and Qabeena, and the same applies to Umnan in the region of the Azärnät, where *adjdj* Aliye was interred. The death of this personage, important for the local history, is likely to have been at approximately the same time as the death of *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid (1568) which signified the final conclusion of the "holy war" epoch.

After their dispute with *adjdj* Aliye's people, the Sidee either joined the Allaaba nomads south of nnäqor or penetrated into ža, Gumär and Eaha in the interior of Gurageland where the Säga (Saaga) as representatives of the preceding Hadiyya invasion had gained a leading position. Sidee is said to have had two sons with a prisoner of war, Gäbrä anna and Imere (ᶜUmar), who after his death were overlooked in the allocation of the inheritance. The first mentioned subsequently went to Eaha and became the founder of a new leading clan, the Mogumanna or Mogumaanye. Among the Gumär the descendants of Imere advanced to a politically predominant group, the clan Enaqowamt. A legend relates to Sidee's two illegitimate sons as follows:

> Sidee's chief wife wanted both of the sons from the concubine to be eliminated, considering them to be bothersome rivals. Secretly, she delivered the boys to a *Fuga'a* [a man belonging to the professional group of potters, who functioned as executioners in many areas of southern Ethiopia]. He was ordered to abandon them in the bush. However, the *Fuga'a* was a compassionate man who detested this assignment. Instead of leaving them to die, he handed the lads over to a Gurage couple, who adopted them. When they were grown up, the Mogumanna became the strongest clan in Eaha and the Enaqowamt the strongest in Gumär.

209 According to another version a*jjaama* is said to mean "magician" derived from the fact that the group with this name had magic powers at their command. BUSTORF (2011: 85) reports that *a amo* Ttitle meaning "immaculate soul".

210 For details see my monograph on Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 39ff.).

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(According to Ibrdhim Affuuso in 1973).[211]

Historical conclusions can be drawn to the effect that the Sidee ousted the Saaga from their sovereign position in parts of Gurage. Like most of the Hadiyya groups west of the Rift Valley, the Sidee are also connected by interethnic clan relations with Oromo-speaking clans in the east. For example, the Suudee in Arba-Gugu – the vowel of the first syllable is said to have evolved from i to u during the course of time – preserved the tradition that a section of their clan once migrated to the west and eked out new domiciles in Gurageland and Allaaba.[212] Also in regard to the change of power in Gurage and Allaaba at the expense of the Saaga, a legend has been preserved:

> The Sidee-Mogumanna combatants secretly invaded the land just when the Saaga were celebrating the *Mäsqäl* festival [Exaltation of the Cross]. Thus, they were totally unprepared to be confronted with an attack. When the shepherd boys, who stayed outside the settlement, noticed the approaching enemy, they gave the alarm, but it was already too late. The Saaga were utterly defeated and many of their men were killed. The Mogumanna took over the ruling insignia called *gondär* from their leader, *gärad* Nabri [today the title *azma* is mostly used] and the Saaga became their servants from then on.
>
> (According to Ibrdhim Affuuso in 1973)

The Mu er-Gurage emerged as allies on the side of the Mogumanna who had allegedly robbed a boy from the former. They agreed on returning him, after the Muher had consented to support the Mogumanna in their conflict against the Saaga.

In contrast to the descendants of *adjdj* Aliye, the W lbaräg trace back to the Harari progenitor Abddir (ᶜUmar ar-Ri d) and are said to be the "purest" Hadiyya among the East-Gurage.[213] Between them and the other East-Gurage groups there existed a strong relationship through intermarriage. Keraret, for example, one of the wives of *adjdj* Aliye, came from the Abddir line. The extensive intermixture of the East-Gurage becomes apparent as the same clans are found among nearly all the subgroups. One of the most notable W lbaräg ancestors was Malgage'lle, who, like his sons Wobaazo and Araado, is said to have lived in the eastern places of residence between the Cärcär Mountains and the Shirka region. The generation of the grandchildren under *gärad* Shiro Wobaazo joined the westward migration which occurred at the time of *am r* . P ´ T P , . Z P , . Z Z, T

211 Also SHACK and MARCOS (SHACK/MARCOS 1974: 96 ff.; SHACK 1969: 103, 206, *passim*) came to know of this oral tradition.

212 The *balambaras* ᶜAbdallah Angoiye from the Suudee clan in Abomsa (Arba-Gugu) reported in 1973 that even by that time close contacts between the Sidee and the Suudee existed over a great distance and that the relatives of both groups occasionally paid each other visits.

213 D'ABBADIE (1890: 116) described the W lbaräg as the only subgroup among the East-Gurage as explicitly "Hadiyya-speaking Muslims." BUSTORF (2011: 159 ff., *passim*) denominates this group because of their close relation with the Mälga the W lbaräg-Mälga.

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son in Gädäb who was called Gädäbano after that stage of the journey, and who founded a new group in Gurageland.

One of the commanders of the "holy war" who pushed westward with the troops in the 1560s was N r Y suf, whose ethnic origin remains uncertain. Traditions in East-Gurage report that he was not an autochthonous Hadiyya from the regions of Cärcär, Shirka or Gädäb, but a warrior from ᶜAdal. Three sons were attributed to him, namely Nuukso, ᶜUthmdn and Ibrdhim who joined the Sooro nomads then located at the upper Bilate River. Nuukso killed a man from this group due to a dispute and had to therefore flee to Azärnät where he founded a new group. His two brothers remained in Sooro, and since that time the Usmaano form one of the biggest clans there. However, the present Usmaano have not preserved the tradition of their descent from N r Y suf, but trace their direct line back to Hade, the favourite son of Booyyaamo. This complies with the general trend to genealogically align with the group one lived amongst. The Usmaano descend from Hade only on the maternal side, a fact which can be deduced with reasonable certainty from the traditions about the relative Nuukso. Ibrdhim had either no descendants or they were so completely assimilated by the Sooro that their name disappeared.

Nuukso was the first ancestor of some of the altogether fourteen Azärnät . ´T T T, R T Z P, Allaaba and Libidoo origin. How these groups were formed is uncertain just as it is contentious whether a person by the name of Azär existed. In line with the overall picture got from the genealogical data it is in effect improbable and the designation Azärnät was only coined after the formation of a political territorial federation of ethnically heterogeneous elements.[214]

This situation was comparable with regard to the Bärbäre, those *djih d* combatants allegedly originating from Berbera who at the present time form a conglomerate of seventeen clans predominantly related to the Allaaba.[215] Some of their clans appear to be strange and do not allow themselves to be associated with any of the well-known Hadiyya groups. One cannot rule out the possibility that they go back to numerically insignificant organizations of combatants who reached central Ethiopia directly from the Somali coast. Clan relatives of the Bärbäre are also located in Bale, as already mentioned, and possibly migrated with the Allaaba living in their vicinity. Significantly, the Bärbäre clan Farazze has its counterpart in the Farazzo group of the Arsi in the Robee region of Bale.

A further commander of the *djih d* combatants was ᶜAli N r who is said to be one of the progenitors of the Gädäbano. This group occupied a territory in the high- . V . , ´ , R T, where they later became neighbours of the Qabeena. The Abosaara also came with the Hadiyya invasion. Their clan relatives who stayed behind in the east live among the Ittuu-Oromo in Cärcär and are also represented in considerable numbers in the Arsi and Allaaba region. The Abosaara, named after

214 This was later more or less confirmed by the research of BUSTORF (2011: 149f.).

215 According to BUSTORF (2011: 153) the ancestor of this group was A mad al-Barbari from the *sharific* line of Kabir dmid.

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their progenitor 2 hmad Ab Sarri, are easily recognisable everywhere through the notion of a magical attachment to the leopard and are believed to be of *sharific* origin like the Adamoonye living amongst the East-Gurage.[216]

The Hadiyya who immigrated to the area of the upper Bilate under *am r* N r, did not invade as a band of combatants, who in order to preserve their group had to couple themselves with the women of the autochthonous population, [217] but what occurred was a process of a systematic colonization by a compact ethnic group. Marriage unions between the conquerors and the local women were common, however, due to the considerable loss of males which the inhabitants of these areas had suffered from during the long-lasting conflicts. The genealogies show that a number of persons, who were referred to as clan ancestors, are descended from the Gurage groups Mäsqan, Gumär and YäCärät.[218] The cases where men of the autochthonous Christian previous population intermarried with Hadiyya Muslims were obviously not very frequent, but they nevertheless occurred. Christianity was not as entrenched in these tribes – in contrast to the K stane (Aymälläl or Soddo) north of them – that they were prepared to offer resistance uncompromisingly to the Muslims for the sake of their faith. In this region, Islam proved to be up to the present a very attractive and expansive religion.

The newcomers entered intensive marriage relationships with those Hadiyya groups who had penetrated some decades before with the troops of ᶜAbd al-Nd ir, for example with the Gänz north-east of Gurageland and the Libidoo, Gudeella and Sooro, who lived as nomadic pastoralists between the upper Bilate, the Awaš and Lake Z^{w}ay. It has to be pointed out that the East-Gurage tended to a large extent to equate those groups speaking a Cushitic language with the Arsi-Oromo, who appeared in the Lake Region at a later stage (cf. chap. 3.5.9). This occurred not only because these Hadiyya groups were historically and genealogically linked with the Arsi to an extensive degree, but they were also culturally close to them.

The Hadiyya migrations which resulted in the ethnogenesis of the East-Gurage, took place in a time period of less than twenty years, approximately between 1550 and 1570. From the numerous clans of the invaders, a total of seven groups evolved who each developed a pronounced individual consciousness, and who perceived ´T T T . VT T. VT. T. T , . P ´T . T W lbaräg, Azärnät, Bärbäre, Gädäbano, W riro and Wälane.[219] In contrast to the Allaaba who migrated

216 This is a prominent example of interethnic clan relations which are particularly important in north-eastern Africa. They became a special focus of Günther SCHLEE's research (1989, chap. 5, *passim*).

217 Such an interpretation was forwarded, for example, by MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902: 76) and PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957b: 317).

218 These three ethnic groups are basically "West-Gurage" who claim to originate from Christian settlers from northern Ethiopia.

219 Among the European researchers regarding the identification of the ethnic entities of the East-Gurage (D'ABBADIE, CECCHI, MONDON-VIDAILHET, COHEN, LESLAU) there was notable disagreement which can be ascribed to the lack of systematic research in this region. When CECCHI (1888: 123), for example, listed the Mänz as an independent group, this name

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with them and occupied the country to the south of them, they preserved their original Semitic language within the ethno-political cluster of Hadiyya. Until the late 16th century the diffusion of Semitic-speaking people was most likely more widespread in central-southern Ethiopia until it was gradually pushed back by the Oromo expansion and dwindled to pockets on the eastern slope of the Gurage Mountains.

3.3.5 Political and Socio-Cultural Impact of the "Holy War"

When *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid died in 1568, ᶜAdal's hegemony and the Muslim threat to the Christian Empire was finally dispelled. Both opposing forces abandoned the struggle for supremacy of north-eastern Africa and were so weakened that they had to cede vast territories to the Oromo advancing from the south. Herein was to be found the weightiest consequence of the "holy war" in regard to the ethnic and political situation in this area from the end of the 16th century onwards. The changes resulting from its military actions were from then on inextricably linked to the territorial mobility of the Hadiyya.

Although the *djih d* was proclaimed as a religious war by the Muslims, it was nevertheless a conflict pre-eminently dominated by political and economic motives. As historically comparable constellations of events suggest, like for example the Arabian expansion under the first *Khal fas* in the 7th century A.D. or the *djih d* of the Fulbe (Fulani) in regions of the *Bil d al-Sud n*[220] at the beginning of the 19th century, there must have been religious currents and ideas involved which provoked a vehement awakening of socio-political options and, as a consequence, a mobilization of a centrifugally directed ethnic energy. A special role was also played by the leading figure A mad Grañ, whose death ushered in a turning point to the detriment of the Muslims. In the eyes of his followers he was obviously regarded as a charismatic leader, which becomes manifest not least by the numerous legends preserved about him by the Ethiopian people. The *djih d* of the 16th century is only comprehensible by acknowledging the interactions of the socio-economic, religious, spiritual and human forces. It nevertheless appears to be an indisputable fact that the first-mentioned significantly outweighed the others as an agent.[221]

Christianity and Islam as religious and cultural systems had to accommodate severe convulsions which above all afflicted the state of moral consciousness of their devotees. Mass conversions from the one confession to the other, which were re-

TRT TV , ZP , , R ´T T. Recent field research has, however, changed the ethnic classification stated here. BUSTORF (2011) added the AliCCo and Mälga. The Gogot and nnäqor are also sometimes listed as individual subgroups. According to Ronny Meyer (personal communication) the Wäläne do not claim to be part of the S ba Hadiyya but of the Säbat Bet Gurage.

220 A number of striking phenomenological parallels can indeed be ascertained (see BRAUKÄMPER 1971: 64 ff.).

221 This statement represents my personal conviction. DAVIS (1963/64) and MERID WOLDE AREGAY (1974) agree in principle with this view.

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peatedly executed in the border provinces of the Ethiopian Empire, not only made the unstable position of the faith apparent, but also fostered opportunism with regard to the respectively prevailing political and religious conditions. This became evident, for example, for the Maya in the territory of Wä3. From the very earliest times, the people of southern Ethiopia were unfamiliar with religious fanaticism and confessional changeovers occurred quite frequently even up to the present. (As I could observe in the 1970s and in the 1990s, it was not uncommon for members of the same family to belong to different religions.)

The constantly changing fronts induced a pragmatic approach among the people located between the power centres of the ᶜAdal Emirate and the Christian Empire in the Ethiopian highlands. In the interest of maintaining their existence, they were advised to champion an ongoing willingness and pragmatism to stand up for the respective opponents. Examples of religious heroism did occur, but the readiness to sacrifice oneself for a religious conviction generally does not seem to have been ranked highly in the hotly contested areas of central-southern Ethiopia.

Before the "holy war", the Hadiyya had been vassals of the Christian state in a position of continually uncertain loyalty and used the first opportunity after the victory of ᶜAdal to cast off the sovereignty of the Christian Emperor and to get rid of the oppressive duty of paying tribute. This was for them as relatively superficial Muslims most certainly an overriding objective, whereas the idea of propagating the religion of the Prophet among the disbelievers with fire and the sword was of secondary importance. Marriage diplomacy, used by a Hadiyya *gärad* to commit the Muslim commanders A mad Grañ and ᶜAbd al-Nd ir to them, illustrates that this practice, formerly exerted in relation to the Christian court, was transferred to ᶜAdal without hesitation after the political shift in power. It does not follow from this that the Hadiyya necessarily developed feelings of friendship with the warriors of ᶜAdal, who were mostly recruited from groups of people who were strange to them. Rather the opposite might have been the case as the murder of *As b* ᶜUthmdn by a Somali soldier illustrates. This illustrates just one example of the rivalry of the two groups that has been preserved in the oral traditions. What may have induced the Hadiyya as a bellicose people to follow the ᶜAdal Muslims in their *djih d* was the prospect of booty looted from the temptingly rich Christian Empire. The quantity of precious metals and valuable substances possessed by the Orthodox Church is said to have never encompassed the magnitude of the time before the Grañ wars.[222] When a distribution of the booty comprising horses and prisoners of war was personally arranged by the *im m*, alongside ᶜAbd al-Nd ir and *gärad* Siddi from Šar a, the *gärad* of Hadiyya also took a share.[223]

According to TRIMINGHAM's (1965: 89f.) interpretation, the moral repercussions of the "holy war" and its long-term consequences on the decay of the old social

222 This was stated by TADDESSE TAMRAT (1972: 301, *passim*) as one of the leading scholarly authorities on this period. Cf. CONZELMANN 1895: 123.

223 This was reported in the *Fut* (1897: 389).

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order and the traditional moral concepts were more profound than the immense loss of human life and the devastations of entire regions. This may have applied to the heartlands of the Christian Empire, but for the fringe areas like those in which the Hadiyya people lived, it was certainly quite the opposite. The turmoils of war had for decades seriously compromised the people's means of existence as the marauding troops had robbed them of their possessions and had made a regulated agricultural cycle impossible. As much as an incalculable loss of human life occurred as a direct result of the events of war, death in battle and enslavement, the number of victims increased considerably due to the inevitable famine that followed. Some of the provinces affected by the war, for example Däwaro, Fä ägar and Wä3 must have been so depopulated that the Hadiyya and Oromo, who were moving forward from the south, could penetrate into a virtual vacuum.[224]

In some regions of central-southern Ethiopia traditions report on a vast dispersal of people in what can most likely be associated with the period of immense destruction and radical ethnic changes of the 16th century *djih d*. In a dramatic way the narrative seems to have shifted close to a primeval myth through their interwoven motives of the Flood and the Babylonian confusion. According to a Baadawwaachcho tradition which follows on the lines of the Kambaata version,[225] the catastrophe referred to as *Dawdigalla* was characterized in the following way:

> The human race had proliferated and had become wicked so that God [*Waa'a*] decided to punish it through the devil [*Sheexaana*]. The devil ran into a cow in calf, which then broke away. It could not be stopped by the men pursuing it and plunged down into an abyss at Kontola [near today's boundary to Wälaytta]. One cut the calf out of the cow. Its head was so oversized that it was perceived as a bad omen, pointing to a looming calamity. The owner took the cow's hide to the market in Kontola in order to sell it. However, as he spread it out, an infinite number of rats sprang out and spread throughout the whole country. The people fled away aimlessly and many, on losing their minds, plummeted into chasms. A huge flood came which obliterated many and a burning hot wind blew into the remotest areas of the earth. Only the "seven in the mountains" [*Duu'n lamara*] survived the catastrophe.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso and Annullo Canqalo, 1971).

It is supposed to have each been seven groups which fled to the highest elevations of the mountains for example to the Ambarichcho in Kämbata and the Daamoota in Wälaytta. The notion that seven clans – in a large part of Ethiopia this number is of symbolic value – survived on the mountain peaks is also well known in other areas.

224 Quantative perceptions about the loss of human life during the *djih d* cannot be obtained from the sources.

225 For the respective information concerning the Kambaata cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 35f., 272.

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The Gurage describe this phase as *Dawa*, which is said to mean something like dispersion.[226]

The "Grañ Assaults" form the historical background of the legend in which the Christian territories were wholly overrun by the *djih d* armies, except for some refuges on mountain peaks and on islands in the lakes. With regard to the events, the narrative of *Dawdigalla* concerning the destruction and dispersal of people, except for the "seven in the mountains", does not have any concrete historical validity. But it clearly reflects that the impact of the "holy war" in central-southern Ethiopia was primarily seen in its enormous destructive consequences for the demographic situation. Simultaneously, the cultural situation in these territories changed considerably alongside the ethnic displacements like that unleashed by the Hadiyya migrations between 1530 and 1570. The Christian farmers using ploughs were partially ousted by the Muslim nomadic pastoralists, like for example in Wä3, whereas in East-Gurage the infiltrating people of Hadiyya stock took on nsät cultivation from the autochthons.

3.4 The Epoch of Oromo Expansion of the 16th and 17th Centuries

Whether in the name *Dawdigalla* an indication of the expansion of the Oromo is hidden, must remain unanswered. As already mentioned (cf. chap. 1.1), the term Galla among the Amhara and other ethnic groups of Ethiopia is said to mean "dispersed people" or "land seekers". Both events, the "holy war" on the one hand, and the Oromo migrations having considerably longer lasting consequences on the other hand, are historically linked to each other. They intertwined and sometimes took place simultaneously. This chapter will not have as its objective a comprehensive and detailed portrayal of the expansion of the Oromo people, this theme spanning the entire region of north-eastern Africa remains an important desideratum,[227] but merely – and thus the intention of my own field research was limited – to restrict the analysis of the material in relation to the history of the Hadiyya.

3.4.1 The Ethnic Situation of South-East Ethiopia in the Middle of the 16th Century

In order to comprehend the dramatic changes caused by the "holy war" for the peoples of south-eastern Ethiopia, an overall look at the ethnic situation at the beginning

226 Information given by informants in Gurageland 1973, 1974. In Wälaytta, according to Namana Dilliso (1971), the dispersal of people except the "seven in the mountains" (Mt. Daamoota) was reported to have been termed *Gonigamma*.

227 For southern Ethiopia, HABERLAND's monograph (1963a) contains a wealth of material which has meanwhile been completed by numerous studies on Oromo groups in different parts of Ethiopia and Kenya. Hypotheses on the on their Oromo country of origin have been forwarded, for example, H. LEWIS (1966), NEGASO GIDADA (1984, chap. 2), BRAUKÄMPER (1986), MOHAMMED HASSEN (1990: 4, 18ff).

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of the Oromo migrations is indispensable. All available information indicates that this region in the middle of the 16th century was occupied by groups of relatively light-skinned people speaking either Cushitic or Semitic languages.[228]

The people of Hadiyya descent obviously underwent their greatest expansion in the middle of the 16th century. Besides the territory of the state named after them and that of Šar a, as the leading ethnic stratum they occupied southern and northern Gänz as well as parts of Kämbata, Gurage and Wä3. Also Bale, Däwaro and parts of Fä ägar were inhabited by a population closely associated with the Hadiyya. This conclusion can be drawn from the migration traditions as well as from the genealogical materials and from apparent facts of interethnic relationships.

The northern part of the Cärcär territory and the Harär plateau was populated by the arala, a culturally advanced people whose name is first documented in the chronicle of c V g, . . The arala king joined the Islamic alliance under its commander dli in approximately 1330 which was defeated by the Christian Amhara troops near Däwaro.[229] During the *djih d* the arala fought anew on the side of the Muslims.[230] The last written mention which testified the existence of the arala as a political entity presumably dates back to the year 1585.[231]

Among the Oromo tribes of the Karrayyuu, Ittuu and Afran Qaalluu a widely diffused oral tradition relates that the arala were a powerful and rich people who lived in stone-built settlements and practised tillage-farming which yielded a considerable surplus of foodstuffs. All archaeological legacies, ruins of houses, mosques, necropolises, fortifications, terraced fields and storages hewn in the bedrock, which are frequently found in the Cärcär-Harär region, are commonly attributed to the arala.[232] As the elements of stone architecture were often of formidable dimension, the builders of those historic places, as it is argued by the present inhabitants, must have been gigantic people. This technical achievement otherwise did not seem to be explicable.

According to a legend, the arala were punished by God who caused their downfall as they had been enticed through their wealth to disobey his commandments and continued, full of arrogance, to misuse their abundance of food:

228 The question of a former Negroid population (cf. AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 213, fn. 1 in this regard) should not be discussed here, because the recent anthropological situation including the "special" groups of craftspeople, whose origin and historical position has been greatly speculated about, as well as the oral traditions, are unable to supply any conclusive references. The Negroid Somali-speaking Addoona at the middle and upper Wabi Šäbälle obviously originate from Bantu-speaking slaves who settled and expanded there in the 19th century. Cf. also ch. 1.1 and ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI 1890: 415f.; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 29; BOTTEGO 1895: 85; SWAYNE 1895: 137; SMITH 1897: 153; VANNUTELLI/CITERNI 1899: 39.

229 HUNTINGFORD 1965: 74; CERULLI 1957/64,I: 114.

230 *Fut* 1897: 11, 118, 124, 130, 150, 170f.

231 CERULLI 1931a: 76; cf. BRUCE 1790/91 II: 213.

232 Cf. AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931:33 and the separate volume of figures; CURLE 1937: 315ff.; JOUSSAUME 1972: 21ff.

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> On the Bossata hill [in the valley of the middle Awaš at Mätähara] there lived a prince who wanted his son to marry the daughter of another prince. When the marriage contract was finalised, he ordered special measures for the conveyance of the bride. The way from his residence to that of the other prince had to be lined with round flat bread and parallel to it a gully in which milk had to be poured. Thereby the sacrilegious pride of the arala had reached its zenith and God sent a seven year drought. But they were still arrogant and unconcerned since they had vast supplies at their disposal in their ground storage places. However, one day, on wanting to get cereals from the granary once more, the crop had transformed itself into locusts. Thereby the arala were exposed to death by starvation. Some fled to the south in the direction of Wabi Šäbälle, but only a few of them survived the catastrophe.[233]

According to another tradition from the area around Harär, the arala as the former inhabitants in this region were plagued by famine and drought approximately twenty-five years before Abddir's arrival. The newcomer and his attendants succeeded in overcoming the crisis which then endorsed their leadership among the autochthones. Moreover, there are striking architectural similarities between the so-called arala ruins, particularly in the building of the rock-hewn stores[234], and the recent architecture in the town of Harär. When, for example, some authors indicate that the builders of the ancient sites were possibly Somali,[235] this interpretation appears to be highly questionable. In the oral traditions, the arala are actually linked to ᶜIsmaᶜil Djabarti and Darood, antecedents of the Ogaadeen-Somali, and as a designated sub-group the name still exists among a Somali-speaking group south of Harär[236] and among the western 'Issa [237] However, we have already revealed that Ismaᶜil Djabarti particularly does not only appear in the genealogies of the Somali but is also claimed by some Hadiyya groups to be a progenitor (cf. chap. 3.1.4). The most conclusive evidence can be found in the *Fut al- abaša* (1897: 111, 171 [text]), which singularized the arala as a distinctly different group from the Somali. The oral traditions of the Somali themselves do not claim any kind of connection with the stone monuments in their north-western residential areas. They frequently attribute them to the Oromo who lived there before them[238] and who had verifiably not immigrated from the

233 In regard to this narrative, the versions of ᶜAli Jadiida, Muhammad Adam and Mu ammad Saᶜid in Ittuu territory and of Wodday Rige in Noolee agreed in most of the details.

234 E.g. the storage plants described by YUSUF AHMED (1960: 29ff.) in the town of Harär conform in appearance and construction almost exactly with the so-called *Bolla arala* which were particularly prevalent in the Miesso territory and which are still used today by Oromo people living there. The contemporary Oromo do not understand how to build the bottle-shaped granaries, but are content to cover newly constructed dugouts with planks and earth.

235 HUNTINGFORD (1965: 31) points to this possibility. AZA S and CHAMBARD (1931: 35) are uncertain with regard to an ethnic specification.

236 CERULLI 1957/64, I: 114.

237 PAULITSCHKE 1888b: 19; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 43.

238 PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 67; SWAYNE 1895: 26f., 94; CERULLI 1957/64, I: 57f.

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south before the end of the 16th century. Both peoples, Oromo and Somali, were as cattle and camel herders unfamiliar with houses constructed of stone, which says something for the honesty of the traditions that the legacies of a superior culture are not claimed to be the work of their own ancestors. There are thus a number of weighty arguments that are contrary to the thesis of the arala being of Somali origin. In addition, there are no indications, according to my knowledge, of these vanished people having originated from the cAfar.

A second people who previously lived there alongside the arala were the Gawatir or Gat ri – they are also known by these names among the Ittuu – who are to be found in the *Fut* (1897: 139, 141, 150, 186) and who today form a sub-group of the Harari.

Of the recent peoples in the Cärcär-Harär region, it is only the Harari as representatives of a highly-developed farming culture and an urban centre whose architectural achievements obviously relate to those of the arala. The more or less vague hypothesis expressed by HABERLAND (1965: 13ff.) that the Semitic language zone was once a closed occupied territory between the central Ethiopian highlands and the eastern slope of the Harär plateau receives recognition if one draws conclusions from the given arguments that the arala were indeed a population closely associated with the Harari. Since Adaree-speaking Hadiyya groups were simultaneously resident along with the East-Gurage in the Cärcär territory, an interrelated Semitic language area can be presumed up to Šar a which continued through the colonies of north Ethiopian settlers in Wä3 and Gurage to the eastern peripheries of the abäša highlands. The boundary between both Semitic-speaking regions may have been situated roughly on the north to south Wärra-Lukkuu range in present-day Arsiland.

As far as the relationship between the arala and the Hadiyya is concerned, the traditions of the Karrayyuu-Oromo in Mätähara relate that the arala, the people previously living there before the Karrayyuu occupied these places of settlement, were culturally not very different from the Hadiyya in the neighbouring Ittuu and Arsi territories. arala and Semitic-speaking Hadiyya were essentially representatives of a common cultural stratum but existed in different political entities.[239] The further the distance from Cärcär towards the south, in the direction of the Cushitic-speaking area, the more the Islamic penetration had subsided, and at the same time the more important livestock rearing had become as opposed to cultivation.

The Karrayyuu described the autochthonous arala also as Hawasu or Hawašu which is supposed to mean something like "people from the Hawaš [Awaš] River," and at the same time they reported that they were also mixed with the Argobba. The

239 The name arala is mostly considered to be an ethnic designation, but is occasionally also the name of a political entity. BRUCE 1790/91, II: 35; PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 220; CERULLI 1943: 278; HUNTINGFORD 1965: 74.

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problem in regard to the Argobba migrations has already been mentioned (chap. 3.1.4).[240]

By now the ethnic situation in South-East Ethiopia can be reconstructed approximately. The arala had a large strip of land on the highland slope from the area of the middle Awaš up to the Harär plateau. Most of the lowland parts in the Horn of Africa were already occupied by Somali tribes at that time.[241] Semitic-speaking Hadiyya lived in the region of Cärcär up to Šar a and Däwaro. The dwelling-areas of the peoples of Cushitic Hadiyya-Sidaama languages extended to the south to as far as the ancestral seats of the Oromo. The parts of the Christian population who had been recruited from north Ethiopian colonists in the south-eastern provinces of the Empire had suffered such heavy losses during the "holy wars" that they were demographically no longer significant. Under Gälawdewos, it was at most in Wä3 that it came to any noteworthy Christian "restoration".[242] As an intact Christian bloc only the Aymälläl-Gurage (K stane) survived the Islamic wars, albeit evidently pushed back to a much lesser territory.[243]

The Oromo advancing from their country of origin from the first third of the 16th century onwards were thus confronted with three ethnic and cultural clusters: the Hadiyya-Sidaama, the arala-Harari and the settlement enclaves of the Christian abäša. A closer contact with Somali-speaking groups only followed at a later period.

3.4.2 Oromo Country of Origin and Early Contacts with the Haddiyya

The question of the ethnogenesis and original homeland of the great Oromo people belongs to one of the most significant chapters of Northeast African history. An answer to this or even a widely acknowledged consensus still has to be found. So far, what has not been taken into account is the contribution made by the neighbouring Hadiyya in the ethnogenesis of the Oromo. Their presumably substantial involvement as a far-flung ethnic cluster in this process might help to enlighten this historic problem.

The discussion about the original homeland of the Oromo has long since gone beyond the circle of professional scholars and interested scientific researchers. It has increasingly involved a community of interested amateur researchers endeavouring to advance a new feeling of ethnic self-esteem. Thereby, the whole discourse partly fell back in a stereo-typical way on non-scientific information sources. The notion of an original mythical homeland "Baar(i)gama" has given way, mostly through the

240 Possibly cultural impulses emanated from the Argobba people in Ifat, particularly with regard to the know-how of constructing terraces for cultivation, to the Cärcär territory.

241 Cf. LEWIS 1966: 30; CERULLI 1957/64, I: 45, *passim*.

242 CONZELMANN 1895: 139, 149. An ostentatious palace complex is supposed to have been constructed there by Syrian, European and Egyptian master-builders.

243 As HABERLAND (1965: 14) assumed, the linguistically related Aymälläl-Gafat group originally occupied a large area between Gurageland and the Abbay bend in Damot.

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version propagated by *aläqa* Tayyä Gäbrä Maryam, to an origin from Asia and a migration via Madagascar and Kenya.[244] Oromo researchers such as MOHAMMED HASSEN (1990: xiii; 1ff., 18ff., *passim*) and NEGASO GIDADA (1984: 46, *passim*) reject the view that their ancestors originated in today's southern Ethiopia and occupied their northern dwelling-areas from the 16th century onwards. Mainly based on linguistic and etymological analyses they argue that Oromo people settled in parts of the Christian Empire and the Muslim sultanates long before that time. Many names of persons, clans and geographical localities may allegedly have Oromo etymological roots. It has to be taken into consideration, however, "that the Oromo expansion was accompanied by a process of accommodation, thus making it plausible that the terms with alleged Oromo roots followed an opposite development; that they in fact were pre-Oromo terms amalgamated into the Oromo language".[245]

More or less serious arguments concerning the question of the ancestral residences of the ethnos until the 1970s mostly designated as "Galla", are to be found in the scholarly literature on Ethiopia since the time of LUDOLF and TELLEZ.[246] Philipp PAULITSCHKE, one of the first researchers who concerned himself at length with this problem area, forwarded the assumption that the ancestors of the Oromo in early times occupied the territory of Zin3 (Zen3).[247] According to an ancient geographical denomination this name referred to the coastal areas of the Somali Peninsula.

Without doubt, parts of the present-day Somali territories were temporarily occupied by the Oromo before. Even up to the middle of the 19th century their pasturelands reached up to the area of Hargeisa[248] and as far as the area of the lower Juba.[249] Since archaeological findings and tombs in northern Somaliland ("Galla graves") are at the same time attributed to the Oromo, it has generally been assumed that they were originally in possession of most of the northern parts of Somali Peninsula almost as far as the coast.[250] Enrico CERULLI (1931b: 154; 1957/64, I: 58)

244 TAYYÄ GÄBRÄ MARYAM (HUDSON/TEKESTE NEGASH) 1987: 61ff. A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 139, 205.

245 ØSTEBØ 2012: 61. Also Hadiyya informants and researchers, such as my friend Haile Bubbamo Arficio, frequently interpreted etymological similarities as testimonies of an early presence of their own group in different areas. In Cushitic languages, however, names of persons, places and cultural phenomena often bear a striking resemblance.

246 LUDOLPH 1682: 81ff.; TELLEZ 1710: 64f.

247 PAULITSCHKE 1889: 167 ff. He relied on the more or less vague indications of Ibn Sa^{c}id (1214-74) and Mas' di (writings from 935 A.D.) that the population of this territory made a distinction between the "Abyssinians" and the "Negroes" and took the genitalia of the slain enemies as trophies, and on a highly questionable etymological interpretation. The traditional designation by Mas' di of the rulers of Zen3, Wa limi, is supposed to be derived from the Oromo word *Ilma Waaqa* (= Son of God).

248 This was told to me by Noolee informants, particularly Wodday Rige, in the D rre Dawa region. Cf. also LEWIS 1959: 22, *passim*.

249 This was reported by PAULITSCHKE 1888b: 172.

250 EWALD 1847b: 46; LEJEAN 1870: 95; PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 67, 243; ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI 1890: 30, *passim*; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 22; SWAYNE 1895: 25f. LEWIS (1961: 103ff.), however, convincingly substantiated that the term Gaalla or Gallaawi represented a synonym for

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endorsed this theory. On the basis of the linguistic connections and tribal traditions, he took the savannah of western Ogaadeen at the middle course of the Wabi Šäbälle as the original settlement focus of the Oromo. In this area, they were subjected to a growing pressure from their eastern neighbours, the Somali, and thereby subsequently had an incentive for their large-scale migrations. Many of the authors concerned with this topic assented to this view.[251] HUNTINGFORD explained further that the Oromo themselves, in the wake of being squeezed out of Ogaadeen, initially turned westward in the direction of Lake Rudolph (Lake Turkana) and from there had flooded into Bale and the central Ethiopian sphere.[252]

HABERLAND (1963a: 4f.) raised a substantial objection to this hypothesis. According to his view it is hard to comprehend that the forced displacement of a people whose onslaught a short time later almost brought about the collapse of the highly-organised Ethiopian Empire and of ᶜAdal was caused by an ethnic group with a similar level of culture. Principally, it is in fact not an unknown historical phenomenon that a pastoral people is forced out by another and then overruns a big power or causes it to totter; there are cases of this type, for example, in the history of the Mongolian and Turkish peoples. In north-eastern Africa, however, a number of weighty arguments oppose the view that it was the westward move of the Somali which compelled the Oromo to leave the dry Ogaadeen steppes where they had resided. As HABERLAND himself (1963a: 5f., 363ff.) stated conclusively on the basis of cultural historical data and from statements by his informants, the early Oromo were not representatives of a pure nomadic culture such as the Boorana in their (present) semi-arid habitat, but rather an agropastoralist people who cultivated barley as the most important crop. This cereal has in fact preserved a prominent place in their cultic life up to the present day.

The Arsi traditions which I recorded confirm that the ancestors of this group maintained their two economic pillars, livestock and the cultivation of barley, together in the first stage of their migration in Bale. It was only after their expansion north of the Wabi Šäbälle that they gave up agriculture temporarily. Owing to this, only an original homeland comes into consideration where sufficient precipitation enabled extensive grain cultivation – barley is moreover predominantly a highland plant in Ethiopia – in HABERLAND's view cool highland areas around Bale. This region is in fact commonly designated by the Arsi as their ancestral homeland. An *abbaa muuda* ("father of anointment") who up to the 1960s was acknowledged by many Oromo as their spiritual leader resided in Luggo in Dallo.[253]

"heathens" and equating them with the Oromo is thus speculative, because the tomb constructions are simply attributable to a pre-Islamic epoch.

251 E. g. MICHELS 1941: 21, *passim;* DORESSE 1957: II: 314f.; MURDOCK 1959: 46; LEWIS 1959: 21f.; TRIMINGHAM 1965: 210.

252 HUNTINGFORD 1969: 19; BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: lxxi, lxxiii.

253 HABERLAND 1963a: 4, 7, *passim*. Contrary to his opinion, the place Luggo itself, however, is located in a lowland area.

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Also from other findings the hypothesis of the origin of the Oromo from Ogaadeen is questionable. According to all available data, the Baarentuu (Bareytuma) penetrated the Harär territory in the second half of the 16th century from the southwest. Advances close to the northern Somali coast took place in the first decades of the following century as the resistance front of the Christian Empire under Emperor Sus nyos had consolidated itself in central Ethiopia.[254] Also the expansion of the Boorana right up to the lower Juba and the Tana River in Kenya cannot be dated before the 17th century.[255]

From the 16th century onwards, the Darood and Hawiye Somali groups from the coast started expanding into the interior – a process which has not yet stopped on the northern edge of the Harär plateau and the Boorana steppe – and occupied the hinterland of Mogadishu.[256] Up to the end of the same century, they occupied the entire Ogaadeen and pursued the receding Oromo in the territories west of the Juba River. When the Oromo were decimated by a plague in 1865, the Somali finally gained the upper hand and considerably decimated the southern Boorana and Tana Oromo.[257] In the last third of the 19th century they reached the so-called "Galla Gateway" at Jaldeessa,[258] crossed over the middle Wabi Šäbälle[259] in fierce fighting against the Arsi and extended their raids into Booranaland to the proximity of Lake Rudolph.[260] In my view, this migratory movement cannot be interpreted as an expansion originally emanating from the eastern parts of the Horn but rather as a secondary receding of the Oromo who had once boasted: "The Sidaama [prior population] who live by the sea, I have thrown into the sea".[261] In the 19th century they then had to cede the eastern part of the territories they had conquered to the advancing Somali.

The hypothesis of an ancestral "homeland" of the Oromo in the Ogaadeen which had been dominated for quite a long time thus appears to be untenable. It would likewise be anachronistic to argue that the Somali expansion, which started at a later period, could have been the trigger for the great Oromo migrations of the 16th century. It is not the case, as Herbert LEWIS (1966: 34) categorically maintains, that the Oromo relocated their original homeland exclusively in central-southern Ethiopia and know of absolutely no traditions of ancestral seats situated in more easterly parts of the Horn. The legend widely disseminated by the Arsi about ancestors from Arabia, from the Somali coast or from Harär (cf. chap. 3.1.4) easily allows the recogni-

254 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 405.
255 Cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 5, 24ff.; TURTON 1975: 532ff.
256 CERULLI 1957/64, II: 249ff.; LEWIS 1960: 224f.
257 DECKEN 1871, II: 320; FISCHER 1878: 347ff.; ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI 1890: 380; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 254.
258 PAULITSCHKE 1888b: 11.
259 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 53f.; HOYOS 1895: 85, 89.
260 PAULITSCHKE 1896: 245. The information which he obtained about this territory which he did not travel to is certainly very questionable. Lake Rudolph was officially renamed Lake Turkana in the the 1960s.
261 SCHLEICHER 1893: 21 f. Because the word "water" is used in the text, it remains uncertain whether it really refers to the "sea" or to the "ocean".

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tion that it originates from the cultural substratum of the Hadiyya which became increasingly important for the whole ethnos due to the ongoing process of Islamization.[262]

As the Ogaadeen, in my opinion, is to be eliminated as the original homeland of the Oromo on the basis of the above mentioned consideration, the question arises as to where else in Ethiopia could it have been situated. Herbert LEWIS (1966: 34) refers to the origin traditions from "Bahrgamo" and identifies the territory, with conclusive arguments, as being the countryside east of Lake Abbayya. CERULLI had also implied the possibility, virtually as an alternative to his Ogaadeen hypothesis that the original homeland of the Oromo extended from the eastern shore of this lake in the direction of the Ganaale bend.[263]

Here are to be found the mostly cool and humid highlands occupied by the Gu33i, representing a primarily mixed economy, which I would like to assume as the earliest settlement focus of the Oromo. It might have stretched to the east up to the territory of Liiban between the rivers Ganaale and Dawa which was claimed by the Boorana, the "oldest and purest" among the Oromo tribes, as their country of origin.[264] A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 155) wrote: "But the Amdra call the Gdlld after their old settlement, the river Galdnd" [another name for the Ganaale]. According to the oral traditions of the Baarentuu, their country of origin is either Debanno (Liiban?),[265] a name which was also used by the Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya as an ethnonym for the Oromo, or even more frequently, Mormor(a). In the highlands inhabited by the Gu33i today, Mormor appears as the name of a river which flows into the Dawa. From there, it is said, the ancestors of the Baarentuu, heading in a north-easterly direction, reached Dallo which they also called Mormoroya Dallo, referring to the starting point of their migration.

Situated in the Gu33i highlands are the places Haroo Walaabuu which the Tuulama and Macaa-Oromo, most probably pioneers of the great north migration, designate as the original seats of their ancestors, and Waji, where according to the Boorana tradition Horo, the first Oromo, fell from heaven.[266] A MA GIYORGIS reported the historical tradition that the ancestors of the Oromo followed the Galdnd river and then entered the county of Weldbo, which refers to the Haroo Walaabu in Dallo.[267] Haroo Walaabuu or also named Madda Walaabuu, is a silt-up water area,[268] out of which the mythical ancestors emerged. In the time of HABERLAND's research,

262 BECKINGHAM and HUNTINGFORD (1954: lxxi, *passim*), like most of the authors, have not attached appropriate regard to this fact.

263 CERULLI 1932: 139. It may be mentioned here that also the manuscript of the priest Zega Wäldä Maryam spoke of an ancestral homeland of the "Galla" Hora Walaabuu at a ford of the Ganaale River.

264 HABERLAND 1963a: 4 f., 25f.

265 A version Debame is also to be found in AZA S/CHAMBARD (1931:76).

266 This tradition was recorded by HABERLAND (1963a: 5, 24).

267 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 309).

268 HABERLAND 1963a: 355.

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i. e. in the 1950s, the common saying *uume Walaabuu baate* "he came from Walaabuu" existed in relation to the origin of the ethnos. How the originally small group then expanded in the way known and could develop into one of the greatest peoples of North-East Africa will never be sufficiently reconstructed.

It is in the *gadaa* system, the central institution of the Oromo, that one of the main causes of expansion dynamic can be identified. Concerning this cyclical generation-set system with five grades (*luuba*) consisting of eight years respectively, there is no consensus about its origin,[269] but it can generally be regarded as a typical Oromo form of organisation. The Sidaama specified that they had derived it from them.[270] It was not embraced by the Hadiyya and the Somali. On the other hand, as ADOLF JENSEN (1936: 591f.; 1942: 93f.) argued, the *gadaa* system was idiosyncratic to the Konso people and related groups, old established neighbours of the territories which can be identified as the country of origin of the Oromo. The *gadaa* system was an institution deeply associated with the cultures and particularly with the traditional folk religions of peoples in southern Ethiopia and consequently had no place among groups which had adopted Islam. Just the history of the Arsi reveals how the system disappeared with Islamization and the Muslim holy place Shaikh usayn in northern Bale substituted the pilgrimage site Haroo Walaabuu in Dallo. If the Oromo were not the originators of the *gadaa* system, which HABERLAND (1963a: 169) would like to rule out, they were the most outstanding representatives of it numerically and they developed it as a decisive source from which they undoubtedly drew a large part of their political power and expansionist energy.[271]

Bordering on the settlement areas of the Oromo in the north and east were those of the Hadiyya, who were thus inevitably one of the first groups who were struck by their expansive neighbours. As part of the Hadiyya left in the wake of A mad Grañ's campaigns Dallo, Gädäb and Gänz, this exodus enabled an unhampered moving up of the Oromo into areas which had partly been evacuated by its original population.

As with many great migrations of peoples in history, in the case of the Oromo an expansionist ideology cannot fully explain spatial mobility, but environmental changes and demographic pressure have to be assumed as relevant triggering factors. The highlands of southern Ethiopia were geo-medically suitable and presented favourable conditions for grain cultivation and livestock rearing. It can nevertheless not be excluded that eventually a growth of population occurred to such an extent that the carrying capacity of the area was finally overstrained.[272]

269 Cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 167-81, *passim*. For a recent condensed overview see BAXTER 2005: 633-38.

270 My Sidaama and Gide'o informants usually pointed out their opinion that *gadaa* was an Oromo invention.

271 ASMAROM LEGESSE (1973: 8) expressed the conviction that the ritual war at the end of the eight year *gadaa* periods constituted an essential stimulus for the expansion of the Oromo in the 16th century. I agree with this view.

272 Mythical legends talk about catastrophes afflicting people (cf. also chap. 3.3.5), which can,

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Arsi informants reported to me that there had been a time of great drought just as the Oromo were starting off their migration. However, their priests finally conjured up rain and alleviated the hardship. Thereupon, the Hadiyya recognised the spiritual superiority of the Oromo, which above all had been ensured by the *gadaa* system, and endeavoured to be incorporated into the ethnic cluster of the Oromo. Those who opposed this claim to superiority were considered *diina*, enemies to be fought against. Therein lay for the Hadiyya from then on their historic alternative, either to join the Oromo and to be put under the authority of their *abbaa gadaa* or *bokkuu*, or be pushed away or crushed by a steadily enlarging avalanche of people. In the Oromo language the term for both the process of integration into the Oromo ethnos and occasionally for those assimilated was *moggaasa* (or also *guddifacha*).[273] The Baadawwaachcho, Shaashoogo and Libidoo-Hadiyya used the expression *lallaba* which actually refers to the ceremonial act celebrated with presents in order to demonstrate their subjugation under the authority of a *bokkuu*. It also denotes the process of assimilation itself. In this context it is said, for example, that a particular Hadiyya group had achieved *lallaba* with the Arsi *bokkuu*, like the clan of the Oliiye, and was therefore considered to be incorporated into the tribal association of the Oromo. This assimilation was consummated in the Lake Z^{w}ay area still up to the 1920s and only the changed situation through Christian Ethiopian sovereignty, which attempted to maintain a certain stability of the ethnic conditions, hindered that perhaps the Libidoo as a compact Hadiyya-speaking group would be "Oromized". The formal admission to the politically dominant ethnos followed the linguistic and cultural assimilation as a rule.

The occupation and settlement by the Oromo in Dallo must have already started around 1530, as in 1537 their concentrated penetration towards the north-east into the neighbouring territory of Bale was reported.[274] It cannot be ruled out that already before the exodus of large Hadiyya groups in the direction of Wä3, an ethnic and cultural symbiosis between both peoples began to emerge. Marriage relations between neighbouring groups, which occasionally led to an extensive merging, were anyway a prevalent custom in southern Ethiopia. Together with the standardized traditions are the statements of the Arsi and the Hadiyya that both groups had been together from the beginning. An extensive assimilation of the autochthonous Hadiyya ensued only in the years after 1530, however, and continued as the Oromo migration movement successively went northward.

Informative indications of the integration process can be gleaned from the genealogical comparison with the progenitor Humbanaa's position and that of his sons.

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however, not be specified historically.

273 *Moggaasa* also had the meaning of "to adopt" and *guddifacha* of " to raise to adulthood." Cf. MOHAMMED HASSEN 1990: 21.

274 SCHLEICHER (based on BA R Y) 1893:10; PAULITSCHKE 1889: 168. A dating of the beginning of the Oromo invasion in Bale around 1400 (A MA GIYORGIS [BAIRU TAFLA] 1987: 437) seems to be problematic for many reasons.

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This man, also called Hubanaa, is believed to be the ancestor of many Arsi, Anniyya and Baarentuu who then developed into independent ethnic groups in the following generations. Simultaneously, Hube or Hubaychoo appears as a forefather of the Leemo-Hadiyya resulting out of a liaison of his father Annaqqo with a woman who is said to have come from Arabia. Significantly also in the Oromo name Hubanaa (Hube anna) the Hadiyya word for father or offspring was preserved.

Rayyaa, Azaaboo and Ashaange are specified as the three sons of Hubanaa in all of the traditions which I recorded. They were born in Dallo where Hubanaa is supposed to have lived. Rayyaa is just another version of Raayituu, the name of the clan still living in that area today. He dispatched his offspring both to eastern Bale as well as to northern Ethiopia to Wällo and T gray. The name Rayyaa designates the name of an ancestor and a descending ethnic group and it also stands for one of the four sections of the Arsi-Oromo which are defined according to topographical criteria, namely the area between the rivers Wabi Šäbälle, Ganaale and Wäyb. Rayyaa is also deemed to be the original homeland of some Hadiyya tribes, like for example the Baadawwaachcho and Shaashoogo. This has already been mentioned in the analysis of the tribal legends with regard to the ethnogenesis of the groups concerned.

The name of Hubanaa's second son Azaaboo was preserved in an Oromo group in present-day T gray, and also the third son, Ashaange, is represented as an ethnic and geographic designation in the border area of Wällo and T gray. According to Leemo tradition Ashaange was a forbear who lived in Weera, not far from Lake Abbayya. Aashanchcho, derived from this name, has remained a common ethnonym of the Leemo until today and the traditional title of their rulers is *asha'n garaad*.

What stands out more distinctly is that the Oromo pushed down from their locations in the highlands and then struck the Hadiyya in the lowland zones of Dallo and Lake Abbayya. They obviously absorbed them so completely in this region that since then the Rayyaa, for example, simply count as one of the "most senior" groups of all the Oromo. Of all the Hubanaa descendants only a section of the Ashaange distinctively preserved their ethnic identity as Hadiyya, namely the "Gudeella" and within the Leemo especially. Other groups of Hadiyya origin, the East-Gurage and Allaaba, tend to maintain that the Gudeella are not real Hadiyya since they just descended from Ashaange, an Oromo ancestor. However there is unquestionable evidence of their belonging to the historic Hadiyya cluster already at the time of cAmdä g, . . VE Yaceqob (cf. pp. xxx). Because both ethnic groups, the Oromo and Hadiyya in the 16th century, were agropastoralists with similar economic strategies, their fusing together required no far-reaching cultural transitions and changes. With the extension of the *gadaa* system among the Hadiyya, the Oromo language asserted itself. This became a basic prerequisite enabling the Oromo to accomplish complete assimilation.

The advance of the Oromo into Hadiyya and Dallo presumably took place in the form of a peaceful infiltration in the course of which the old established people were not subjugated and sometimes even rose to leading positions. The Raayituu, the clan

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of the *abbaa muuda*, are genealogically related to the Haballo and identified as a group of Hadiyya descent, which is also confirmed by the Arabic names in the genealogies. The appellation Raayituu is sometimes equated with a *shaikh* by the name of Ya yd Ma r f. In Anaajiina, the burial site of the missionary N r usayn, CERULLI (1932: 140) obtained important information relating that several Muslims penetrated Bale along with the Oromo.

A legend depicting how the *abbaa muuda* won his position of power can be summarised in that a clan ancestor of the Raayituu climbed up a tree and was then called upon by the Oromo to come down. He then agreed under certain conditions to become the common leader of the autochthones and the immigrants. The details of this correspond to the narrative of Booyyaamo's advancement to leader of the Gädäb-Hadiyya. While in that case, however, the group that had come from afar gained a privileged position, in the case of the Raayituu it was the locals who became the leaders in the newly formed society. A similar legend was told to me about the Oromo in Cärcär where the infiltrating five Ittuu clans (*Shanan Manna Ittuu*) were subordinate to the spiritual leadership of the four groups of the old established locals (*Afran Manna Babo*). Warlike clashes of the Christian Empire with the ancestors of the Ittuu-Oromo obviously started in the time of Sus nyos (r. 1607-32).[275] This motif of ethnic fusion was definitely widely spread and for the significance of a given historical situation it is hardly usable. With regard to the overall cultural historical framework, the following informative conclusion can nevertheless be deduced from this narrative: "heathen" Oromo invaders, although they asserted as a rule their socio-political dominance and the *gadaa* system, frequently showed special respect to the assimilated peoples and were prepared to recognise their Islamic faith as an outstanding cultural asset. This applied in large measure to the five *Qall chcha* clans of the Arsi who had most apparently preserved Muslim relics right up to the re-Islamization of the 19th and 20th centuries. On the other hand, it is often said that the Hadiyya were inferior to the Oromo not least because they practised the *sagaddee* (or *sagidda)*, the Arsi version of the Muslim ritual prayer and were thereby so distracted that one could easily overwhelm them.

At the beginning of their expansion, before the Oromo broke into the provinces of the Ethiopian Empire, the assimilation of the Hadiyya was so thorough that the criteria for a differentiation into Hadiyya and Oromo clans got largely lost. Today, the differences, although still incomplete, can be deduced at best from a systematic comparison of extensive genealogical materials. Exactly this situation can be found in Dallo, the area where the ethnogenesis of the Arsi took place. Information about the name Hadiyya and their existence as an ancient population could not be ascertained in the Luggo region. The oral tradition reveals, for example, that the Oromo clan Kajawa on the one hand, and the Dooda, a widespread Hadiyya clan with branches in Arsiland and in Baadawwaachcho, on the other hand, are genealogically interrelated. Overall, one is able to conclude that at the beginning of the migration,

275 This can be concluded from A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 325.

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the Hadiyya were so totally integrated in the tribal cluster of the Oromo that any consciousness of having once been *moggaasa* soon disappeared.

A dualism between the victoriously advancing Oromo and the Hadiyya who were conquered by them established itself only among the Arsi when, after a phase of assimilation dynamic, the newly-formed group felt strong enough not to be tempted to integrate each outsider automatically into its own ethnic body. That means ethnicity had consolidated and the awareness of being a self-contained group opposing and excluding outsiders had fully developed. Such an evolution can already have started a few decades after the departure from Dallo, because in Bale and Gädäb a clear differentiation between Oromo clans and Hadiyya clans becomes apparent. This is all the more distinctive the further northward the ethnic composition in Arsiland is observed.

Beyond the genealogies and historical traditions there are a number of specifically distinguishable cultural characteristics between the Arsi clans of Hadiyya origin and those genuinely Oromo. A main criterion is that the Hadiyya may not eat any front legs (*irree*) of slaughtered animals. No mythical explanation for this food taboo is known, but rather an explanation of an aetiological nature. Because in earlier times a Hadiyya herder had rebelled against his Oromo master and struck him, the master subsequently no longer wanted him to eat the "arms" of livestock since they had bestowed strength to that man.[276]

The position of the Hadiyya clans in Arsi appears to be generally characterised by an ambivalent appraisal. On the one hand they were considered *Garba* (subordinates) and were not allowed to occupy any office in the *gadaa* system nor participate in a pilgrimage to the *abbaa muuda*, on the other hand it was precisely the *Qall chcha* clans of Hadiyya origin who were regarded as imbued with particular ritual strength and who were also granted important decision-making powers in the political arena. According to the traditions of the Arsi and Hadiyya in the lowlands of the Rift Valley they had refused to drill fire in front of the *abbaa gadaa* as a sign of subordination and on the strength of their acknowledged magical abilities were then accepted as equal partners.[277] This was testified by the fact that at ceremonial occasions a representative of the Allujaana or Sha'amanna sat at the right hand side of the *abbaa gadaa* as a dignitary involved in executive affairs.

Remarkable in the historic-cultural sense are moreover Islamic "survivals" of the Hadiyya clans like, for example, fasting (*soomano; soomu*) and ritual practices such as offerings to the dead or *sakadada*, the slaughter of a steer in the customary Islamic way to end a funeral ceremony.[278]

276 HABERLAND 1963a: 444. This legend was also reported to me by some informants.

277 Among the Oromo fire is seen as a holy element and the production of it through drilling it symbolised a new level in the relationship of different partners. Cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 36f., 623.

278 For further details cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1997: 319ff. The core elements of these religious beliefs and practices will be dealt with in the intended monograph on *Fandaanano*, the traditional way of life of the Hadiyya.

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A dualism comprising "real" Oromo and assimilated or subjugated ones, which then levelled out extensively, is not only peculiar to the Arsi but also found compliance in other Oromo groups. Among the Karrayyuu, the descendants of the early arala known as the Hawasu represent the old established stratum, among the Ittuu it is the Hadiyya who are to some extent connected with the *Babo* clans. The confederation of the Afran Qaalluu, consisting of the Jaarso, Noolee, Ala and Oborra in the Harär area, make a distinction between the faction of the Humbaana-Baarentuu, the "pure" Oromo, on the one hand, and the "Sidaama", autochthonous Muslims mostly descending from the Isma^{c}il Djabarti line who are supposed to have belonged ethnically to the arala-Harari and Somali, on the other hand.[279] According to CERULLI (1922: 140), the Tuulama and Macaa also retained a differentiation in Boorana, consisting of the stratum of Oromo invaders, and Gabaro, the subjugated autochthonous cluster. In the second half of the 20th century, however, this dualism had virtually finished to be elusive at the socio-cultural level. Among the Arsi (cf. chap. 1.1) the name Gabaro or Garba for those Hadiyya who had maintained their original ethnic identity, especially the Baadawwaachcho, Shaashoogo and Libidoo, is generally conceived as an ordinary ethnonym. In the 1970s the original sense had only remained familiar to individuals who were most knowledgeable about the tribal traditions.

It was probably mainly the Christian segments of the population, Amhara, Gafat and others, who as Gabaro were incorporated by the Tuulama and Maaca into their ethnic-political alliance after their penetration into central Ethiopia. There are nevertheless some indications, which suggest that further to the south they had already integrated Hadiyya groups and took them along on their northward migration. Place names like Gädäb and Gudeella in the area of the early Damot (in present-day Wälläga)[280] does not need to be conclusive proof of the presence of the Hadiyya proper due to the frequency with which locality designations are repeated in different parts Ethiopia. However, there is said to be a number of clans among the Maaca in the area of Naqamtee (Läqemt) with genealogical peculiarities which seem to link them to the Baadawwaachcho, Libidoo and other Hadiyya groups.[281] Two Oromo brothers, Heenna and Allaaqo, are reported to have joined Hadiyya people. Their offspring, to be found among the Lalo, Daayyo, Leeqaa, Dallo, Jidda, and Garjeeda,[282] are reported to have reached the highland slopes of western Wälläga with the Oromo expansion during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Jiille, the southernmost Tuulama group, are also said to have possessed a considerable ethnic component of Hadiyya stock. According to the oral traditions of the Arsi, their ancestors had pushed the Jiille approximately a dozen generations ago (counted back from the 1970s) from the highlands east of the Rift Valley into the

279 Personal communication by Wodday Rige and other Oromo informants in the Harär region.
280 I took this information from BIANCHI (1881: 303).
281 I was, however, unable to verify such information in my field research.
282 Cf. also the list of the Hadiyya clans of the Arsi-Oromo in Appendix III.

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plain north of Lake Z^{w}ay. The population of Hadiyya stock was not supposed to have arisen from a recent fusing with the neighbouring Libidoo, but allegedly dated back to interethnic connections of an earlier time.

The outlined division of the Oromo into original ("pure") tribesmen and assimilated people of alien ethnic stock is to be interpreted as a phenomenon which predominantly occurred in the manner known as the "theory of conquest".[283] As a rule, no institutionalized marriage relations were associated with this process. It does not involve any mythological justification, but is only associated with more or less stereotype aetiological legends.

The position of the Gu33i-Oromo is more difficult to analyse because a proper dual system existed which comprehended an obligation to exogamy between the different tribal sectors.[284] In principle, the Arsi also experienced such a system with a division of the entire ethnos into Sikko and Mando, which, however, remained more or less formal and territorially defined and hardly entailed any real ramifications within the society. Among the southern Gu33i tribes (Uraaga, Hoku, Mati) the "older" tribal section was called *Kontoma* and the "younger" section *Dariimu*. Obviously, there is a logical justification for this dual system by the underlying idea of a unification of male and female principles with the corresponding symbolic numbers three and four for the clans, which are attributed to the corresponding sections. But for the evolution of this complicated system historical events of conquest and ethnic superimposition have to be considered as an additional factor for the realisation of this particular socio-political structure. It is noticeable, for example, that the name of the "younger" section, Dariimu, corresponds to one of the largest Allaaba clans, and the affiliation with this people must indeed have been close. Among the Alabdu, the northern Gu33i, the Allaaba element was obviously at times as equally important as that of the Oromo proper. This will be discussed in a later context.

In the middle of the 16th century only the southern Hadiyya groups, especially in the Dallo territory, were in the range of the expansionist dynamic emanating from the Oromo. We could explore this phase primarily from the traditions, genealogical materials and data provided by ethnographic facts. For the following epoch concerning the actual expansion, which resulted in the loss of ethnic identity for a large proportion of the formerly important Hadiyya cluster, the written sources allow a chronologically more detailed insight into the history of the next hundred years.

3.4.3 The Expansion of the Oromo in Hadiyyaland

After the integration of the Raayituu and other Hadiyya groups, the Dallo region became a kind of receptacle for the Oromo before their further expansion. As Hora Walaabuu it was henceforth seen as the ancestral seat for the sub-groups of the Arsi and Baarentuu and manifested itself through cult-like pilgrimages to the *abbaa*

283 A comprehensive approach to this controversially debated theory (in German: "Überlagerungstheorie") is outside consideration here. See, for example, SCHAPERA 1956.

284 Detailed information about this system was provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 376 ff.).

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muuda for the sake of veneration and cultic practices. On the other hand, both the Gu33i, as occupants of probably the earliest Oromo settlement areas, and the Boorana, who from their country of origin in Liiban advanced in their southward move as far as the Tana River in central Kenya, did not have reminiscences and associate actions of this type with the Luggo area in Dallo.

In the inhospitable steppe zones between the Ganaale bend and the high mountains of Bale, the main body of the Oromo may have lingered only for a short time, because it can be presumed that a large group of people would not have found sufficient food supply there. Before they invaded the Ethiopian province of Bale after leaving Dallo, a differentiation had already taken place which was said to have been significant for their future history.

This time was termed *Xappo* by the Baarentuu faction which can roughly be paraphrased as "the good old days when the Oromo became a people". At the same time Xappo is also understood as a locality, the exact location of which is unclear. Elders interviewed in Arsiland mostly stated that Xappo lay "upwards" a long way away and pointed to the south-west.[285]

The differentiation of the Oromo into a number of tribal clusters most likely took place in the territories at the upper Ganaale. As chroniclers of the 17th century indicate (possibly in a simplified version)[286], there were initially only two big factions, the Boorana (Boren) and the Baarentuu. The first-mentioned pursued a northern route and trekked to Gädäb. They cannot be equated with the Boorana proper as this name appears repeatedly among the Oromo (e. g., in Šäwa), but they were the ancestors of the Tuulama and Maaca who invaded the Christian Empire. The eastern faction, to whom the Arsi also belong, moved forward under the collective name Baarentuu towards Bale. Another split took place there, and a group who were henceforth referred to as Baarentuu proper (later also labelled Eastern Oromo or Harär Oromo) continued on to Addoona in the direction of the eastern Wabi Šäbälle bend.

The ancestors of the Arsi, who at that time did not yet constitute an individual ethnic identity, moved away from Dallo at a time "when the Amhara were nearby," which likely referred to the presence of the Christian Empire in Gädäb and Bale.[287] In the borderland of Dallo and Bale, in a place named Koss, a council meeting was held at which the elderly members agreed on the tribal law, the *heera*. Thereafter the Oromo invaded Bale, the southernmost province under Christian sovereignty. A second meeting was held under a counselling tree, *Odaa rooba,* near the present-day

285 As a concept of time this statement most likely indicates the stay in Dallo. The Ittuu, however, refer to a mountain at Adaama (Nazret) in southern Šäwa, conceivably the Z kwala, as the place Xoppo. From there a part of their ancestors are supposed to have started the migration into the Cärcär territory. It concerned quite obviously another emigration wave here, which will be described later.

286 LUDOLPH 1682: 85; SCHLEICHER 1893: 7.

287 This was reported by the Arsi informants ᶜAbdalldh Nuuruu, Homfarro Waaqo and Muddi Nagii in 1973.

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place Gooroo (Bale) whereby the main factions, the Bullaalla and Wucaale decided on a separate march route.

g s chronicle on the history of the Oromo illustrates, the invasion of Bale occurred in 1537 during the *gadaa* period *malba*.[288] The population of the territories decimated by the "holy war" could not withstand the invaders and were overrun in a short time. Due to the fact that the men among the Christian population had largely been killed in action in the conflict against ᶜAdal, it was a walkover for the Oromo, who then went on to marry the remaining women. That is the reason, as the Amhara who resided in the Gobba area in the 1970s stated, why the Bale-Oromo embody a particularly handsome breed of men more similar to the Amhara than the members of their ethnic cluster in other areas. As Bale was considered to be a pearl among the provinces of the Ethiopian Empire due to its climatic and agricultural conditions and had continually attracted large contingents of military colonists, the Christian part of its population was probably the biggest in south-eastern Ethiopia, with the exception of Wä3. This segment was so completely absorbed by the Arsi that only a few men especially familiar with the tribal traditions could provide the names of clans which merged with the descendants of the abˆsa settlers: Faasil, Qarmaamidda, Saabiro, Fankal as well as parts of the Dayyu and Koyyee.

The bulk of the population of Bale was, however, not made up of Christian settlers from the highlands of northern Ethiopia but of people of Hadiyya-Sidaama stock who were to a large extent Muslims. In the traditions of the Arsi, Bale is also called "land of shaikh Saᶜid" after an Islamic "prophet" and ancestor of the Sayymannaa clan. His grave in a place called Kojii has remained a site of veneration for his descendants. CERULLI (1938: 2f., 31ff.) assumed that the territories south of the Wabi bend had been old established dwelling places of the Sidaama who were then pushed to the west by the Oromo assaults and were thereafter limited to the area between Lake Abbayya and the upper Ganaale. This has been fiercely contradicted by STANLEY (n.d: 20ff.) who described Bale as an old established Oromoland; the Sidaama for their part had ousted the Oromo from the areas occupied by them today. Both these contradictory hypotheses are worth analysing.

Wabi in the Cushitic Hadiyya language means "river", which can be considered an indication, along with a lot of other data, for the earlier presence of a Hadiyya population in this area. The name Wabi Sidaama was also in part used for the Wabi Šäbälle, but it may not necessarily be related to the Sidaama proper. This denomination suggests that it originally concerned a river area occupied by enemies of the Oromo.

A fundamental source of error in the studies up to now is to be found in the assessment of the expansion of early Bale, which by no means corresponds to the

288 BA R Y (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 115; SCHLEICHER 1893: 17. Cf. LUDOLPH 1682: 83. A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) (1987: 141) uses the version milbd . The Arsi in the 20th century still knew of *roobalee* and *birmajii* from the 16th century *gadaa* periods but had, however, substituted the names *malba*, *biifole* and *masaale* with *bahara*, *bultuma* and *horata*.

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entire northern part of the province bearing this name in the 1970s. It has already been pointed out in the context of Ab 'l-Fidd's analysis with regard to the position of the grid of parallels and meridians (cf. p. 79) and indicated what the oral traditions reveal about the demarcation between the historic Bale and Gädäb, the heartland of the territory inhabited by Hadiyya, adjoining it to the west. As a prominent point on the borderline between these two territories *Waša* Säbs be on the mountain range of Urgooma was specified.[289] Eastbound, the territory of Bale did not obviously reach as far as the Wabi bend, since Gälb and the adjacent lowland zones more or less formed independent political entities. In the north, the Wabi Šäbälle constituted the boundary of Bale to the neighbouring states Šar a and Däwaro and in the south Bale certainly did not reach beyond the escarpment of the highlands bordering the plains of Ogaadeen. In the 1970s, only the Arsi in this particular region were designated "Arsi Bale", whereas the groups in the surrounding lowland areas were called "Arsi Dallo", "Arsi Kachan", "Arsi Jibrii" and "Arsi Gälbi."[290]

Contrary to Dallo, where the original heterogeneity of the Arsi has been forgotten, a number of clans in Bale preserved the memory that they are of Hadiyya stock. It is the Badoosa who have numerous relatives in the territory west of the Bilate, and also those clans who have the recognisable suffix *-manna*, in Oromiffaa usually written *-mannaa*, for example, Basmanna(a), Holbatmanna(a), Caatimanna(a), Bademanna(a), Abbaymanna(a), Wachamanna(a), Sayymanna(a), Odomanna(a). In their traditions on spatial mobility they mostly associate themselves with those clans belonging to the "pure" Oromo and pretend that they came together with them from Hora Walaabuu. The Oromo see them as real autochthones "who had always been in the country" and who were then assimilated by the invading Arsi. The Sooro could be an exception as they are aware that the main section of their tribe lived in "Šäwa" at the upper Gibe and probably only at a later date went from Gädäb to Bale. The . . T-anna) were also known as old-established settlers who were pushed to the west by the invasive Oromo except for a few people who remained behind. That Semitic-speaking Hadiyya groups were scattered to a great extent in these southern areas appears to be doubtful, on the one hand, and it is equally improbable that in the scope of their migrations around the middle of the 16th century (cf. chap. 3.3.4) they advanced beyond Šar a to Bale, a territory already dominated by the Oromo.[291] On the other hand, their presence in the northern border area of Bale in the valley of the Wabi Šäbälle was possible. A praise song of the Arsi in Anaajiina (Shaikh usayn) mentions, among other pieces of historical information, that they were victorious over the "Gurage",[292] whereby in this territory ancestors of the T-W lbaräg cluster could have been meant. That there was opposition to these

289 *Waša* means cave in Amharic. Such places were often considered as important landmarks and occasionally also used as places of religious veneration.

290 Personal communications by ᶜAbdalldh Nuuruu and other Arsi informants in Bale 1973.

291 The ethnic origins of the Muslims who were settled in Bale in the middle of the 15th century, i.e. at the time of Shihdb al-Din Badldy (MA RmZm/RINCK 1790: 41), cannot be determined.

292 ANDRZEJEWSKI 1972: 27.

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clashes is confirmed in the oral traditions of the Sinaana clan. The increasing pressure posed by the Oromo from the region south of the Wabi certainly enhanced the exodus of the Hadiyya out of Šar a and Gädäb.

It appears to be probable, which was assumed by CERULLI (1932: 139; 1938: 2ff.) that those *-manna(a)* P , . V ´ T . . T, T, R Vgg VT T. T T the representatives of the Muslim "Sidaama" state of Bale with its religious centre in Anaajiina. Since a portion of them, namely the Badoosa, had gone west with the [c]Adal troops, the Oromo struck a weak autochthonous population in that area. Why the Oromo were able to swiftly overrun Bale and to establish their base of operations for further expansion there is convincingly provided by the fact that the Christians sustained heavy losses in the *djih d.*

On the left bank of the Wabi Šäbälle, an area occupied by a Hadiyya-Sidaama population expanding from Šar a and Däwaro, was seen as one of the most ecologically favourable areas of south-eastern Ethiopia thus providing a tempting target for the Oromo. For a while, the river was understood as a boundary demarcating their own territorial position in the north. During three decades up to the *gadaa* period *masaale* (1566-74), the Oromo had restricted their military actions to short-term raids across the Wabi and thereafter always withdrew to their base of operations in Bale.[293] An episode from an Arsi legend describes how their ancestors decided to cross the Wabi in a large-scale action and to start the final occupation of the region bordering to the north:

> The Arsi people were on the southern bank of the Wabi, but their cattle were afraid to swim across the river. For a long time their three factions Bullaalla, Wucaale and Jaawwi had attempted to drive them across. Thereupon they asked the wise men, begged the river demons for assistance, and gave sacrifices to them. Finally, the Bullaalla cattle swam first, followed by those of the Wucaale and then the cattle of the Jaawwi ended the trek.
>
> (According to the Arsi informants Adam Saaddoo and [c]Abdullah Nuuruu in the Gädäb area).

Fom this event, the Bulaalla living in Arba-Gugu derive the right of primogeniture among the Arsi clans. It may have reflected the historical sequence in which the migrations were carried out.[294]

Initially, the Arsi described all the land north of the Wabi Šäbälle Diida'a which is said to mean something like "away from home" – in contrast to the territories in Dallo and Bale occupied earlier. More specifically, Diida'a referred to the next area to be conquered by the Oromo starting out from Bale: the land from the eastern boundary of the Rift Valley up to Arba-Gugu and to the Arsi-Ittuu boundary at the

293 SCHLEICHER 1893:19.

294 BA R Y's "History of the Galla" (SCHLEICHER 1893: 30f.) significantly called the Jaawwi (Dawa) "those at the rear". But it remains unclear whether this information only refers to the western column of the early Oromo migration, i. e., to the Tuulama and Macaa.

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Ejersa River. Transferred onto the political map of that time, Diida'a correlates with the district of Šar a as well as parts of Hadiyya and Däwaro. The chronicle about the Oromo expansion reveals that after Bale the Christian province of Däwaro became the preferential target of their raids. Similar to the situation in Bale, also here the far-reaching annihilation of the Christian colonists during the Grañ wars and additionally the emigration of the old-established Hadiyya-Sidaama population gave rise to a relatively sparsely inhabited zone so that presumably not too much effort was needed on the part of the invading Oromo.

It was at the time of the *gadaa* period *biifole* from 1558-66 that they invaded Däwaro – the region of Daro (Däro), inhabited today by Arsi and Ittuu,[295] – and began to subjugate the inhabitants.[296] In those days, the Oromo extended their military campaigns already as far as the province of Fätägar and almost reached the Awaš. Gälawdewos (r. 1540-59) was the first Ethiopian Emperor who was confronted with the invasion of the Oromo.[297] Around 1570 they finally established themselves in the areas north of the Wabi Šäbälle and boosted their military clout through the acquisition of the horse.[298] The attacks on Wäg were more difficult to accomplish, because the defence in this area had been reorganised by Emperor Gälawdewos by means of fortifications and the mobilization of Ethiopian military colonists. Additionally, the Maya as a powerful group of skilled bowmen had changed sides and joined the Christians after the defeat of the Muslims and considerably reinforced the lines of defence against the Oromo invaders. Thus it was only after 1570 when the Oromo had learnt to protect themselves efficiently against arrows by employing large ox-hide shields that the defeat of the Maya was assured.[299]

Despite fierce counter-, RRT. T Zg ´T T, M .P ´T , , . , R the Christian Empire in Wäg became untenable. The Oromo are said to have ravaged the neighbouring Bat(a)ra Amora (Ab ermora) around this time, the exact location of which is not clear from references in the *Fut* and in the "Galla ´ , g Zg g. The oral traditions which I was able to record in Allaaba and Shaashoogo vaguely mentioned it as a region on the upper Bilate where a place named Amora in Azärnät Tj á ´T R ´ M .P used the Gurageland as his deployment zone on his campaign against (Bater) Amora, speaks in favour of this localisation.[300]

The Maya were either forced back to the west or assimilated. Some remnants preserving their former identity seem to be identifiable among the north-eastern Arsi

295 For a discussion on the identity of Daro with that of Däwaro cf. BRAUKÄMPER (1976: 53 f.). As a rule, the informants tended to consider them as identical territories, and from the general context of historical geography a number of arguments suggest a localisation of Däwaro in the area north of the Wabi Šäbälle bend (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 70ff.).

296 BA R Y (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 116; SCHLEICHER 1893: 18.

297 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 613, 777.

298 BA R Y (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 137; SCHLEICHER 1893: 20.

299 BA R Y (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 120; SCHLEICHER 1893: 23.

300 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 31. BAIRU TAFLA (1987: 873; Appendix) also supports the view of a position close to Gurage.

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in Arba-Gugu.[301] The same fate also befell all those Hadiyya who had been within the Diida'a area. The Oromo, in their new areas of penetration, more harshly than south of the Wabi Šäbälle, presented the autochthonous population with the alternative of either subjugation or warlike confrontation with the objective of expulsion or extermination. The battle cry from then on was *Oofa Garba* or *Dhiibaa Garba* ("expel the Garba"), which according to the Arsi traditions in Diid'aa, primarily applied to the Hadiyya. Because famine is said to have prevailed in the decades towards the end of the 16th century, the conflict over living-space and pasturelands in particular was fought with even greater bitterness. As a legend from Arba-Gugu illustrates, the clashes were also devious:

> An Oromo leader by the name of Dilbato entered into negotiations with the Hadiyya and offered them a horse in exchange. They would have to hand over ten head of cattle if they insisted on first trying out riding the horse. If they waived the test, it would only cost five head of cattle. The Hadiyya preferred to only hand over five head of cattle and obtained a very bad horse. The Hadiyya had been dumb and not very far-sighted! The Oromo could conquer them and became rulers of the land.
>
> (According to the Arsi informant Gunja Gurree in Gunaa, Arba-Gugu, 1973).

A part of the Oromo, the so-called Boorana faction, did not follow the march to Bale, but from their ancestral headquarters went directly northward through Gädäb. The Sooro-Hadiyya, who had lived there previously, had largely left the territory at the upper Wabi Šäbälle at the western borderland of the Rift Valley. Around the middle of the 16th century, Allaaba groups had moved there from the north-east (cf. pp. 118). Baadawwaachcho clans, especially the Dooda, settled to the south of them by that time. Portions of the indigenous populations were dragged along by the ancestors of the Oromo factions of the Tuulama and Maaca who stayed in Gädäb only for a short time and obviously concentrated all their efforts on a further march towards Wä3. They advanced along the eastern slope of the Rift Valley and managed the breakthrough to central Ethiopia around 1580 (see map 9).

At the Leephisi River which flows from Mt. Duro on the north-western periphery of the historic Gädäb into Lake Langano, a new ethnic group evolved out of the merging of Oromo and Allaaba, the Alabdu. Linguistically and culturally the Oromo element asserted itself among them, whereas in the rest of the Gädäb area initially the Hadiyya dominated until the end of the 16th century. Then the Arsi began to penetrate the area from the east.[302]

According to a tradition which persisted in the region Assasa (Gädäb), a faction of Sooro-Hadiyya held its ground there during the early periods of the Oromo expansion and defended their territory against the intruders. Significantly for them, the used name Gadabichcho was employed as an ethnonym for the Sooro as a whole

301 This can be concluded, for example, from communications by ᶜAbdalldh Angoyye (1973).
302 Personal communications received from Arsi and Allaaba informants.

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still in the 1970s. Gadabichcho, depicted as strong and dark-skinned person, is said to have wounded the Arsi commander Soolee and was convinced he had killed him. However, Soolee survived and recovered fully after consuming eight sheep. He then attacked Gadabichcho while he was merely resting after having drunk a great portion of milk, and thrust his spear into his body. Out of the stomach of the slain Gadabichcho the milk is said to have run into a circular indentation near Assasa (probably caused by the impact of a meteorite), which today still serves as a salt lick for cattle. The name of the site is Gadab Garaadela which is derived from the traditional Sooro title *gadab garaad*. The natural funnel surrounded by a wall of rocks resembles an (oversized) tomb, typical for the Sooro until the 20th century. So-called Gadabichcho graves surrounded by circular earth walls were constructed for title-holders and men who had performed heroic deeds. The remaining Sooro in Gädäb, who had escaped extermination, fled to the west. Except for the same-named clan mentioned in Bale, hardly any traces of this group are to be found among the Arsi.

In the east, the Baarentuu, in a relatively short period of time had penetrated beyond Däwaro, probably in the area of Hubat, and had reached the periphery of the state of ᶜAdal. In the *gadaa* period *masaale* (1566-74) they destroyed a Muslim army at Hazalo which *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid had launched against them in order to stave off the march towards Harär.[303] With some certainty, the Oromo invasion route lay west of the Erär as the areas east of the river are semi-arid. (In the late 20th century they provided a means of existence for a scanty number of Anniyya-Oromo and Somali who are cattle and camel nomads.) The Oromo, with their allegedly big herds of cattle were definitely reliant on sufficient pasturelands and watering places. Camel husbandry, tenable in dry areas, was uncommon for them according to all available historical data. Within a few years the Baarentuu conquered the entire Harär Plateau and in approximately 1580 their plundering army had even become a threat to the river oasis Awsa far to the north, surrounded by desert areas.[304] The remaining Semitic-speaking population of ᶜAdal, in as much as they did not pull back to the city of Harär which had been fortified under *am r* N r, managed there to assert their ethnic and cultural identity, merged with the Oromo and became *mog-gaasa* (assimilated).

A similar situation came about further west in the Cärcär region where after the great exodus at the time of *am r* N r only a relatively small population of Hadiyya and arala had remained behind – too weak to maintain their position in the face of the Oromo invasion. According to the oral tradition of the Ittuu thirty-three *luuba* periods before the conquest of the area by the Amhara (1887), the ancestors of the Ittuu are supposed to have established their tribal law (*heera*) at the holy tree *odaa bultum*, an event which, with the aid of the eight-year cycle of the *gadaa* system allows a backdating to approximately 1620. Already prior to this, they had crossed

303 Ba r y (Beckingham/Huntingford) 1954: 117; Schleicher 1893: 19. Cf. also Paulitschke 1893: 25.

304 Paulitschke 1896: 237; Cerulli 1931a: 74f.

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the Cärcär mountains, had descended as far as the plane east of Awaš and returned to the cooler highlands. Approximately forty years before the Ittuu proper, the Babo faction is supposed to have already founded their tribal constitution in the Cärcär region. Both groups then united and henceforth formed a mutual ethnos, the *Shanan Mannaa Ittuu* (the five Ittuu clans), and the *Afran Mannaa Babo* (the four Babo clans). The Babo were to a relatively large extent influenced by Islam. Genealogically, they claim to be linked to famous Muslim ancestors such as *aw* Sa^{c}id Daarimu and Isma^{c}il Djabarti and in their settlement area a significant concentration of *Wärra Qaalluu* (clans of "priests") were discernible who correspond in their status to the Qall chcha clans of the Arsi to some extent. The *Wärra Qaalluu*, comprising the Hidaabu, Beerree, Madar, Lammii, Assalmannaa, Tokkomannaa, Harsumannaa and Wärra Doyyo partly represent a Hadiyya stratum which is also indicated by the repeated occurrence of the clan suffix *–manna(a)*.[305] It is not absolutely certain that these groups represent the "autochthonous" inhabitants of the area. In the oral traditions on migrations it is, however, emphasised that they had reached the Cärcär with the Oromo, i. e., from an area which was predominantly occupied by Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya.

The Abosaara, according to a popular etymology, are conceived as "those who stayed behind" (with regard to the great west migration) and are a group who can clearly be identified as a part of the autochthonous Hadiyya stratum in the territory of the Ittuu-Oromo. By their northward expansion the ancestors of the Ittuu had substantially helped to trigger the exodus of the Hadiyya from the region of Šar a, .V. ´ , . Tj ´T V , . , . TTg TRT , ´T T, W lbaräg and Allaaba by name. Chronologically, these events can most likely be dated in the early 1560s. Some historical inconsistencies and anachronisms have however crept into the orally transmitted history of the Ittuu migrations. For example, their ancestors are reported to have been the ones who had compelled *shaikh* N r usayn, who lived considerably earlier, to escape to Mume Ilka, a place at the spring of the Wabi Šäbälle where a shrine for his veneration was established at a later stage. On another occasion invading Ittuu warriors were said to have been petrified by a saint.

Around 1600, when the Ittuu occupied the Cärcär territory, other Oromo columns had reached the upper Awaš and the territory of the old Ethiopian province Fä ägar further west.[306] The people resident there, the Hawasu- arala, were absorbed by the Karrayyuu tribe and since then have disappeared as an independent group from the historical map. The factions of the Tuulama and Maaca crossed the Awaš at a more westerly ford. The crossing of this river signified a symbolically important action for them, similar to the traversing of the Wabi Šäbälle by the Baarentuu a few decades before. It obviously demarcated a borderline that the Oro-

305 I am aware of the fact that this enumeration of clans which I mainly recorded from ^{c}Ali Jadiida, Hadi usayn and Mu ammad Sa^{c}id in 1973, is certainly incomplete.

306 This dating is supported by A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 333-37.

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mo only hesitatingly began to go beyond.[307] The many legends that arose about the stay of the Oromo at the Awaš and which have been recorded in manuscripts[308] will not be discussed here as they do not contain any concrete references about the Hadiyya. Worth mentioning in this connection is the fact that the Oromo factions, the Rayyaa, Azaboo and Ashaange, groups closely associated to the old Hadiyya stratum, first crossed the Awaš at the beginning of the 17th century and then advanced along the eastern escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands as far as T gray. With some of their cultural traits, for example house building, one is still reminded of their country of origin in southern Ethiopia.[309] One noteworthy piece of information in this connection was recorded by a Portuguese traveller of the 17th century:

> "At the boundaries of the kingdom of T gray is the country of the Galles or Gallois and the huge associate of Azabo, inhabited by those people, but one locates the Gallas near Adea".[310]

3.4.4 Migrations and Ethnogenesis of the Sidaama

The convulsions produced by the Grañ wars and the Oromo expansion also provoked ethnic mobility among the ancestors of the Sidaama. The portrayals of their legends which focus on their origin and their ethnogenesis give indications as to certain events that took place at this time. However, a comprehensive historical analysis concerning the ethnic and territorial changes which they accomplished in the 16th century – and also at later periods – has yet to be done.

In regard to the significance of the early history of the Oromo as well as the Sidaama, Enrico Cerulli had been recognised as a leading authority until he was recently challenged by other researchers such as Stanislaw STANLEY. According to the view advanced by CERULLI (1938: 31), the ancestors of the Sidaama were pushed out of their northern residences towards the west into the territory of Bale due to Oromo penetration. They then succeeded in occupying and closing off the Rift Valley passage in the Kooyira area so that the Oromo had to take a route further east via the upper Wabi Šäbälle for their march into the Lake Region. STANLEY (n.d.: 20f.) considered this interpretation as untenable and believed the opposite, namely that it was the Sidaama who, coming from Bale, compelled the Oromo to evacuate the highlands between the upper Ganaale and the eastern borderlands of the

307 These two different migration waves apparently correlated with the classification of the Oromo in two "nations", the Bertuma (Baarentuu) in the east and the Boren (Boorana) in the west (SCHLEICHER 1893: 7; LUDOLPH 1682: 85).

308 HARRIS (1844, II: 350), PAULITSCHKE (1889: 171) and CONTI ROSSINI (1938b: 93, *passim*) refer to this. Cf. also chap. 3.1.3 and 3.1.4.

309 Such similarities were pointed out by the geographer Volker STITZ (1974: 134) who disposed of a substantial base of comparative knowledge regarding cultural conditions in different parts of Ethiopia.

310 ABYSSINE 1667: 86 (our translation from French). The Galles (Galla) conform to the Oromo, and Adea is the name which the Portuguese travellers commonly employed for Hadiyya.

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Rift Valley. We have to relate these contradictory positions to the discussion already started in the previous chapter.[311]

The view expressed by BECKINGHAM and HUNTINGFORD (1954: Lxxv) regarding the Oromo-Sidaama connections appears largely speculative and false. It claims that the Sidaama, originating from Bale, blocked the passage of the advancing Oromo from Kooyira to the north and, together with the Wälaytta, prevented the peoples west of the lakes being overrun by the Oromo. The Oromo were thus compelled to take a circuitous route to the north-east and could only then start to conquer the Gibe region from a position north of Lake Z^{w}ay. Apart from the fact that there are no verifiable arguments whatsoever that the Oromo, from the outset, intended to invade south-western Ethiopia – on the contrary the so-called Gibe states nnarya, Guummaa, Geeraa, Gomma, 5 imma and Boša belong to those areas which were mostly occupied by the Oromo only in the 19th century as they had long since penetrated northward to Go33am and T gray and eastward beyond Harär – the Wälaytta were confined to the small highland habitat of Kindo till approximately 1700.[312] The whole region from the lowlands of Lake Abbayya to the Omo River was at that time in the possession of groups of nomadic Hadiyya (cf. chap. 3.5.8).

CERULLI's thesis that the Sidaama had originated from the territory of the ancient state of Bale and were then compelled by the Oromo to evacuate their area of residence appears in many respects in need of revision. In any event, it was only one of the two great genealogical factions constituting the Sidaama, namely the Malde'a, who were closely related to the Allaaba, to whom this view can apply. According to their own accounts, before the *djih d* the Malde'a people lived in a country called Migo "between Shaikh usayn and 5 ibuti", located more specifically between Cärcär and Ginnir.[313] This area can more or less be specified as a territory which on the historical map comprises north-eastern Bale and that part of its neighbouring state Däwaro which was situated north of the Wabi Šäbälle. The traditions of the Oromo living there today, particularly those of the Anniyya, have so far not been investigated in regard to which previous populations they came across, which ones they expelled or assimilated in this area. Therefore, no comprehensive data have so far been attained in regard to a potential settlement focus of Sidaama (or Proto-Sidaama) in that region before the Oromo immigration.[314]

311 In a previous article (BRAUKÄMPER 1978) I have already dealt with some basic assumptions on the early history of the Sidaama. Results of more recent research on this group have not adequately been considered.

312 This arose from the research by Eike HABERLAND on this people, whose results unfortunately remained unpublished due to his death in 1992. I am indebted to him for valuable personal communications on the Wälaytta.

313 Information related by the Sidaama informants Hirbaayye Digissa from Qaweena and Huriisso Waabee in Malgee 1973.

314 According to my state of knowledge, historical and ethnographic research in the eastern parts of Oromoland, apart from the vicinity of Harär, has remained extremely scarce, partly due to long-lasting unrest and civil war.

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The Malde'a people can most probably be linked to the Muslim Hadiyya stratum speaking a Semitic language similar to that of the Harari, which was by that time also spoken by the Allaaba who resided to the west of them. Remarkably, they have retained Islamic rudiments from that earlier period of history including numerous beliefs and practices, like the custom to bury the dead facing in a north-easterly direction.[315] What induced the Malde'a to leave their abodes in the east remains as unknown as the exact migratory route they decided to take. It can be assumed that this movement was more or less connected with the westward migration of the Hadiyya at the time of *am r* N r. But it may also be possible that the movement of the Malde'a people could have been influenced by the onset of Oromo expansion starting out from Bale in approximately 1550, reaching Däwaro as the first territory north of the Wabi. To evade the pressure of the invaders – occasionally parts of the Sidaama from Däwaro are said to have already moved to the west as allies of [c]Adal[316] – they went north of the Wabi bend through the territories of Šar a and Gädäb to the highlands south of Lake Awasa which had partially been abandoned by Hadiyya groups such as the Leemo. A march through Bale appears not to have been possible as this territory was more or less completely in the hands of the Oromo.

In folk tradition Malde'a is deemed the ancestor created out of copper (cf. chap. 3.1.2); as his skin colour resembled that of the metal. As mythical as this version is, to some extent it nevertheless reflects a historically factual situation. Even today the relatively light pigmentation of the Allaaba is evident, [317] whereas with the Malde'a faction of the Sidaama, the anthropological differences appear to have long since evened out.

Contrary to Malde'a, Bushshe was seen as the dark-skinned ancestor similar to the colour of the earth out of which he was created.[318] In contrast to the herder Malde'a, he is reported to having embodied a farming element. It can be concluded from the overall context of historical geography that Dawa, which is mentioned in the oral traditions as the original country of his faction, was situated in proximity to Gide'o territory. The Gide'o are, to some extent, conspicuous amongst the southern Ethiopian peoples for their dark complexion.[319] Moreover, east of the Rift Valley they are seen as farmers *par excellence*. The Dawa referred to in the Sidaama traditions is identifiable today in a same-named territory south of the place Bore, at the upper reaches of the Awwaataa which flows into a river called Dawa. This area is

315 This information is also based on personal observations in the Sidaama territory. Looking from there, Mecca is situated to the north, but people of this area obviously orientated themselves, as already discussed elsewhere, on the southern coast of the Red Sea.

316 The informants who reported the oral traditions used the Italian word "banda" for these local auxiliaries.

317 AZA S and CHAMBARD (1931: 275) found this fact noteworthy.

318 It is conceivable that it related to a lower-lying location where the dark "black cotton soil" predominated as against the reddish-brown laterite soil.

319 This fact was also emphasised by HABERLAND (1963a: 279). The Gide'o themselves identi- RTV . V -skinned" man, to me as one of their ancestors.

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directly connected in the east to the Gide'o heartlands and bounded by Haro Walaabuu and Mormor, the focus of the Oromo homeland, in the south.

Before this particular Dawa, it has been suggested in numerous traditions that the Bushshe-Sidaama in the 16th century had already possessed, within a considerable time span, yet another "original" home region of this name in the northeast. However, no determinable details about the location have been preserved. The migration is supposed to have proceeded via Liiban, the original territory of the Boorana-Oromo, and Kooyira (Amaaro) on the eastern shore of Lake Camo. I would like to hypothesise that the Bushshe-Sidaama was one of the groups originating from Hadiyyaland in the east which then became affiliated with an old established population cultivating nsät in the highlands west of the Ganaale, amongst whom they attained a leading position. The migratory stages of Hadiyya groups such as the Baadeooso and Buchch-Allaaba who originate back to Buchche or Bushshe respectively, are traceable across the Ganaale eastwards (cf. chap. 3.3.4, 3.5.2, 3.5.8). The Bushshe-Sidaama had evidently been resident in Dawa already long before the Oromo migration. This is indicated by their particular cultural development based on the adoption of hoe cultivation with nsät as their staple food. (According to all historical data and empirical observations from this region, nsät has long been attributed a low prestige as a foodstuff particularly by Oromo-speaking people and was therefore adopted only tentatively even if the conditions for cultivation were favourable).[320] With regard to the present language of the Sidaama, it was most probably evolved by the Bushshe people in Dawa. The Malde'a group in Däwaro, as argued before, were Semitic-speaking and also the Hoofa, the prior population in Sidaamaland, are said to have spoken another language (different from that of the present-day Sidaama).

To which ethnic group the Hoofa belonged and what language they had, is unknown. Those remaining are said to have stayed within the sub-groups of the Kuussai, Sankaawa, Mutaalle, Hagaawo, Doraande and Fardaano who, genealogically however, as far as it can be determined, are no longer distinguishable from the rest of the Sidaama. The name Hoofa(bo) is also found for one of the two subgroups of the Hadiyya-Gudeella clans, the Bargaago, which is attributed to one of the earliest migration waves of the Hadiyya in the area west of the Bilate (1531). The Hoofa could either have been a Hadiyya group, who was assimilated by the infiltrating Proto-Sidaama, or representatives of an Omotic-speaking autochthonous population who, according to the oral traditions, are said to have possessed the institution of kingship.[321] Occasionally, their language was stipulated as being "Oromiffaa", and this assumption is what might have induced STANLEY (n.d.: 20ff.)

320 Although the high productivity of nsät is unquestioned in southern Ethiopia, its area of cultivation in Arsiland, for example, was restricted to a narrow strip of land bordering Sidaama in the 1970s. It has obviously expanded since then (personal communication by Alke Dohrmann). Cf. also p. 331, 377.

321 JENSEN (n.d.: 11-30), who studied the chiefdoms of Shabadiino, Alatta and Haweela, most likely overrated this aspect of their socio-political organization.

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to his think that the Sidaama had ousted the Oromo from their ancestral territories and thereby given them an incentive for their vast migratory movement. This view appears unverifiable to me. The importance of the highlands between the headwaters of the Wabi Šäbälle and the Boorana steppe for the expansion of the Oromo has already been discussed at length in the last two chapters.

The present-day Sidaama language was arguably introduced by the Bushshe faction [322] as presumably the Malde'a, as well as the related Allaaba, by that time spoke a Semitic idiom affiliated to Harari. It seems obvious that the name Sidaama, which the Oromo later conveyed indiscriminately to all foreign ethnic groups with whom they came into contact, already existed for the Bushshe people in Dawa. They were the first adversary and their name was then virtually introduced as a general label for "enemy". The fact that the ethnic term Sidaama, since the 16th century, has been understood by the Oromo as more or less synonymous with "Christians" becomes understandable from the overall historical picture. For example, the traditions of the Haweela tell of a close relationship with the Emperor L bnä D ng l whose domain may have actually extended into the highlands south of Lake Awasa (cf. chap. 3.3.1). The name Haweela, according to JENSEN (n.d.: 27), is said to have been derived from "Abeldm", the Amharic word for "herdsmen of the court". Worth mentioning in this connection is the migration tradition of the Bur3i, linguistically related to the Sidaama, that they had made their way through Liiban, then going north in the direction of Kooyira.[323] The starting point of the Bur3i migration was, however, claimed to have been the territory of Mänz in Šäwa, which implies an amalgamation with the traditions about the Christian political and cultural impact between the 13th and 17th centuries in the Amaaro (Kooyira) region. If one considers, in particular with regard to the non-Muslim groups of southern Ethiopia, the widespread endeavour to claim an Amhara or T gray ancestry in order to allegedly gain more prestige for their own ethnos, one is inclined here to acknowledge a manipulation of the oral traditions. Concerning the neighbouring Amaaro – the name itself is said to have been derived from Amhara – it has convincingly been argued that at least the dynasty and the ruling elite were recruited from north-Ethiopian immigrants, people from Mänz.[324] The Bur3i, who immigrated after the Grañ wars, apparently assumed this model from the neighbouring Amaaro and incorporated it into their own set of traditions.

For the purpose of historical reconstruction, the possibility should be suggested that the Bur3i cohered with the Sidaama in the Bale-Dallo region and thereafter, in the course of the migration westward, broke away and became a separate group. The differentiation could have occurred at the latest during the Kooyira stage. However, as far as the time period and also the geographic specification are concerned, such a

322 STANLEY (n.d.: 38) received the information that the heroe Gololcha Orde introduced the Sidaama language.

323 STRAUBE n.d. b: 13. AMBORN (2009) does not extensively enter the debate on early migrations of the Bur3i.

324 This fact was stated by STRAUBE (1963: 82).

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process remains enigmatic, because names like Liiban and Kooyira repeatedly appear in southern Ethiopia and it happened quite often that designations of former residences were transferred by migrating peoples to later dwelling places. Hence in this context, one should not necessarily only reflect on Amaaro-Kooyira.

The previous population of Booranaland is supposed to have been the Warday whom the present-day inhabitants regard as the constructors of technically advanced "prehistoric" systems of wells[325] which do not exist in the area of Liiban itself. The notion of a connection between the lost Warday people with the Bur3i comes to the fore and found due regard in STRAUBE's research on this ethnic group.[326]

The Bushshe people, the leading group of the Proto-Sidaama, were located at the outbreak of the "Galla assaults" not far south of the residential areas occupied by them today. Nothing points to their being afflicted by the disruptive turmoil of the *djih d* and being torn apart in the ethnic upheavals of that epoch, so that they survived as an autochthonous and apparently strong tribe which denied the Oromo a direct breakthrough to the north.[327] As a result of this, the main wave of the Oromo was diverted towards Dallo and Bale in the north-east. Whether the Sidaama then voluntarily moved out and left the region at the upper Awwaataa River to their southern neighbours appears uncertain. Apparently, towards the end of the 16th century, the pressure exerted by the Oromo had intensified to such an extent that the Bushshe-Sidaama emigrated to the north. In the area which corresponds to their present-day residences, they came across the Malde'a people who had penetrated some decades before. Together with them, after having had several disputes, they established a new ethnos. The Hoofa, still living in the land, were either exterminated or assimilated primarily by the faction of the Bushshe-Sidaama. In the first half of the 17th century, the development of a common ethnicity of the two major groups of the Proto-Sidaama, which had been remarkably different before, was completed. The Allaaba clans, who lived side by side with the Malde'a people, were incorporated into the association as well. Within the new ethnos, the Bushshe people, claiming the honorary name Yemerichcho and viewed as the most respected Sidaama, were the dominating element. Not only did their language become entrenched, but also their economic strategy of intensive agriculture prevailed, whereas the culture of the Malde'a people, characterized by Islamic features, largely disappeared except for minor traces, and their nutrition based on livestock-breeding had to give way to a mixed type of economy, where nsät cultivation henceforth gained priority.

The high esteem enjoyed by the Bushshe people as farmers in contrast to the Malde'a people who had originally been nomadic pastoralists, is a striking phenom-

325 See, for example, HABERLAND 1963a: 73. The recent inhabitants, the Boorana-Oromo and the Gabra of this area, are no longer adequately skilled to build such systems.

326 Information related by Helmut STRAUBE in 1974. Since a connection is hypothetical, however, it was not discussed in AMBORN's (2009) edition of the STRAUBE materials.

327 STANLEY n.d.: 30, *passim*. This thesis appears plausible in the context of the currently available source materials.

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enon because almost everywhere in this part of the world where cattle count as the most desirable property, the herders looked down on the farmers with a certain amount of contempt. This applies, for instance, to the relationship between the Boorana and the Konso, the Gu33i and the Gide'o, the Arsi and the Sidaama, the Hadiyya and the Kambaata.[328]

The question as to why the Bushshe people, the later immigrants, rose to a leading position among the Sidaama, leads us to the key role of the *gadaa* system in the culture and the traditional value concepts of this particular area of Ethiopia. The Sidaama do not claim to have initiated the system themselves but they rather admit that they adopted it from outside at an unspecified point in time. The neighbouring Gide'o likewise acknowledge not to have originally known the *gadaa* system and to have adopted it relatively recently from the Gu33i-Oromo.[329] Also in the case of the Sidaama, the Oromo must be taken into account as the medium of diffusion. The adoption can hardly have taken place before the second half of the 16th century because for the Kambaata clans Ebejjenna and Efegenna, who migrated to the area between the rivers Omo and Bilate from the Gide'o-Sidaama region[330], absolutely no traces of the *gadaa* system were able to be ascertained. The Bushshe people, obviously impressed by the expansive energy it bestowed upon the Oromo, apparently adopted it in Dawa and had already incorporated it into their culture when they occupied their new dwelling place in the north. Then presumably a similar historical situation arose as in the clash between the Oromo and Hadiyya: the holders of the *gadaa* system were acknowledged as being superior. However, unlike the way of many Oromo tribes forming a type of dual organization, whereby those groups accepted into the tribal association remained underprivileged, the Sidaama established a complete integration of the Bushshe and Malde'a factions into the new ethnos.[331] Around 1600, the Sidaama had become a people, and in the years that followed they secured their settlement focus in the highlands west of the Wabi Šäbälle and Ganaale headwaters and exerted an increasing demographic dynamic on the surrounding areas of the Gu33i and the Arsi. They continued to retain their historical consciousness as members of the ancient Hadiyya cluster particularly through the existence of their Qeweena and Allaaba clans (cf. chap. 3.5.1, 3.5.2).

328 See HABERLAND 1963a: 149 (Konso), 298 (Gide'o/Därasa). For Arsi-Sidaama and Hadiyya-Kambaata relations I have provided some research results (e. g., BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 51).

329 HABERLAND 1963a: 300f. My enquiries revealed that the adoption was implemented less than ten generations before the 1970s. This was stated, for example, by the Gide'o informant Alaako Adulla.

330 For details cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 29f.

331 Of the thirteen sub-groups of the Sidaama, the Haweela, Sawoola, Qaweena and Alatta trace back to Malde'a and the Malgee, Yanaase, Shabadiino, Asaarado, Holloo, Harbegoona, Harbe, Garbichcho and Haadiichcho to Bushshe.

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3.4.5 The Conflict of the Hadiyya with the Christian Empire from the Rule of ärsä D ng l to Fasilädäs (1563-c. 1650)

At the time of Emperor Gälawdewos, the Oromo and the Hadiyya had evidently penetrated the territory of the Christian Empire around Wä3 and were for the first time side by side there. The chronicle on this sovereign portrays a glorious victory over the invaders.[332] However, the many set-backs resulting in tremendous losses could ultimately not hinder the advance of the peoples from the south. In the twelfth year of the rule of Gälawdewos (1552), the Oromo ravaged Kämbata and the south of Šäwa at a time when the Christian forces in this region, commanded by *abeto* amälmal, were in the east engaged in a victorious campaign against Harär.[333]

´T. M . P T. VIV , ´T ´ , . ´ , . T RT the short reign of Minas (1559-63), the position of the Empire on the southern flank had become increasingly precarious. In order to defend the territorial vested rights of the Christian T . ´T , TRR , g M . P " ' -97) opted for an offensive. Although his life had been imbued with warring enterprises, he did not succeed in building an effective dam to stop the flood of people from the south.

The victory over the Hadiyya at the beginning of his reign counted as one of his greatest successes and in the chronicle dedicated to him has been elaborately described more than any other comparable event in this period of Ethiopian history. The passage on the warlike event dated in the year 1568/69 is as follows:

> "After having spent the rainy season there the king left for Badel Neb went off after the feast of St. Michael . ´T , . ´ , R V C , ZT , T ZT and chose the way with the intention to make war against the adyd. He called Giyorgis ayl and the Germe and ordered them to come to Wa3 and to wait there. But *azma* Taklo did not separate from the king and came with all his partisans who are called awaš, experienced in fighting. Then the king met the Germ and Giyorgis ayl in Wa3 and went to adyd. He stayed two weeks without fighting a battle against Aze, because he hoped that he would come to him in order to deliver him his tribute according to the custom of the governors of adyd. But the perfidiousness of this man reached its apex, because he always said: 'Here is it, I shall come with my tribute', whereas he did not think in his heart to obey the king, but he thought on the contrary to wage war against him and to fight, because he had with him 500 mail-clad horsemen, all Muslims (malasdy), his followers. The adyd cavalry counted 1700 horses, the warriors carrying shields were uncountable […]" [334]

Subsequently, details about the sequence of the battle are recorded in which Märsä D ng l confronted the very front row of warring *mäläsay* with his elite troops.

332 I refer to the translation by CONZELMANN (1895: 141).
333 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 143.
334 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 46f. (our translation of the quotations from the French text).

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> "Mais Az and his army, the men of adyd, the number of which we have already described, dispersed in front of the face of the king like the fume in the wind[…]"

The defeat of the Hadiyya was complete and the Ethiopian troops captured 300 horses.[335] The chronicle continues with the portrayal of events:

> "Then, after he had waited for two weeks this king who was concerned about his profit, realized that Az had gathered many inhabitants of adyd and Muslims (malasay), who had escaped death on the day of the battle. He sent u g T. .V.R. g T. Tj T T. TV. R T ´T ´, T ´T Takla Giyorgis as their commander and sent him to fight against Az . Takla Giyorgis thus went and delivered the battle; one became engaged in a fierce fight and the Muslims did not turn their faces backwards so that they were all killed in action and not a single one escaped; no soldier of the king perished. Then all the A3am, dignitaries of the adyd tribes, hastened to submit to the king providing a charge and gifts. At this time the Christian king celebrated the feast of Easter in adyd and chose there a place a for spending the rainy season." [336]

M .P T .TVR ´, T gT . Vgg .V .V ´T. ´T R. g withdrew after the Easter festival in 1570, he left *dä azma* Täklä Giyorgis there as governor to watch over the collection of the tributes.[337]

Seven years later, however, the Hadiyya were once more in revolt and the Ethiopian sovereign felt obliged to intervene personally. Again the war resulted in their defeat and their leader *gärad* Dja^{c}far was killed in the battle. Thereafter the Hadiyya people lost their basic means of existence through the victors' merciless plundering of their livestock.[338] Evidently, the Hadiyya never recovered from these blows so that henceforth they hardly appeared as an independent ethnic force alongside the Oromo .´T .g T ,. ,R " M .P T , R, ´T PTV .V towards Damot,[339] the Ethiopian province south of Abbay bend, whose governor had already come forward before the decisive conflict in 1569 as chief negotiator with the Hadiyya *gärad* Aze.[340] The spatial proximity to Damot was thus explicable as a number of Hadiyya groups had in the meantime expanded west of the Rift Valley into the area of the upper Gibe. After 1577 the Oromo increasingly intervened in the warfare which the Hadiyya desperately continued against the sovereignty of the Christian Empire despite numerous defeats incurring heavy losses.[341]

335 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 46f.
336 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 47f. (our translation from French).
337 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 49.
338 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 59
339 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 60.
340 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 28.
341 CONTI ROSSINI 1955: 67.

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> "The Ddw , from the tribe of Boran, quarrelled with his own tribe for some reason. They fought and separated from each other and on his departure, many from all the clans, including that of Boran, followed him. – They took the Kwdyard route and devastated Ab ermord [Ba ara Amora]. Having devastated Ab ermord and Wa3, Ddw occupied the country. Fasil led a campaign against them, but he died during that campaign. A contemporary priest scribe wrote these prophetic words; 'I fear the killer of Fdsil, for he has tasted Christian blood.'"[342]

Fasil T. TP VTZ , ´T , RM . P V , ´ T TV , T Z ´ ´ T . the southern provinces of the Empire with Bale as his headquarters.[343] His defeat sealed the collapse of abäša hegemony south of Kämbata for a long time.

. ´T T. ´ gT , R´ , TTP. g " ' M . P T , . g TV - paign against the advancing Dawwee-Oromo and defeated them in the vicinity of Lake Z[w]ay. He had already inflicted defeat on them five years before at the Mo3o River between Bale and Harär,[344] which, as with most of his actions, obviously did not have a lasting impact.

From the oral traditions and the recent ethnic situation supplementary explanations can be gained about the events in this period. We encountered the name (*gärad/garaad*) Aze in the genealogies of the Sooro. Its position of approximately twelve generations before (prior to the 1970s) is able to be chronologically equated with the Hadiyya leader in the chronicle. The geographical region, in which the Z T P . M . P , , T . , Tg ZT , TV ZT TT. V Z and southern Wä3. The designation *mäläsay*, referring to the armour-clad troopers who appeared in the chronicle, exist today as a clan of the Harari and are occasionally seen by the Ethiopian historiographers as quite simply a synonym for "Muslims".[345] As a historical continuity suggests itself for the name-bearers of today, it can be assumed that the *mäläsay* were a contingent of well equipped fighters sent from Harär to reinforce the Hadiyya. Verifiably at that time [c]Adal troops also operated far to the south in their own land and under their commander Mu ammad they RRT TV T , . V. P VIRT P . M . P . ´T Tg , R ´T Z Šäbälle.[346]

Dja[c]far can also be verified as a leading figure of the Hadiyya during the outgoing 16th century. However, it remains hypothetical whether he can be equated with the *gärad* who was killed in the above- T. , . TV Z T P . M . P á ´T

342 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 139, 141. Cf. also BA R Y (SCHLEICHER) 1893: 12f.; BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 114).

343 Numerous traditions and place names are associated with his name in Bale. For example, a mountain at Gobba and an *Awra a* are named after him. Cf. also BAIRU TAFLA (Appendix) 1987: 913.

344 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 301.

345 For detailed information regarding the *mäläsay*, Muslim elite warriors from the Harär region, see KROPP (1990: 5-13).

346 SAINEANO 1892: 27f.; A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 157.

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group named after him, Jafarra in Gädäb, Shirka and Bale is held in high esteem among the Arsi of these regions. Their members are *Wärra bokkuu* (people of the sceptre), and the grave of the clan's founder became a pilgrimage site. To accept V Z ´T T. T. T , R T T. VT ZIV . ´T M . P ´ , . T appears to make sense. In the second half of the 16th century, the Hadiyya were still a coherent ethnic cluster from the upper Wabi Šäbälle to the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains, the Oromo had not yet established their supremacy and the ᶜAdal troops advanced right up to this area to reinforce the insurgent Hadiyya Muslims. The Hadiyya themselves pushed northwards. According to Baadawwaachcho traditions, migratory groups of their people had already crossed the upper Awaš not far from the border to the Christian heartland in Šäwa and were then repulsed during a counter-offensive by the *a* , with some certainty Mïrsä D ng l, up to the Kataara River.

In regard to the assessment of the historical position of Ethiopia as a whole in the late 16th century, one fact appears noteworthy, namely that the Hadiyya had evidently formed a vanguard which advanced against the Christian Empire from the south. The abäša R T . VT M . P TTVIV . TT . P ´T Vgg . check and inflicting heavy losses on them. However, this long-lasting and fierce clash with the invaders from the south had weakened their power of resistance to such an extent that they had to cede large parts of central Ethiopia to the Oromo pushing in from the rear. The Hadiyya, for their part, were increasingly squeezed between the mill stones of two opposing powers which led to a far-reaching extermination of their ethnic identity in many areas which they had formerly occupied. The Oromo were, on the other hand, not able to occupy the highland bulwarks in Kämbata and Gurage from where in the aftermath they were constantly exposed to attacks and slave raids by the inhabitants who were largely of Hadiyya stock.[347] Sections of the Hadiyya, as already mentioned (see p. 141) had been swept along northward by the ancestors of the Tuulama and Maaca who had migrated through the Rift Valley in a relatively short period of time.

´ TM . P T TV , VIRT. V ´T ´ . TR, R VVIfence position between Wä3 and Bale, the Oromo, behind the abäša troops, had already made incursions as far as Šäwa. The victories the Emperor won over them during the *roobalee gadaa* period in 1574,[348] could only delay their advance at best for a short time. The penetration of the Dawwee-Oromo, who were explicitly referred to as the "Galla at the rear", thereby represented a later migration wave which presumably did not take place before the 15 g mentioned a presumably tactical retreat by the Dawwee, which left the advancing Ethiopian troops no choice in their defence against the invaders other than to withdraw again to the north without having accomplished anything.[349] For the highly mobile Oromo the mountain

347 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 355.
348 BA R Y (SCHLEICHER) 1893: 23.
349 BA R Y (SCHLEICHER) 1893: 30f.; BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 123. CONTI ROSSINI

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region of Wärra-Lukkuu (Boora-Lukkuu) on the south-eastern boundary of Wä3, which is still today not easily accessible, presented itself as an outstanding refuge. The Dawwee were evidently ancestors of the Arsi, members of the Oromo group which took permanent possession of a large part of the former Hadiyyaland.

´, P´ g's "History of the Galla" is not aware of the name Arsi, there is, however, some indication that at this time they evolved as an important sub-group of the Oromo á´T , , M .P Ɍ P´ . ´T T. ´ gT , R´ TP. " ' in the region of Lake Z[w]ay,[350] were not yet specified. However, a revealing passage by A MA GIYORGIS exists about the conflicts of Emperor Sus nyos with the invaders from the south.

> "In the eigthth year of his reign, the NeguKheard that the Warranašd, that is the Arussi, had deserted him and attacked Walaqd and that they had destroyed many Ambd. This Galla tribe called the Warranašd was the most cunning, the most given to conspiracy and tale-bearing, and the most treacherous. They were smaller in number than any other Gdlla tribe; they were formerly with the Ward'dyyd who are now called Rayya".[351]

After the Maaca and Tuulama moved on towards central Ethiopia, the rest of the remaining Hadiyya left behind in areas east of the Rift Valley were subsequently 'Oromised' by the infiltrating Arsi, or were expelled to the west. This process, beginning just before 1600, was certainly only completed several generations later.

At the beginning of the 17[th] century, when Hadiyya no longer existed as a powerful territorial entity, a custom which had long been upheld by the imperial Ethiopian court was reported on for the last time concerning the securing of Hadiyya loyalty to the Christian state by means of a marriage relationship with them. Ya[c]qob (1597- ' M .P T , , , . T , R ´T Vgg people and treated her as his spouse, although she died before the marriage.[352]

Under the next Emperor, Sus nyos (1603-32), the influence of the Portuguese on the fate of the Christian Empire reached a climax. The historiography of this period handed down several notifications about the southern Ethiopian peoples. The Maya were mentioned for the last time as allies of the Christian Empire against the advancing Oromo.[353] The collapse of the defence which had long been assured by this bellicose group in the region of Wä3 meant the final loss of the province for the Ethiopian Empire. The chronicler of Emperor Sus nyos leaves no doubt that the invasion from the south became increasingly more threatening for the Christian Empire. He mentioned (see PEREIRA 1900: 167) that this ruler was victorious in

(1955: 144) employs the version 5 awi for the Dawwee.

350 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 155.

351 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 325. The close historical connection of the Arsi with the Rayyaa is pointed out here.

352 BA R Y (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 69.

353 PEREIRA 1900: 113f., 431, *passim*.

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numerous clashes against the Oromo groups Maaca, Tuulama and Baarentuu as well as against the Hadiyya and Gurage. Susenyos also had to fight foreign invaders and rebellions in Bizamo, nnarya and Go33am, which highlighted the enormous threat the Empire was confronted with even in its western and northern parts.

In Gurageland Susenyos's troops fought against the people under the *gärad* Mdi,[354] who is most probably equivalent to the Sidee in the oral traditions of the East-Gurage (cf. chap. 3.3.4). The description by A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 211) of the events is also based on orally transmitted materials:

> "In Maskaram at the end of the rainy season, Ab to un Susenyos started out from Gwdgwdtd to lead a campaign against adiyd and fight Mdi Ma ammad. During the march he reached the river Gudar and his army swam across it; then he camped at Endagab dn, the source of the Awdš. There an A3amo called Qdso submitted to him with twenty horsemen and a small number of infantry. Then he passed to Warab where a few Gur'dg received him. He camped at azo. While he was camping there, all the 44 tribes of the Gur'dg received him with honour, joy and ululation. They paid him the homage paid to kings. They also displayed their skill as warriors in a parade, and advised him to attack Mdi. He set off forthwith, marching with his baggage, money and all he had, not forgetting his cattle, which constituted his pro , . á ´T g , RMV ´, T T , . T gT ´T T . , fight Susenyos, the son of a king, and he retired to the river Wdri. But Susenyos followed and overtook him there at the river Wdri, where a fierce battle took place. The Gur'dg were posted on one flank and the Gdlld on the other; while the lord himself took up the centre position with the Amdrd. They fought until the earth reeked [...]."

Sus nyos was seriously beaten by Mdi's troops and escaped with great difficulty. Fighting continued for a time in nnämor and other parts of Gurageland and the position of the Christians seems to have become increasingly precarious. The Hadiyya resisted successfully and Mde managed in strengthening his position by punishing all those chiefs of his allies whose loyalty he mistrusted. Susenyos finally preferred to evacuate the area of the enemy. But instead of following the advice of his officers to retreat to amälmal in Kämbata, he went to Yebšo.[355]

The river which is named Wari in this text can most likely be identified as the Bilate, which the Hadiyya referred to as Waaraa. The conquest and control of the area was difficult, because in many parts of the region between Gurageland and Wälaytta fortress-like constructions with earth walls, moats, thorn entanglements and wooden gates existed.[356]

354 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 209ff.

355 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 211-13. The chronicler commented in this context (p. 215) that Hadiyya was once a great kingdom extending from Damot to Zayla', whose name has now more or less been forgotten, however.

356 In the 1970s I noticed remnants of such constructions for example in the territory of the

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In 1614, a delegation under the direction of the Franciscan monk and traveller António Fernandes started out from the Ethiopian heartland with the aim of reaching the Portuguese outposts on the east coast of Africa. After a hazardous journey they arrived in Kämbata, where Prince amälmal ruled as a vassal of the Christian Emperor. When the emissaries proceeded further east, they were arrested by Alico, the Islamic ruler of the neighbouring territory of Allaaba. After lengthy negotiations they had to abandon their planned itinerary and return via another route to Go33am.[357] Alico, in whose territory the Christian Emperor nominally claimed sovereignty,[358] was *de facto* ruler of an independent territory which hostilely opposed the Ethiopian Empire without however risking an all-out confrontation. Genealogies from Allaaba, W riro and other East-Gurage people, especially of the Wushiira clan, know of Alico (Aleko) who indeed must have lived at the beginning of the 17th century. He was the son of *adjdj* ᶜAli *adjdj* ᶜUmar (commonly known as *adjdj* Aliye) who imposed rule over the Allaaba, who by then still spoke the Semitic Adaree language. Further details about him have not been handed down.[359]

The expelling of the Portuguese out of Ethiopia in 1633 by Emperor Fasilädäs initiated an epoch of foreign policy marked by far-reaching isolation. Also during this phase spatial expansion by the Oromo continued. What is no longer evident, however, is a differentiated role of the Hadiyya in this process. The history of the groups which maintained their identity as Hadiyya therefore is to be analysed and depicted separately.

3.5 The Hadiyya up to the Ḥabäša Wars of Conquest (c. 1650-1875)

The isolation which Ethiopia withdrew into for almost two hundred years also meant a far-reaching change for its historiography. Except for a few notes, which travellers conveyed on the base of secondary information, i. e., not acquired by personal observation in the respective areas, written records of any kind are lacking about the Hadiyya up to the last third of the 19th century. Due to this fact, oral traditions are virtually the exclusive basis for the historical reconstruction during this period of time. The once cohesive territorial bloc of the Hadiyya had disbanded and scattered to the extent that the different sub-groups increasingly developed an individual consciousness of ethnic identity. The history of the newly established ethnic units, which resulted from the processes of fission, has henceforth to be portrayed separately, although we have to be aware of the common pool from which this evolution originated.

Mäsmäs, a formerly Gurage-speaking group which was assimilated by the Hadiyya (cf. map 29).

357 PAIS 1945/46, III: 225 ff.; DE ALMEIDA (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 166ff. Cf. also BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 42f.

358 PAIS 1945/46, III: 225; LUDOLPH 1682: 87.

359 BUSTORF (2011: 115-21), who collected many details about legends and historical data concerning *adjdj* Aliye, did not come across relevant information on Alico.

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3.5.1 The Qabeena

In the heterogeneous cluster of the ethnic units who are regarded as the descendants of the ancient Hadiyya, the Qabeena can undoubtedly be classified as the most visible heirs and bearers of the name. Up to the present, the ethnonym Hadiyya was most explicitly employed for them by their neighbours as well as by the abäša. Quite often they were called Womb(a) Hadiyya after a locality.[360] Womb is said to mean in the vernacular language "the ones lower down," which is supposed to refer to their living area in the valleys of the upper Gibe system.

Up until the 17th century, the biggest section of the Qabeena lived in the Sidaama territory which they had gone to together with the Allaaba during the campaigns and migratory movements in the wake of the Grañ wars. Around this time they made a considerable contribution to the ethnogenesis of the Sidaama. It is noteworthy that their name in the slightly different version Qeweena was retained for one of the thirteen factions of this people. That the similarity of the names is not coincidental is evidenced by the fact that both groups, although their present living-areas are some hundred kilometres away from each other, have explicitly remained conscious of their common origin.

However, the reason why a part of the Qabeena left Sidaamaland to migrate north remains just as unclear as the time of their departure. In the genealogies of this tribe there are no clues about this. However, as the Qabeena, according to all available information, migrated with the Allaaba, about whose migration more exact details exist, their exodus can be dated to the first half of the 18th century. The Sidaama preserved the mythically-endowed tradition of a King Gololcha Orde who is said to have resided in the Qeweena place Garanye.[361] At first he was held in high esteem, but then his rule degenerated into an ever-increasing despotic kingship which incurred the hatred of his subjects, especially as he committed a serious sacrilege by indulging in meat which was regarded as impure according to the value concepts. To escape from the wrath of his outraged tribesmen, he is said to have eventually ridden north to Lake Awasa and never seen again. Thereafter his son Gogolaano, after whom the foremost clan of the Qabeena is named, acceded to the throne.

Although this narrative cannot be classified chronologically, it does not appear to be false to relate it to a historical event, namely the split of the Qeweena and exodus of a part of this group to the north. The migration apparently started from an area situated some distance north of the present Qeweena residences, in the territory of the Malgee-Sidaama. This can be concluded from the oral traditions of the Qeweena, which report that they did not cross the Loggita River to the south before the 18th century, and advanced to their present-day place of residence, at that time occupied by the Arsi-Oromo.[362]

360 D'ABBADIE (1890:110, 116, 223) employs the version Wanbe Hadiya. The name Qap na is only mentioned once (D'ABBADIE 1890: 245).
361 This myth was also recorded by JENSEN (n.d.: 33).
362 This tradition was also stated by STANLEY (n.d.: 43).

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As nomadic pastoralists the emigrants traversed the lowlands of Lake Awasa, followed the Bilate upstream and settled for a considerable time in imbaaro and southern Kambaata. In the vicinity of these groups, they relinquished the "Adaree" Semitic language which they had preserved in their almost two hundred year residency in Sidaamaland in favour of the imbaaro-Kambaata idiom. The linguistic identity with this group is still retained today, despite their later geographical separation.

At the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, the Qabeena left imbaaro territory and went in search of new pasturelands, reaching the country around Waachchamo (Hossäyna), then occupying Guna south of the Gurage Mountains. They could only dwell in this area for a few decades as around 1820 the Leemo began to penetrate, forcing the Qabeena to emigrate. Up to the Waachchamo stage, the Qabeena and Allaaba had migrated together and had almost coalesced into one ethnic group, but under the pressure from the external enemy, their final separation took place. The Allaaba went east to evade the Leemo invasion, at first towards W lbaräg; the history of this group will then be elaborated on in the next chapter. The Qabeena went north and moved along the western slope of the Mugo massif to Mafed, the border area between the Gurage tribes of the YäČärät and the nnämor. They remained there for a few years and then continued their migration through the land of the Eaha-Gurage via Rogda in the Gibe valley to Abäšge, not far from the present-day town of Wälqite. They then advanced northwards up to Ceka in the territory between Wäliso and Gädäbano. In this place, however, they were confronted with such fierce resistance on the part of the Soddo-Gurage (K stane), that they backtracked southwards again. Their last stage was the territory of Zenna-Bannär at the headwaters of the "Big Wabi" where, after successful struggles against the Gurage, they spread themselves out in their present-day settlement areas. The migration from imbaaro had lasted only a few decades, coming to an end with them establishing themselves in Zenna-Bannär around 1860.

From about 1870 the subjugation of the territories on the upper Gibe under abäša control became increasingly threatening. After an expedition dispatched by M nil k against Gurageland in 1875, which incidentally had more of the character of a plundering raid than a systematically organised campaign of conquest, the Qabeena preferred to voluntarily pay tributes to Šäwa and thus buy security against violent incursions. In this way, they were liable for tribute payments to the Šäwa-Amhara, as BIANCHI (1884: 288) touring around the territory in the 1880s reported, but they nevertheless succeeded in preserving a far-reaching de facto sovereignty before the outbreak of asan n3amo's "holy war".

During the migration from Mafed to Eaha, a branch from the main cluster of the Qabeena separated and went via Gasore to the north-west. Not far from the present-day town of Abälti they crossed the upper Gibe and asked the Sultan of 5 imma for permission to settle in one of the territories under his suzerainty which they were permitted to do. Thereupon, they occupied a narrow strip of land west of the mountains of Yäm between Abälti and Sa3a, today approximately thirty kilometres long,

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and became subjects of the 5 imma Sultanate from that time on. They were in charge of the military border security of this section and regularly paid tributes to their sovereign.[363] Through migration and intermarriage during the first half of the 19th century, many Qabeena settled in the territories of the East-Gurage and the Libidoo.

When the bulk of the Qabeena arrived at their present places of residence in the western part of Gurageland, they came across the rest of the Hadiyya immigrants who had reached this area in 16th century. These groups had meanwhile largely been assimilated by Oromo who had started infiltrating from the north-east from the 18th century onward. A particular tradition which MONDON-VIDAILHET (1902: 78) came across reported that the ancestors of the Qabeena under the command of a brother of A mad Grañ, ᶜAbd al- ddir or Ab 'l- ddir, had allegedly reached their present-day place of residence already during the "holy war". This could not be confirmed by any other data and became all the more dubious by the fact that the left-handed commander of ᶜAdal demonstrably had no brother of this name. Those people known as *Qaalluu* (priests) and *Shar f* (descendants of Prophet Mu ammad) from the clans of *adjdj aw* Nd ir, Fa ih Ab n and other groups claiming Arab descent, are today predominantly Oromo-speaking, although they make up also a certain percentage of the Qabeena. From the historical overall picture, it can be concluded that they were already Oromo-speaking when the bulk of the Qabeena immigrated in the 19th century. They were obviously conscious of the genealogical ties with the newcomers and established friendly relationships with them.[364]. Similarly, an ethnic symbiosis was also accomplished with the rest of the Gänz people who had been long established in this area. The linguistic and cultural differences between the autochthonous people and the immigrants of later periods were undoubtedly a serious obstacle for generating a common ethnicity. This barrier was, however, considerably reduced by the conscious awareness of their historical relationship and the legacy of their Islamic cultural traditions and value concepts.

The immigrating Qabeena were Muslims just like the Miskeen and the Gänz, but their commitment to the faith as well as their knowledge and mastering of the religious rules were obviously not very profound. The conditions for Islam were by no means favourable as the long established people of Hadiyya stock had for generations lived in the vicinity of the Gurage who were characterized by traits of a (more or less syncretistic) Orthodox Christianity and the newcomers, as agropastoralists, most likely showed little devotion to a sophisticated religious culture.

The Qabeena claimed to have carried out modest barley cultivation already during the period of their mobile life as semi-nomads. After their immigration into Gurageland they additionally adopted sorghum, coleus and taro as agricultural crops, but the final changeover from livestock keeping to tillage farming as their primary

363 This was reported by Qabeena informants, particularly Badru Obbiyyo and Nagaash Nuuruu, in 1973.

364 For example, the grandfathers of my informants of the 1970s are said to have maintained the habit of still praying in the name of the Hadiyya forefathers Hasana, Bukana and Biimaaddo thus documenting a common socio-religious and cultural base.

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economic pillar did not ensue before settling in Zenna-Bannär. Whereas before they possessed only small beehive shaped huts and cattle kraals as was customary for wandering herders in southern Ethiopia, in Gurageland they adopted the forms of settlement, basic patterns of material culture, agricultural techniques and crops of the neighbouring Wälane and Eaha.[365]

Although the penetration of the ideas represented by the Muslim world religion was not yet very pronounced in the middle of the 19th century, Islam was to rise to a historic medium in the years that followed. It indeed became a cultural agent which was to determine the historical fate of the Qabeena to a degree like no other Hadiya group. Their rise to a politically significant ethnic group and to protagonists of the conversion to Islam in Gurageland began after their settling down in Zenna-Bannär. A man named ᶜAli (Allee), head of the tribe holding the title *woma,* played a pivotal role in stimulating and expanding it. During the residency of the Qabeena in the vicinity of Cushitic-speaking peoples in Sidaama and Kämbata the institution of the Qabeen *garaad* (cf. p. 82) was replaced by that of the *woma*, the main features of which resembled a monarchical regime.[366] Up to the split of the Qabeena from the Allaaba in the Guna territory, both groups had a joint *woma.* Thereafter, this position remained with the Allaaba. The *woma* institution did not continue to exist for the Qabeena during their decade-long migrations in Gurageland. Around the middle of the 19th century, however, they could obviously no longer do without a united leadership and elected ᶜAli from the Ajaamo clan as *woma*, a group considered as particularly prestigious. No relevant details have been handed down about him.

Thereafter *im m* ᶜUmar Baksa succeeded as political head of the tribe and religious leader but without the traditional title *woma* being conferred upon him. Under this man, who himself was not a Qabeena but who had descended from the Mogumanna clan living among the Eaha-Gurage, an intensive Islamization campaign began amongst the people who had nominally been Muslim prior to this. According to the oral traditions, he had been a student of *shaikh* ᶜAli Danabba who had gained an eminent reputation within the Yaqoxib Eaha clan because of his erudition. ᶜAli Danabba was a thinker who pondered over philosophical questions and who felt he did not receive satisfactory explanations from his people's religious leaders in order to gratify his thirst for knowledge. He therefore went to W riro where Islamic missionaries and ur'an scholars with a higher educational level resided at that time. Their doctrinal teaching standards impressed him so much that he became an outstandingly zealous Muslim. In comparison to them, ᶜUmar Baksa was a pragmatically-oriented and power-obsessed man who knew how to exploit the reputation and charisma of such religious scholars to promote his own interests. Out of all the *shaikhs* whom he summoned to come from afar to Qabeenaland, the most famous

365 Information provided by Nagaash Nuuruu and other Qabeena informants in August 1973.

366 For details about this institution with regard to the Kambaata, cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: chap. 3.2.

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was Shihdb al-Din A mad Daaniyye, an adherent of the Kddiriyya brotherhood in Wällo.

The Muslims ᶜAli Danabba and ᶜUmar Baksa left their town Qallachcha in Eaha and joined the Qabeena. They both acquired such an influential position there that after the death of *woma* ᶜAli in Zenna-Bannär, ᶜUmar Baksa became entrusted with the leadership.

We owe to Antonio CECCHI, the Italian traveller who lingered in Moojer near Zenna-Bannär, the residency of ᶜUmar Baksa in July 1878, a revealing eye-witness report.[367] During the reign of the new *im m* the land developed into one of the most important trading centres between Šäwa and the south-western Ethiopian principalities, particularly 5 imma.

> "Muslim traders, adventurous fighters, dethroned rulers, deserters and murderers circulated about together from all sides in order to increase the population of the colony; they had also partly been lured there by splendid promises of land and cattle, offered to them by Omar Baxa."[368]

Thus the *im m* had created an immensely forceful army which constantly undertook plundering and slave raids, afflicting the surrounding region all with the purpose of increasing the power and wealth of his governance. In order to distract his nominal overlord King M nil , R from any intervention in Qabeena, he proposed a joint military expedition to Gurageland. In this campaign which took place in 1876 and resulted in a bloodbath, several thousand people in Eaha, Mu er, YäCärät and nnämor fell victim to it. Even the invasive Amhara are said to have lost 2-3,000 warriors in these raids.[369] Umar Baksa's vassal status did not prevent him from building fortifications in the north of Qabeena territory, hence in the direction of Šäwa.[370]

The data provided by BIANCHI (1884: 303 ff., 353) and CECCHI (1888: 82, 94) regarding the culture of the Qabeena was confirmed by our informants, the chief contents of which can be summarised in the following way.

The well-wooded territories west of the Big Wabi were at that time thinly populated and modestly tilled with sorghum, barley and wheat. By contrast, the Moojer-Zenna-Bannär settlement area consisted of several hundred houses on the east bank of the river and was characterised by plantations of nsät, cabbage gardens and numerous cattle herds. The European observers were full of admiration for the building style of the farmsteads [obviously corresponding generally to those of today in Gurageland]. Some of the houses, which in principle did not differ from the others outwardly, served as mosques in which the faithful performed their prayers and

367 CECCHI 1888: 83ff. In 1879/80 BIANCHI (1887: 284) also reached this area. His report, however, is less fruitful historically and ethnographically. The linguistic and ethnic differentiation of the Qabeena from the Gurage was known to him.

368 CECCHI 1888: 85 (our translation of the text from the German edition).

369 This estimation was done by CECCHI (1888: 96).

370 BIANCHI 1884: 339.

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songs. The religious ceremonies were usually accompanied by drum sounds. They also acted as schools [as partly today] in which ur'an scholars from different regions of Ethiopia taught a number of boys. ᶜUmar Baksa commanded that all Qabeena boys between the age of six and seven should get religious instruction. The diffusion of Islam belonged to one of the declared aims of his politics and the weekly market in Moojer, alongside its commercial and economic purposes, also served as a missionary centre, where many hundreds of people who came together from the surrounds were regularly exposed to religious propaganda. The women traded, just as today, primarily with foodstuffs, drinks and tobacco, nsät, cereals, butter, eggs, chickens and handicraft products like, for example, strings out of twisted nsät fibres. The men brought cattle, sheep, horses, coffee, dried skins and ivory to the market. Moreover, Qabeena was one of the most important markets for slaves who were sourced from Gurage, Kämbata, Yäm and the territories further to the south up to the Sudanese border. Roughly 400 individuals are said to have been driven every year to Šäwa via Moojer.[371] Bars of rock salt (*amole*), glass beads and copper ingots *(natter*) which weighed 432 grams and corresponded to two Maria Theresa thalers served as the most common units of currency. PAULITSCHKE (1893: 330) learnt on his journey in eastern Ethiopia about the price ratios in Qabeena namely that a slave boy one metre tall was equivalent to 20 *natter*, a girl of the same height to 13 – 15, a 12 to 16 year old male to 26 – 28, and a young woman was equivalent to 25 – 40 *natter*.

The men's clothing consisted of red and blue cotton fabric, that of the women of animal skins which were still customary in this region until a few decades ago.[372] As weapons the poor men carried lances which were tipped with a sharp pebble, whereas those of the wealthier warriors had iron lanceheads. Moreover, they were equipped with slashers and the type of shield adopted from the western Oromo. Informants recorded that iron tools at this time were mostly traded from 5 imma. A number of blacksmiths who had emigrated from neighbouring regions had obtained the know-how to extract iron ore from the rocks in the gorge of the Karry River or to further process the raw material from 5 imma.

CECCHI's observations additionally explain the geographical position and demography of the Qabeena territory in the last third of the 19th century:

> "Kabiena is a sort of basin whose form is lengthened in the direction from the east to the west; it is interrupted by insignificant hills and has abundant water which comes partly from the Abso highland, partly from the last spur of the Soddo highland plateau and gushes into both rivers encircling Qabeena, the Uabi and Keribe. Its boundaries in the north are the course of the Uabi and the land of the Demekasch, in the west the territory of Gerbadja and the con-

371 CECCHI 1888: 94. Cf. also BIANCHI 1884: 263, 485f.

372 In parts of Arsiland leather clothes made of cowhide were still widespread in the 1970s, but they were no longer worn by Gurage, Hadiyya, Wälaytta and most other ethnic groups of central-southern Ethiopia.

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> fluence of the Uabi and Keribe, in the east the land of the Abso and the Gedellel and in the south the Keribe. It is situated roughly 2169 m above sea level and has a population of 56.000 inhabitants, and together with the Abso and Gedellel, who had been subordinated in the recent wars, could arm 2000 horsemen and 4000 foot soldiers in order to fight against the Gurage."[373]

The travellers in the second half of the 19th century were repeatedly inclined to give seemingly exact figures on the population in the territories described by them. However, it remains largely dubious how these figures were ascertained in the course of their relatively short stays. The figures can thus only be regarded as more or less rough estimates.

Not long after Cecchi's sojourn (July 1878), the disempowerment of ᶜUmar Baksa and the assumption of governance by asan n3amo ensued, presumably in the year 1880.[374] According to the oral traditions, ᶜUmar had become proud and arrogant, a fact that the Italian travellers also noted, and as a result incurred such indignation on the part of his people that he was eventually expelled. Evidently, inspired by the examples of Yäm and Käfa, he is supposed to have aimed at a sort of divine kingship for himself. When he then informed his subjects that he no longer wanted to talk to them face to face and in the palace they were to speak through a bamboo reed, the Qabeena tolerance limit with regard to the arrogance of the chosen leader had been transgressed. ᶜUmar Baksa migrated with his followers to neighbouring Mokorkor and then settled in Eaha, his land of origin, where he lived in seclusion trying to mediate peace between the Eaha and the Qabeena. At the age of almost one hundred years he is supposed to have died in 1910, surviving his successor asan n3amo by two decades. Whether his old liegeman and adviser ᶜAli Danabba, who died in Wälane shortly after asan n3amo's accession to the throne, was expelled together with ᶜUmar Baksa out of Qabeena, was no longer known by the informants.

How far asan himself through intrigues and power struggles contributed to the casting out of his predecessor also remains uncertain, although Cecchi's report leaves no doubt as to the blatant rivalry between the two of them. asan, the son of an influential follower of the *im m* ᶜUmar, was anyway the designated candidate for the succession[375] and earned great respect as a successful war commander. When the "holy war" broke out, ᶜUmar Baksa became active once more on the side of the Qabeena (cf. chap. 3.6.1).

Like his predecessor, asan n3amo was not a Qabeena from descent and originated from the Dulaa tribe, a widespread Hadiyya-Oromo mixed group in Gurageland who were famous for their military capability. asan n3amo agreed on

373 CECCHI 1888: 94 (our translation from the German text).

374 TRIMINGHAM (1965: 183) identifies the year as 1878. BIANCHI, however, who undertook his journey in 1879/80, still mentioned ᶜUmar Baksa as ruler of the Qabeena. SHACK (1966: 20) evidently assumed TRIMINGHAM's error.

375 This was stated by CECCHI 1888: 85.

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being bestowed with the leadership title *woma,* which his family retained after his disempowerment, and assumed the traditional symbol of respect, the bangle called *maha*. His first challenge was to fight against the "Seven Houses of Gurage" (*Säbat Bet Gurage*) who had possibly been incited by ᶜUmar Baksa to attack the Qabeena as revenge for having been expelled. asan continued an aggressive territorial policy in alignment with that of his predecessor's politics, and as a fanatical Muslim pursued a militant Islamization all over Gurageland. The Mu er and Mäsqan, who had lived in the Christian cultural tradition since ancient times, reported on an Islamization campaign which apparently awakened memories of the time of A mad Grañ:

> "The churches were destroyed. The people had no other choice because if they did not want to get killed they had to flee or convert to Islam".[376]

The government of asan n3amo lasted eight years. In an unrealistic estimation of the strength of his people he then rescinded the tribute to M nil k and proclaimed a "holy war" against the Christians of the Šäwa kingdom. In 1888/9 with his defeat and escape, the hegemony of the Qabeena in Gurageland collapsed.[377]

3.5.2 The Allaaba

Over a long period of time the history of the Allaaba was intimately connected with that of the Qabeena. As far as the parentage of most of their clans and their language are concerned, the original unity remains plainly discernible up to today. Genealogically, the Allaaba are comprised of three groups: the asan-Allaaba, the Buchch-Allaaba and the Naasirro.

Before the Grañ Wars, the Allaaba had resided in the eastern part of the area today inhabited by the Arsi, particularly in Guna (Arba-Gugu) and in the territory of Shirka. During the course of the *dih d*, they relocated their residency southwards to Gädäb and a part of their people joined the migration movement which took part at the time of *am r* N r and moved to the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains (cf. chap. 3.3.4). Ethnically and culturally they differed very little from the Hadiyya of the East-Gurage group whose language they had also spoken until their time in imbaaro. Politically, however, they underwent a more and more independent development. This becomes evident from the travelogue of António Fernandes who traversed the small Islamic principality of Allaaba at the beginning of the 17th century. Its ruler Alico is referred to by the Portuguese traveller, and in the oral traditions he is mentioned as a son of *adjdj* Aliye, the forefather of numerous East-Gurage groups.[378] Through the identification of the location east of Kämbata, it is without doubt that this territory was situated in the same area at the mid-Bilate Riv-

376 Information received from the Orthodox Christian Mäqan priest, Alamo Qeeda in 1973.
377 I owe thanks to Nagaash Nuuruu for most of this information.
378 FERNANDES (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD 1954: 162-71). These data are supported by the genealogies I recorded among the East-Gurage (cf. also chap. 3.5.3).

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er, where the Allaaba people live today. One tended originally to define the earlier inhabitants of the country as Uull-Allaaba (derived from the Hadiyya-Allaaba word *uulla* = land) and thereby to distinguish them from later immigrants. However, the intermixing has in the meanwhile advanced so much that a differentiation is virtually no longer possible. A muddled picture arises moreover from the fact that simultaneously also the name Buchch-Allaaba is used for the old established people. In the context of the oral traditions, the ancestor Buchche was seen as the legendary forefather pigmented darkly like earth similar to Bushshe in Sidaama. Immigrants from Sidaamaland reached Allaaba at a considerably later stage (cf. below). Buukaanna is seen as one of the most important progenitors of this group.

The migration traditions of the entire ethnic group were intermingled with the ones of those factions who penetrated into this area more than two hundred years later, the ancestors of the so-called asan-Allaaba. The majority of the people had not joined the migration movement to the west in the 16th century and stayed behind in Gädäb. The centre of the Allaaba settlement area was the territory between Dodola and the headwaters of the Wabi Šäbälle, which the Arsi-Oromo still call Allaaba today,[379] and where numerous clan names testify to the former presence of this group. Setting off from Gädäb one part of the Allaaba moved to Malgee in the northern Sidaama highlands. The Qabeena who migrated with them penetrated further south.

This took place just at the time when the Malde'a group, who were closely related to the Allaaba, fused with the Bushshe people and thus formed the Sidaama people. Together with the Qabeena, the Allaaba made a considerable contribution to this ethnogenesis, and the clans descending from them are, for the most part, still identifiable as such. The Sidaama remained distinctly aware of the genealogical and historical affinity with the inhabitants of the land of Kaase, which is their name for the Allaaba territory on the Bilate.

asan, after whom the asan-Allaaba are called, was a leading figure of this group who lived approximately 13 generations before my recording of these oral traditions in the 1970s, i.e. around 1600. His grave is said to be located in Malgee.[380] Also the descendants of Buukaanna, who trace their origin back to another line of the common progenitor Allaabo (Hallaabo), are included in the faction of the asan-Allaaba. In the vicinity of Malgee, a further section of the Proto-Allaaba broke away and agreed to an ethnic alliance with the Oromo-speaking Gu33i. The northern Gu33i, who call themselves Haalloo, are mostly called Alabdu or Aladdu by their neighbours, and also Alabatta (sing. Alabichcho) by the Gide'o,[381] a fact which is based on their merging with the Allaaba. This new group established itself north of Sidaamaland. In the 19th century they had still stayed near the Leephisi river, but

379 This fact was evidently also known by HARRIS (1844, I, map), as on his map a territory called Allaaba is drawn in the south of the territory of the Ittuu-Oromo.

380 MORENO (1941: 52) referred to a date around 1700 for the stay of the asan-Allaaba in Malgee.

381 HABERLAND 1963a: 274. The Gu33i themselves do not like this name.

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then ceded this area to the advancing Arsi and occupied their present domiciles between Lake Abbayya and the land of the Gide'o.[382]

A migration of Allaaba groups out of Sidaamaland to the north started in the first third of the 18th century and was possibly triggered by their southern neighbours, the Qabeena. In the lowlands of the Rift Valley, east of the Bilate, they encountered for the first time groups of the Arsi-Hadiyya who had expanded their grazing areas westwards. Possibly because of rivalries over land, the Allaaba moved forward to Ilgiira south of the Kämbata Mountains and utilized the pasture grounds of this region with their herds approximately two generations long. During this time they are said to have adopted the Cushitic language of the neighbouring imbaaro (cf. p. 166). For unknown reasons they left this area and reached the territory of Waachchamo (Hossäyna) around 1790.[383] In this territory, triggered by the intrusion of the Leemo, the separation of the Allaaba from the Qabeena took place. The last-mentioned turned north in the direction of Gurageland and experienced the already described historical development of their own. An Allaaba tradition preserved the details of their expulsion out of the territory named Guna:

> The Leemo came to the north-east in search of new pasture grounds. They were strong and the coexistence of the Allaaba side by side with them was full of tenseness. The Allaaba warrior Šinko, son of the war commander Lilaato, came into conflict with the Leemo man Satamo and killed him. Consequently, the Leemo threatened war and demanded blood money from the Allaaba. They paid 100 head of cattle in order to keep the peace. The same number was demanded from them the following year and the year after that. In the fourth year, the Allaaba refused to pay the tribute. Instead, they were determined to withstand the antagonist with armed force. When one day however, a young girl cooked cabbage and in the evening hour the pot gave off audible hissing noises, the Allaaba thought they heard war sounds from the approaching enemy. Full of fright, they left the land: the Qabeena went northward and the Allaaba eastward.
>
> (According to ᶜUthmdn Sixamo, Ibrdhim Affuuso and Kalto Geeraaro).

The actual reason for their retreat was that they were obviously frightened in the face of a contingent of several hundred Leemo horsemen and therefore moved back. Small numbers of Allaaba stayed behind in the territory of Guna and were subsequently assimilated by the Leemo. They specialised in the manufacture of saddles and bridles whereby they did not completely forfeit their status as freeborn citizens (*Wolaaba*). Because of their activity, however, they were regarded with contempt and shifted towards the endogamous caste of tanners and leather workers.

After their retreat, which took place between 1810 and 1820, the Allaaba oriented themselves towards Yeederek in W lbaräg where they were thought to have

382 These historical processes were documented by HABERLAND (1963a: 276).
383 This dating of MORENO (1941: 52) is supported by the genealogical information I recorded.

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resided for not longer than ten years. Initially, they were welcomed as allies by the East-Gurage in the fight against the Leemo. But soon the W lbaräg realized that in the long term the Allaaba could grow into a new and dangerous rival and compelled the displaced people to leave their territory. Starting out from Yeederek, the Allaaba went south-east at first and in the Arsi lowlands they assimilated into their tribe a group of Sha'amanna, whose descendants later gained a significant socio-political position. After by-passing the territory of the Shaashoogo, the Allaaba then went further south and affiliated themselves with their tribal kinsmen in Leenda and Qolito at the middle Bilate, who, it was said, cordially accepted them. This territory was the last stage of a long migration and there the process of Allaaba ethnogenesis was finally completed. It remains uncertain whether the old-established Uull-Allaaba at that time still spoke the Semitic language of the closely related East-Gurage and only through the arrival of the newcomers adopted the Cushitic idiom, or had already before as neighbours of the Kambaata, taken on this language.[384]

From the overall historical context it can be concluded that the Sidee, the leading clan of the Allaaba from that time on, had first linked up with them in imbaaro. However, like most of the assimilated people who joined the tribal association at different times, they took over the migratory traditions of the asan faction. Here, there is a particularly succinct revelation as to the way the traditions of an ethnic unit, composed by heterogeneous elements, was inclined to standardise a common denominator, which is basically determined by the numerically and culturally predominant group.

As has already been pointed out (cf. chap. 3.3.4), the Sidee returned to their fellow tribesmen of that earlier migration wave who had reached eastern Gurageland from the area between the Cärcär Range and Shirka at the time of *am r* N r b. Mudjdhid and who had largely been dispersed in the wars against the abäša led by Mär ä D ng l and Sus nyos. Just as they had once acquired a leading position among the autochthonous inhabitants of Gurage – they became known under the names Ajaamo and Mogumanna there – so they later succeeded in gaining a politically decisive role among the Allaaba and Qabeena. Approximately eight generations before (the 1970s), still during the stage from Ilgiira to imbaaro, Dilaapa, a member of the Sidee clan, who first adopted the titel *woma* (*wom*) and thereby prepared the ground for a dynastic institution, joined the Allaaba. From that time on, the Sidee were in the habit of differentiating themselves from the "ordinary" Allaaba with the collective term Ajer(e). Doubts as to the chronological coincidence of the counting of generations up to Dilaapa and the stay of the Allaaba in the territory of imbaaro around the middle of the 18th century can be ruled out. Among the Allaaba groups in Sidaama, there are no genealogical traces of the Sidee, which provides an

384 D'ABBADIE (1890: 179) concluded from his informants that the Allaaba are supposed to have spoken the language of the W lbaräg. This seems very uncertain to me for the Allaaba proper at the end of the 19th century. Many Allaaba clans albeit lived among the East-Gurage (cf. chap. 3.5.3).

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additional indication that they were first integrated during a stage further to the north.

What is not known is why they linked up with another group when they were such a considerable distance from their own scattered domiciles in Gurageland, and why they spontaneously succeeded in rising to a prominent position among the Allaaba. Here too, a popular aetiological legend has concocted an explanation which corresponds in the details with the story demonstrated earlier in connection with the Hadiyya hero Booyyaamo. As the personification of his group, the progenitor Sidee, who lived several generations before (cf. chap. 3.4.5), appeared in person sitting in a tree and was induced to come down by the Allaaba, who promised to bestow the dignity of a *woma* upon him. Ultimately, one can only explain the hegemony of the Sidee clan on the basis of their claim to *sharific* descent, thereby being regarded as people of exceptional prestige in a Muslim society. Because Daarimu was considered a brother or cousin of Sidee, his descendants among the Allaaba, Qabeena and East-Gurage enjoyed equally high esteem. In order to differentiate them from the rest of the Allaaba, the Sidee and Daarimu were named Naasiro after a common ancestor.[385]

Because during this period the transition from the Semitic to the Cushitic language was accomplished, it can be assumed that also in the socio-political sphere influences from the imbaaro and Kambaata were transferred to the Allaaba. The *woma* title and the institutional framework associated with it, appears to be a distinct loan from those groups living under a monarchical form of government. A kingdom, however, in the nomadic society of the Allaaba could hardly develop in the sophisticated way as it had done in a more hierarchically structured peasant culture. The position of the *woma* stayed that of a leader of the people with a relatively restricted powerbase which lacked most of the characteristic attributes of the "divine kingship" of the Kambaata and the Omotic-speaking peoples. After the separation from the Qabeena, the Sidee line of Dilaapa stayed with the Allaaba, whereas among the Qabeena the related clan of the Ajaamo received the position of the *woma*. In the second half of the 19th century, Nuunade from the Sidee clan was the political leader in Allaaba. He died a few years before the Amharic conquest; that was around 1885. He carried the title *im m* which is an indication pointing to a socio-cultural transition in a way that the then progressing (re-)Islamization started eclipsing the traditional *woma* institution. Nuunade was buried in a cubic stone tomb which still existed in Qolito at the end of the 20th century.

In their dwelling-places at the middle Bilate, the Allaaba had to make a stand against the Baadawwaachcho, Shaashoogo and Arsi in repeated outbreaks of fights over pasture grounds. With the peace-loving Kambaata agriculturalists, by contrast,

385 As already mentioned, Daarimu is also the name for one of the sectors in the dual-system of the southern Gu33i-Oromo (HABERLAND 1963a: 378 f., *passim*), while the designation for the other half, Kontoma, corresponds to a Gurage name for the Hadiyya on the one hand and to the word "common person" in the language of the Hadiyya proper. A correlation of whatever kind is to be disregarded.

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they mostly lived side by side in a kind of economic symbiosis. During the first half of the 19th century, the territory of the Allaaba still extended into the Ilgiira region, thus in that area south of the Kämbata Mountains where the asan faction had stationed themselves for some years after their exodus from Sidaama. At that time, a part of the migratory group had decided to stay there. On the northern boundary of present-day Wälaytta the name Azobaada, a synonym for the district Leera, was reminiscent of one of their clans. Through the expansion of the Wälaytta kingdom, the Baadawwaachcho were gradually pushed northwards. As a consequence, they themselves put pressure on their northern neighbours and ousted the Allaaba from their dwelling places west of the Bilate. They could keep only a small beachhead beyond the river in the second half of the 20th century as the Baadawwaachcho, in their struggle for existence against the overly powerful Wälaytta, had to concentrate their strength in the south. During the civil war at the time of Iyasu (1916), the Allaaba also lost most of this territory to the Baadawwaachcho (cf. chap. 3.7.3).

In a gradual and unspectacular process of extending their territory of settlement, which proceeded largely peacefully, Kambaata farmers from approximately 1850 onwards occupied the territory of Mt. Daato. This area had served the Allaaba before as pasture ground. Although the leader of the Allaaba was related by marriage to the Kambaata king, Dilbato (c. 1850-90), this monarch pursued a shrewd expansion policy in his densely populated state with regard to the agropastoralists.[386] The Allaaba proved to be unable to decisively oppose the advance of the land-hungry agriculturalists and they hardly resisted when the still remaining herders were forcibly expelled from the grazing land of Mt. Daato shortly before 1890.

The Allaaba were enemies of their eastern neighbours, the Arsi.[387] Nevertheless just before the abäša conquest they formed an alliance with them which was sealed by the *lallaba* ceremony, but which ultimately broke down during the Ethiopian civil war in 1916. The borders to Shaashoogo remained relatively stable and the conflicts of the Allaaba with this group were mostly confined to cattle theft and lesser skirmishes.

As with most of the Hadiyya groups, the Allaaba also witnessed the repression of established Islam as time went on. Due to their isolation from the Muslim centres and intensive contacts with adherents of the Cushitic folk religions, only rudiments of Islam had survived. The report by António FERNANDES reveals that the Uull-Allaaba in the area east of Kämbata were still Muslim at the beginning of the 17th century.[388] Increasingly more forms of syncretism evolved, and within those survivals, reminiscent of a formalist Islam, only certain features still persisted such as fasting (*soomano*), the ritual way of slaughtering, and certain practices in the life cycle. On the map drawn up by M. LEGRAND (1728) based on information provided by the

386 For detailed information regarding the expansion policy of the Kambaata king Dilbato cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983, chap. 2.7.

387 This was also recorded by D'ABBADIE (1890: 186).

388 See DE ALMEIDA (BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD) 1954: 166.

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Portuguese Jesuit, Jerónimo Lobo, the Allaaba appear with the comment "Roy.e de Payens" (kingdom of pagans).

During the second half of the 19th century, a campaign of re-Islamization began in the territory of Qolito which was carried out by foreign missionaries.[389] *Shaikh* Wole came to Allaaba from Ifat on the eastern escarpment of the Šäwa Mountains RT , , T . T. He did not stay there long, however, choosing to return to the land of the East-Gurage. The missionary activities of the *shaikh* anna (Khana), who originated from Bale and claimed ancestry from the line of the famous N r usayn, were more significant. He is said to have shown the Allaaba, about whose genealogies he had thoroughly informed himself, an old book during his sermon held on Mt. Daato west of the Bilate River. It had allegedly been written in this book that their ancestors were Muslims and that important protagonists, like asan and Sidee, were among them who had rendered outstanding service to the Islamic religion. Using great powers of persuasion, he requested them to revert to the faith of their fathers. Consequently, the Allaaba converted virtually en bloc to Islam. *Shaikh* anna's missionary activities from approximately 1850 until the time of the conquest of the territory by the Amhara included the founding of ur'anic schools which created a permanent institutional base for Islam, and pilgrimages to Shaikh usayn which are also supposed to have been encouraged by him. He died in the present-day territory of the Allaaba west of the Bilate and was buried on Mt. Daato, the favourite site for his religious work. Additional Islamic impulses emanated in the 1880s from asan n3amo, whose fanatic commitment to the religion notably impressed the people living in this region.

Alongside the religious transition came an economic one, which was said to have been primarily triggered by the initiative of *im m* Nuunade approximately since the 1880s. From Wälaytta, where he had established close kinship bonds, he encouraged the introduction of maize, white and red millet, taro, coleus and cotton and from Kämbata the cultivation of nsät was adopted which did not find favourable climatic conditions in Allaaba, however, as it is mostly situated in *Q*^{w}*älla* areas of roughly 1800 metres above sea level. These innovations seemed at first dreadful to conservative-minded people and were frequently objected to with arguments typical for nomadic herdsmen, namely that the cultivated crops would clearly destroy the grass for the cattle as well as upset the balance of nature. It was to take decades before crop cultivation was to become a common habit among the Allaaba.

Qolito, because of its favourable accessibility at the Bilate crossing and at the foot of the Kämbata Mountains, developed into a political and economic centre. Already before the advent of the new Allaaba immigrants from Guna it had been an important market town for the whole region. Here intensive trading activities took place between the nomads of the lowlands involving in addition to the Allaaba also the Baadawwaachcho, Shaashoogo and Arsi, and the Kambaata farmers of the highlands. They were of vital interest for both partners. In exchange for the products of

389 Information given by the Allaaba Ibrdhim Affuuso in Qolito 1973.

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the livestock-keepers, cattle, sheep and goats, meat and butter, the highland farmers brought barley, nsät, horses as well as the goods made by the castes of craftspeople living among them, particularly leather objects and pottery.

Qolito was also attached to one of the biggest caravan routes in southern Ethiopia through which salt was transported from El-Käre in the Ogaadeen via Robee in Bale and Kofale right up to Wälaytta. This trading network was still functioning during the first decades of the 20th century. As payment and return freight the traders accepted the sought after cotton goods of this region. To a lesser degree, the Arsi also knew how to extract salt from the brackish water of Lake Shaala which, as a rule, was used for animal feed. Only towards the end of the 19th century when human trafficking began to gain in importance and grow in scale did Qolito become a significant market for slaves coming from Wälaytta and going in the direction of Šäwa. Prior to this, Gurage traders were occasionally involved in trafficking captured people, but in the opposite direction, i. e., southwards in the slave-holding kingdoms of Wälaytta and Dawro. As a means of payment bent iron bars (*marca* or *marco*) or metal pieces imported from Mäsqan were commonly accepted, for which the bigger category was known as *dirimma* and the smaller one *xalfa*. Pack oxen (*hoggabi booratta*) were commonly used as a means of transport customary also among the nomadic Hadiyya and Arsi until the big *rinderpest* of the 1890s.

The trade route from the western edge of the Rift Valley running north to south also went through Allaaba. However, according to the information that HARRIS (1845/46: 158) received, it was said to be insecure and precarious. The very same traveller (HARRIS 1845/46: 158), who had never personally been there, also mentioned that the "Allaaba-Galla" were ruled by a king, which is in blatant contradiction to everything in the oral traditions regarding their political organisation at that time. It can in fact be concluded that the existence of the title *woma* was by no means evidence for a monarchical system. CECCHI (1888: 124), who a few decades later collected some ethnographic data on the Allaaba from a nearer geographical distance, is closer to reality when he described the *abbaa dulaa* (Oromo word for "war leader") as the main representative of institutionalized political authority. Indeed, the chosen military commanders had such importance at the centre of public life, that they were later deemed by the abäša conquerors to be – and not only here – the virtual leader of the people.

3.5.3 The East-Gurage

The Qabeena and a large section of the Allaaba concluded their final ethnogenesis but not before they had reached their present-day domiciles after a sequence of turbulent migrations. By contrast, the East-Gurage[390] remained settled in the same

390 As already indicated, BUSTORF (2011: 73ff.) no longer employs the ethnic term "East-Gurage Z TRT ´T ZT T, named after their major group, which also became eponymous for the administrative unit, the *d i w* . I am aware of the problem of the term East-Gurage, but I want to maintain its use from the "Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens" of

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territory from the time of their immigration in the second half of the 16th century. Despite territorial modifications which have become apparent since then on a relatively small scale, the political and ethnic situation has remained largely stable. Owing to the fact that from the beginning they practiced a mixed economy with a marked predominance of cultivation as opposed to livestock breeding – their traditional know-how of farming, already evident in Cärcär and Shirka, was brought across to their new home – they showed a tendency towards a sedentary peasant life which was unfamiliar to the semi-nomadic Hadiyya. The orientation towards being rooted to the soil was strengthened through their co-mingling with the autochthonous Gurage, from whom they adopted the cultivation of nsät as the most important staple food. The cultivation of this plant allowed a considerable concentration of population in a comparatively small pocket of land.

A sedentary life and a particular cultural specialization were the decisive prerequisites enabling the East-Gurage not to undergo any language transition. In fact, they were the only representatives of the ancient Hadiyya cluster who remained members of the Semitic language group even though, together with the rest of the Gurage, from the 17th century they were completely surrounded by Cushitic-speaking peoples after the Oromo penetration into the territory of the upper Gibe.

The ancestors of the East-Gurage could nevertheless only assert their ethnic and linguistic identity in their places of residence on the western edge of the Rift Valley, whereas in Muneessa, their second settlement area east of Lake Langano, it took five or six generations until they became finally assimilated by the Arsi. The Adaree clans living there were aware of having the same origins as the East-Gurage and kept this conscious awareness alive to the extent that the rules of exogamy forbade intermarriage with their tribal kinsmen from the west in the 1970s still.[391] These traditional rules, at least as far as standardised behaviour was concerned, were obviously neither challenged and modified by the fact that they are not in conformity with the Muslim marriage regulations nor by the difference exemplified by the Arsi-Adaree and the East-Gurage in culture and language. The consciousness of a common origin and inter-ethnic relationship is further clear-cut in that the name Adaare was equally used by the Oromo for the East-Gurage, the respective clans of the Arsi and the Harari. A former interrelated settlement area of this group extending from the Gurage Mountains right up to Muneessa can be ruled out, however, because the lowland zones were unsuitable for their culture core, intensive agriculture. It can moreover be stated that the *Q*^{w}*älla* areas of the Rift Valley lying in between had apparently been utilised already since the 16th century by the Libidoo-Hadiyya as permanent pasture grounds (cf. chap. 3.5.4). The Adaare clans of the Arsi, who are settled in the vicinity of Lake Shaala, demonstrably drifted down only around five or

1980. By their southern neighbours in Hadiyyaland they were usually called "[the] Islam".

391 This was confirmed to me, for example, by the Arsi-Adaree informant Homfarro Waaqo in Qarsaa 1973.

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six generations before (the 1970s) from the eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley and thus do not constitute a territorial link between Muneessa and East-Gurage.[392]

The old-established Gurage liked to collectively call those who had penetrated from the east at the time of *am r* N r the "Adea". The territory of this name which is marked on the map by DE ALMEIDA (1642) north of Kämbata corresponds exactly with that of the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya. On LUDOLPH's map of 1682, however, Adea appears south of Kämbata where Hadiyya groups in fact lived, and yet the whole disposition of the territories indicate that a mistake has been made. Kämbata itself has been plotted too far north. This former stronghold of Christianity in the south was nominally aligned with the Ethiopian Empire and the governor (*šum*) of Kämbata, according to LUDOLPH (1682: 233) also held the title "King of Hadiyya". This expressed possibly more an entitlement rather than a political reality as the position of power of the Christian state had de facto long since broken down in this territory towards the end of the 17th century. Some decades later, on the map by LEGRAND (1728) there is principally the same arrangement of territories as composed by LUDOLPH. On the other hand, the "R.me Adea", the kingdom south of Kämbata is annotated with the comment "whose inhabitants are called Seb-a Hadya from where some have done evil with regard to the false Kingdom."[393]

The following interpretation can be linked to the formulation "seba Hadiyya". It was a federation made up of the seven groups; seba(t) means "seven" in several Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The names of the groups who belonged to the federation are not mentioned, but the oral traditions and recent ethnic situation provide information about them. The seven main East-Gurage groups, in the late 20th century TRT TV , T T. Vgg T T , TV , ZT ´T T W lbaräg, Azärnät, Bärbäre, W riro, Wälane and Gädäbano. Apparently, they hardly appeared as a rigid corporate community and, from the very beginning, they mostly pursued their individual interests.[394] In the 19th century, the Wälane, W riro and Gädäbano became a constituent part of "seven houses Gurage" (alongside the Eaha, Eža, Mu er, YäCärät, nnämor and Aklil),[395] whereas the rest of the tribes joined the Gogot(a), a "Federation" to which also the largely Christian Masqän were affiliated.[396] This division into two clusters was largely geographically determined. The ethnic units of Hadiyya origin in their mountainous habitat in northern Gurageland, the Wälane, W riro and Gädäbano, also known as the Ennanna groups ("Higher Hadiyya") in

392 The traditions of the East-Gurage, the Arsi-Oromo and the Libidoo basically agree with each other over this conclusion.

393 LEGRAND 1728, map. This information appears muddled and somewhat abstruse.

394 nnäqor was also occasionally specified as an ethnos (see e.g. HABERLAND 1963a: 157). According to the statements by my informants it is merely a countryside description, something like "good land of our mother".

395 SHACK (1969:4) provided the following list: Eaha, Eža, Geto, Mu er, nnämor, Aklil, Wälane-W riro. Occasionally the Gumär and Mokorkor were mentioned to me as independent groups within the"seven houses".

396 The term Gogot R, ´T . P PT , R ´T i means "alliance for waging war between ethnic groups" (MEYER 2005: 828f.). The composition obviously changed at times.

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contrast to Womba (,"Lower Hadiyya", i.e. the Qabeena), politically and culturally exhibited a strong orientation towards the neighbouring West- PT á´T T W lbaräg, Azärnät and Bärbäre, who were orientated southwards, sought amicable relations with the Allaaba, who went after an alliance with the Gogot Federation. They found allies also in the Mäsqan, a people strongly mixed with East-Gurage with whom they shared the common objective to expand from their increasingly cramped living space and head towards the adjoining lowland areas thinly inhabited by Libidoo, Shaashoogo and Arsi agropastoralists.

A further group which had noteworthy political influence and lived scattered in East-Gurage, in Qabeena and Aymälläl-K stane – for example asan n3amo and *im m* Gomfamo, a famous leader of the Azärnät-Bärbäre originated from them – were the Dulaa. The oral traditions of the region report that they had originated from a mixture of Tuulama-Oromo, Libidoo-Hadiyya and members of the *sharific* family of asan Barkalle from Somalia at the end of the 16th century. Despite their strong Oromo substrate they consider themselves in their ethnic self-consciousness primarily as Hadiyya. Since the 18th century they had mainly been aligned to the East-Gurage.

The Hadiyya in eastern Gurageland came into contact with the Amhara from Šäwa relatively early in the 19th T. g w . P M´ M T´ V T ´TV ´T T - tory of the Aymälläl-K stane during a military campaign in approximately 1840[397] and in order to establish a political coalition with an indigenous prince of the area, he asked permission to marry a girl from the ruler's family. As the prince had at this time no marriageable daughter, under a pledge of secrecy he sent a virginal gentle- , . R, T to him, ´, ´T´ V . TV , g´ TR , M´ M T she masqueraded as the daughter of the K stane prince. *Ras* Darge resulted from the marriage betweT. M´ T and this woman, *wäyzäro* Wuriga. After the Am- ´ , , . ´T T , TR g dTV ´ . ´ , . . T , . . V - pealed to Darge's powerful and influential grandson, *ras* KaKa aylu, wanting to secure his support during the interethnic conflicts of the region. KaKa and his descendants have always been frank about their "Gurage" origin from the maternal line.[398]

T , . V T , . T . P , ´T T ZT TT. ´T T and the aristocracy of Šäwa[399] named *azma* Kalbo as the father of Wuriga from the specified group of the East-Gurage. A trader by the name of Balco, who travelled around between Šäwa and Gurageland , TV , ´ T , VM´ T Z, ´TZT g , R ´T T

397 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 535) even reported that the Šäwa king advanced right up to "Adiyd", which, as argued above, was a denomination for the area of East-Gurage.

398 It was not an unusual occurrence for the Ethiopian aristocracy to marry Gurage women of high-ranking status. LÉONTIEFF (1900: 107) commented this practice as follows: "The [Gurage] women are of extraordinary beauty, and it has been a custom from ancient time among the Abyssinian aristocracy to look there for spouses". (Our translation from French).

399 ASFA-WOSSEN ASSERATE 1980: 130. I thank this author also for personal communications about these relations.

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girl. Consequently, the king sent the trader to *azma* Kalbo with presents, gold and valuable robes, who then willingly agreed to the marriage of his daughter. *Wäyzäro* Wuriga was brought to Šäwa and after her Christianization she was married to Mḥlä S llase. Darge was the legitimate offspring from this marriage.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the East-Gurage began to spread out in the lower locations of nnäqor, which the Leemo, pushing south-west, had partly vacated. The emigration of the Leemo – therein all the traditions agree – did not occur due to the pressure of the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya. It obviously had to do with leaving the territory voluntarily in the course of a nomadic movement. (By expelling the Allaaba out of Guna territory around 1810, the Leemo had proved their own military strength.) Azärnät and Bärbäre farmers ventured only hesitantly out of their strategically suitable mountain habitats to thinly populated lowland areas. From times immemorial the mobile pastoralists had been an aggressive element continually plaguing them with raids.

When the Shaashoogo occupied the territory at the upper Bilate, the W lbaräg still lived in Eaffegalla, a considerable distance north of the area occupied by them today. As sedentary peasants they possessed only a few cattle which, however, permanently incited the desire for booty on the part of the nomadic neighbours, who extended their raids as far as Mäsqan territory. To express their sorrow over the loss of the cattle, the W lbaräg coined the phrase *yaga indatee* ("I lost my livestock"). The Shaashoogo, when they returned with cattle captured from the East-Gurage to their own territory, used to triumphantly call out "we are bringing *yaga indatee*".[400]

For a long time, the Gande – this name was collectively used in a disrespectful manner by the pastoralist Hadiyya for the East-Gurage and all other people practicing agriculture – were more or less helpless in the face of the Leemo, Shaashoogo and Libidoo raids. A strong defence was only established after the Qabeena leader, asan n3amo, had unified almost the whole of Gurageland under the banner of Islam. Starting from Azärnät-Bärbäre *im m* Gomfamo organised the Gogot Federation and became the initiator of a counter-offensive which was to first annihilate the Leemo. This tribe recognised the lethal threat they had to face and called on the Shaashoogo for help. In order to gain the support of supernatural powers to help them in their difficult situation, they consulted their magician, the *anjaanchcho* Horamo, who, according to popular belief, had been given the ability to predict the future:

> The *anjaanchcho* assembled the Leemo warriors at a holy cedar tree [*digiba*] near Fonqo'o and told them to slaughter a black sheep. He then sprinkled them with the blood of the sacrificial animal with the words *tigedde* [that you may wear blood]. The Leemo, who were now loaded with the potency of magic frontally attacked the numerically superior contingent of Islam people,

400 Information related by Nunishe Manta in 1970/71. A note from D'ABBADIE (1890: 102f.) confirms that the W lbaräg were frequently involved in armed conflict against the Arsi and the "Tufte," a name, which refers to the Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya.

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> advancing towards Fonqo'o, and the Shaashoogo, who had hurried to their aid, attacked the enemies from behind. The battle 'Gomfam Dawa' [the dispersal of the enemies under *im m* Gomfamo] ended with a devastating defeat for the Muslims. The hyenas and vultures could hardly manage to consume the fallen corpses.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta and aylä Maryam Malgo).

Despite this defeat, which they suffered shortly after 1880, the efforts of the East-Gurage remained unabated in their focus on expansion into the neighbouring territories sparsely inhabited by pastoralists. The demographic position must have been so oppressive in their small-scale mountain habitat that they hardly possessed any alternative in order to survive. In addition, the campaigns of Islamization resulted in a new cultural orientation and mobilised centrifugal forces which obtained decisive impulses through the political alliance. As the battle Gomfam Dawaa had checked the southern drive for conquering land in Leemo territory, the pressure exerted by the East-Gurage concentrated itself henceforth in the lowlands occupied by the Libidoo , . ´T T T. R . Z, T ´T s (. , . P VT ´T T, who pushed down out of the mountains into the lowlands and became a dreaded foe to the agropastoralists. Originally, the Mäsqan were supposed to be a vassal group of the Mu er, but after a quarrel assumed independence and then strove to augment their area of settlement. Their struggle against the Libidoo began in fact already at the end of the 18th century, but only one hundred years later were they able to procure visible territorial gains. The decisive phase of their expansion into the lowlands at the expense of their neighbours was first experienced by the East-Gurage only after the abäša conquest (cf. chap. 3.7.1).

Gurageland belonged to the territories inhabited by people of the ancient Hadiyya cluster where the re-Islamization of the 19th century started first.[401] Islam had never been completely wiped out there, nevertheless the lengthy isolation and the close contact to "heathen" and Christian neighbours led to a far-reaching loss of Muslim beliefs and practices. As a result, various types of syncreticisms had developed among most parts of the population. The time seems to have been particularly favourable for an Islamic missionary campaign, however. ur'anic teachers, who originated from the then existing areas of Muslim settlement in Ethiopia, began increasingly to establish themselves among the East-Gurage in the first half of the 19th century. [c]Ali Danabba, the missionary from Eaha, who converted the bulk of the Qabeena to Islam, had already received his religious education in the territory of the W riro. *Shaikh* Wole from Ifat, who for a time was active in Allaaba, worked mostly . T. In the 1880s PAULITSCHKE (1896: 73), during his stay in eastern Ethiopia, learned about the religious situation in East-Gurage: "Among the Galla in Urbaraga

401 KRAPF (1858: 73) already mentioned that the south of Gurageland was primarily inhabited by Muslims. This information seems to be doubtful, however. All available data suggest that only a certain proportion of the population confessed to belonging to Islam by that time.

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[W lbaräg] Qorane are to be found written on parchment. Because this paper is very expensive in the Galla lands[…]".

Around the middle of the 19th century, an Islamic centre also began to be established in Inangalla in nnämor, in the territory of West-Gurage, which traced back to the initiative of *sayyid* Bushura Ibrdhim, the grandfather of the Sa^{c}id Budala, who resided there in the 1970s.This person, known by the name Šay oCC, denoted a special veneration. The father of Šay oCC had transferred the important centre for Muslim education from nnämor to Abrät in Eaha.[402] It has grown considerably and almost a thousand young people visited the local sites at the beginning of the 1970s.[403] The Islamization of Gurageland was initially accomplished through peaceful propaganda which was consistently accomplished by missionaries and traders from outside. It thereafter gained momentum by the growing esteem of the local inhabitants for elements of the world religion which they found attractive, which they were eager to imitate and finally to adopt by their official conversion to Islam on a broad scale. This process of peaceful religious change was temporarily replaced by actions of a decidedly militant Islamization at the time of asan n3amo whose declared goal was the conversion of all non-Muslims. During this period, a number of churches are said to have been destroyed, like, for example, the St. Michael church of Umbur in the Mäsqan territory. CECCHI (1888: 105) reported that from 1876 onwards the raids and plundering of churches undertaken by the Qabeena were joined by contingents of Christian Šäwa-Amhara, who obviously did not accept the Gurage as fully-fledged fellow believers of the Orthodox Christian faith. Great numbers of people from Eaha, nnämor, Gumär, YäCärät and Mäsqan preferred to become Muslims in order to save their lives and property against the incursions undertaken by fanatical religious warriors recruited mostly from Qabeena and East-Gurage. Among the ethnic groups in West-Gurage, only the Mu er, ndägañ and när remained to a large extent faithful to Christianity which, however, had partly become syncretistic by incorporating numerous beliefs and practices from the autochthonous folk religions of their surroundings.[404]

Most of the political leaders of the East-Gurage ruling at the same time as asan n3amo were passionate advocates of Islam which they considered a means to additionally strengthen their own positions of power. Bushura *abagaaz* Anzegooge, one of the Bärbäre leaders, sent for the famous *shaikh* Mu tdr from Ifat because of his erudition. It was said about Gomfamo, the most influential dignitary of the entire region, that he allowed conversion to Islam by force for all those who proved obsti-

402 SHACK (1969: 192ff.) wrote Yäbrite. Concerning the historical development of this Islamic centre SHACK made several mistakes in his monograph on the Gurage which have partly been corrected by more recent research works.

403 Personal observations and information received in Abrät in August 1973.

404 CECCHI 1888: 120. This was confirmed by our own research. The list drawn up by AZA S and CHAMBARD (1931: 87) on the religious situation in Gurageland, which was accepted fully by SHACK (1969: 36) without considering the changes that took place from 1920s onwards, revealed many discrepancies.

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nate. We have once again to be grateful to the Italian explorer CECCHI, whose documentation, however scanty it may be, contains important information about the geographical, political and cultural situation of the East-Gurage shortly before the Amharic occupation.

> "To the left, the land of the Mans [Mänz] extends monotonously, dry and desolate, on which only a few villages stand, forming a rectangle, situated on the left bank of the Uaira and inhabited by approximately 2000 Muslims who trade in slaves whom they capture from surrounding tribes. Their king is Gautta Ibdo and the name of their religious leader (Iman) is Dibbio. When one leaves the plain of the Gomaro plateau which runs into the plateau of Gieta or Jescherit and of the Azernet, and follows the land of the Mans on the west-south-west slopes of the mountain massif, then one sees the small mountain Gaffad with its foothills and to the west-south-west of them a small lowland area, which stretches up to the great, high isolated Amberitsho mountain, which is cleft on all sides and which has a flat summit. Gaffad and the lowlands are inhabited by the Urbaragh [W lbaräg], a tribe of about 3000 Muslims who are ruled by a chief named Kuritschu, an arrogant, fanatical man; like the Mans they are slave-traders."[405]

To elucidate the geographical situation it must be noted that the name of the river Uaira (Waaraa) was the designation of the Hadiyya peoples for the Bilate and that with Amberitscho (Ambarichcho) not the massif in Kämbata but rather Hossis Ambarichcho in present-day Shaashoogo territory is meant. The group referred to as Mans (Mänz . ZT VT. RTV ´T , ´T . T and not to a separate ethnic unit as one may conclude from CECCHI's information. The ancestor *azma* Mänz(o) lived seven or eight generations before. From the information there is no doubt that the East-Gurage had already in 1880 pushed their living area forward a considerable distance from the mountain slopes into the plane.[406]

There is the following note by CECCHI on the Azärnät:

> "Between the Jescherit and Niemu there lives a very small tribe, the Azennet, which number hardly 1000 individuals. They were fanatical Muslims, notorious kidnappers and slave-traders, who did not have a particular king as the commando rotates between the different Abba Dulla or chiefs of the districts. They do not sell the slaves at the market, like the Urbaragh and Mans, but within houses; so that the trade is limited to, as far as one can ascertain, only a few hundred individuals per year, who are brought to Harar via Kambdt and the land of the Arussi and to Shoa via Kabiena."[407]

405 CECCHI 1888: 123 (our translation from the text of the German edition).

406 The expansion oft he East-Gurage during the 19th century has intensively been studied by BUSTORF (2011, chap. 4).

407 CECCHI 1888: 124 (our translation from the text of the German edition).

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For the Niemu, the Leemo are meant. The traveller did not obviously hear about *im m* Gomfamo, one of the most eminent leaders of eastern Gurageland, and he did not mention the Bärbäre as the neighbours of the Azärnät. On the other hand, the question arises as to how CECCHI could from a formidable distance – his expedition did not go beyond the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains – arrive at such seemingly exact estimates of the number of inhabitants. Chosen war leaders bore the title *abagaaz*, the corresponding Oromo word is *abbaa dulaa* ("father of the war"), which was common for all the Hadiyya tribes in this territory. They also did not embody an alternative to kingship. This institution had actually never existed among the East-Gurage although D'ABBADIE described *azma* Merqan, who fought against the Mu er who were separated from his own territory by the Hareba River, as "king of the Adiya".[408]

Alongside *azma ,* a title which was adopted by the Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya and the north-western Arsi from the Christian West-Gurage, *im m* became a customary title during the period of re-Islamization. In the type of rulership called Imanate, according to the ancient Muslim concept, worldly and religious authorities are combined in the hands of one personage.[409]

The slave trade was a fact which attracted particular attention in the descriptions of the European travellers, not only because the campaign against slavery had become an instrument of moral justification for occidental imperialism, but also because this destructive phenomenon seems to have been especially conspicuous in Gurageland. Already three decades before Cecchi, the missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf had characterised the great precariousness of inter-ethnic relationships and the constant threat to the freedom of the individual in that area:

> "Gurage is not ruled over by one prince, but every town and every village has an independent position which is the cause of many of the disruptions and civil wars in which individual districts are in conflict with each other. This situation has made travelling in Gurage very unsafe, fostered particularly by the slave trade, whereby the defeated people in the civil wars are sold to the Muhammadan merchants and hauled off through Abyssinia to Adal land and to Arabia. As a consequence, many from Gurage have often requested the King of Shoa to take possession of their lands, which the king does not want to accept, because he would then be obliged to ban slavery in a land belonging to him, and yet he and the Shoans could not exist without slaves. One can assume that around 3000 slaves, mostly Christians, were taken out of Gurage.

408 D'ABBADIE 1890: 155 f. The names of the chiefs mentioned by CECCHI (1888:115) cannot be found in the genealogies nor somehow chronologically listed. This author in certain cases obviously passes on details which are considerably counter to the current state of research. For example, he also places the famous Gurage progenitor *azma* Z in the wrong century. Therefore, despite CECCHI's undisputed merits regarding the ethnography, his historical information must often be treated with scepticism.

409 Regarding the position and significance of the Imanate in regions of the Horn of Africa see WAGNER 1975b.

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> On the journey from one village to another many are stolen by their own relatives and sold. Houses are frequently set on fire at night and the inmates of the houses who want to flee are captured and sold; occasionally children are stolen at night from the houses while the parents sleep, hence the parents lay thick iron bars on top of the children so that they cannot be kidnapped." [410]

This report may certainly sound propagandistic and dramatic from the standpoint of the missionary. However, many travellers in the 19th century confirm the fact that in the whole of Ethiopia Gurageland was an area notorious for the capture and trade of human beings,[411] ´, P´ M´ T endeavoured to stem this destructive activity for the sake of peace in the territory.[412] The trans-regional pacts made after the Islamization in East-Gurage were conducive in reducing the civil strife and legal uncertainty, but nevertheless attacks on farmsteads and the stealing of children was a serious burden for the co-existence of the groups up until the 1930s.[413] The W lbaräg were the most notorious robbers and traffickers in slaves and were also active in neighbouring Wälaytta and Soddo-Gurage. Given these practices, only the relatively dense population already at that time seems to have prevented a considerable demographic loss.

The Šäwa trade route in central-southern Ethiopia led along the eastern edge of the Gurage Mountains through the territory of the "Adia-Galla" (East-Gurage) and from there further to Allaaba.[414] Among the trading products from Gurageland was the gold extracted in the rivers.[415]

The information recorded by CECCHI about the culture of the West-Gurage also applies to their neighbours, the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya. The men's clothing was comprised of greased cotton cloaks, leg coverings and a blue cotton patterned apron attached to a belt. The women wore leather clothing, whereby the front part for the upper body was left free, and on their wrists and ankles they wore jewellery made of brass and buffalo horn. As it could still be observed in the 1970s, the type of hair style depicted the status of the woman, enabling unmarried or engaged girls to be distinguished.

With regard to the weapons of the East-Gurage CECCHI's (1888: 93) report depicted a state of equipment largely similar to that of the Qabeena. The weaponry included lances, slashers and leather shields, the type of which had been adopted from the Oromo. In the field of handcrafted products, there was a substantial autarky as the professional groups of potters, leather-workers and blacksmiths had settled all

410 KRAPF 1858: 72f. (our translation from German).
411 See, e. g., ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843: 217; HARRIS 1844, I: 228; LANDE 1878: 901; SOLEILLET 1886: 311ff.; TRAVERSI 1887: 284; PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 261, 1888b: 21.
412 Cf. MUNZINGER 1883: 52; ABIR 1968a: 61f.; PANKHURST 1968a: 90.
413 When KRAPF (1858: 73) and later authors described the Gurage as unreliable and beggarly people, this was in blatant contrast to our own experiences. In no other Ethiopian territory did I find such warm hospitality and helpfulness as in Gurageland.
414 HARRIS 1845/46: 158; Cf. PANKHURST 1964: 48f.
415 This was particularly referred to by ROCHET D'HÉRICOURT (1841: 300).

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over Gurageland a long time back. They mostly bought their iron tools from the Aymälläl and woven fabrics from the Zay, whereas conversely from East-Gurage leather goods like ox hides to sleep on, women's skirts, as well as raw cotton was traded to the island population.[416]

After their immigration from the east, the Hadiyya adopted all the usual Gurageland cultivation crops like nsät, barley, wheat, sweet potatoes, pumpkin and cabbage from the autochthones. They claimed to have introduced cat (*Catha edulis*), a stimulant cultivated above all by the Muslims in eastern Ethiopia and in Yemen, supposedly in the 16th century from their earlier domiciles in Cärcär. Whether, however, its cultivation was continuous from that time or whether it was only imported in the 19th century, is a research problem reserved for ethno-botany. With regard to coffee, everywhere in south-western Ethiopia people were restricted to picking the fruits and the leaves of *Coffea arabica* which was growing wild and was not cultivated.[417]

From the 1880s onwards, the Gurage and a minor section of the Hadiyya groups began to work as itinerant labourers in Šäwa and especially in the newly established capital of Addis Abäba, either as baggage porters, or as marketers for meat, vegetables and other products. Usually after seven months' work and at the beginning of the rainy season, they chose to return home to help their families with the seasonal agricultural work.[418] Since then, the term Gurage in Ethiopia has become a synonym for daily wage earners and workers in general.[419]

3.5.4 The Libidoo

The Libidoo, who have often been addressed also as Maräqo, name their territory Meexe Libidoo (the land Libidoo) and are the oldest Hadiyya population in the lowland regions of the Rift Valley. Verifiably from the 16th century onwards they lived as mobile pastoralists in the northern part of the Lake Region. For some time they merely had to share the thinly populated bush lands between the Awaš and Lake Awasa with the Leemo, with whom they were on friendly terms. Immediately after the Grañ wars the Sooro and East-Gurage had traversed the lowlands in order to win new areas of settlement beyond the Bilate and in the Gurage Mountains respectively. The territory south of Lake Shaala was occupied shortly before 1600 by the Uull-Allaaba and the Alabdu-Gu33i. Several sub-groups originating from the Libidoo remained at that time in the territory between Lake Awasa and the middle Bilate and were in the 1970s still genealogically identifiable in the region of Ropee. The 17th century by all accounts obviously did not witness serious conflicts over pasture

416 CECCHI 1878: 77; cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 661.
417 This was already observed and reported by LANDE 1879: 380.
418 VANDERHEYM 1896: 153. PANKHURST 1968a: 49. Cf. Worku Nida 2005:929.
419 It was initially common to hire them by calling "Gurage", which was then recognized as an insulting label and replaced from the 1960s onwards by the term "coolie".

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grounds, as the nomadic groups were still small and the space at their disposal was vast.

As the Libidoo in the course of their nomadic movements favoured going north across the Awaš into the area of Mt. Z kwala, the Shaashoogo could occupy the areas in the central part of the Lake Region unimpeded. They were forerunners of an ethnic dynamic which was presumably triggered off by the growing demographic pressure in the highlands east of the Rift Valley which led to the expansion of the Arsi (cf. chap. 3.5.9). The Jiille, a sub-group of the Tuulama-Oromo, were compelled down into the plains from the eastern hillsides of Lake Z^{w}ay and began to constrict the living space of the Libidoo. Approximately six generations back (before 1970), the Arsi and Hadiyya clans assimilated by them continuously pushed down towards the lowlands of the Lake Region. By the middle of the 19th century, they had completely displaced the Libidoo from the shores of Lake Z^{w}ay and had advanced up to the Abboosa River which from then on marked the boundary with the Jiille. Several Arsi groups joined the Libidoo, for example part of the Jiliinshaa. Generally, however, the reverse process became apparent, namely a political, cultural and ethnic dominance of the Oromo invaders. At the time of the abäša conquest, the Libidoo were on the verge of a complete assimilation by the Arsi. It was only due to the fact that Emperor M nil k in view of the establishment of the *Pax Aethiopica* was interested in a stabilisation of the *status quo* regarding the existing circumstances of the people that a linguistic transition and the loss of their ethnic identity was prevented.

The orientation of the Libidoo towards the culturally and to a large extent genealogically related Oromo – the majority of the Arsi clans were of Hadiyya descent – was inevitable in the face of a new threat which arose on their western flank through the expansion of the Semitic-speaking peasants from the Gurage highlands. Although they had frequently intermingled with these Hadiyya groups from early T Ṛ Tj T ´T T . , R ´T T is said to be of Libidoo descent, it turned out that the cultural gap between people practising an intensive agriculture on the one hand and nomadic pastoralists on the other hand was a hardly bridgeable obstacle for the formation of a coalition.

The Christian K stane-Gurage, also known as Soddo, who until the 16th century had a huge settlement area which stretched from the M drä Käbt hill range in the Z^{w}ay plain up towards Šäwa,[420] were pushed back to a small territory in the northeast of the Gurage Mountains. This ethnic group had already begun to suffer from an acute shortage of arable land in the 19th century – the particularly extreme progression of soil erosion and karst formation through the destruction of the original vegetation indicated excessive tillage over a very long period of time – so a gradual expansion into the land used extensively by the nomads appeared to be a question of survival. It was not the K stane, however, who grew into the worst enemy of the

420 Regarding the former extension of the K stane cf. the reconstruction attempt by HABERLAND 1965:14.

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Libidoo Z ´T s (. .V T, who were confronted with the same problem of severe land scarcity.

After the Islamization of the biggest section of the Mäsqan under their leader *azma* Lante during the *djih d* of asan n3amo around 1880, a culturally more or less homogenised Muslim coalition developed. Combined by the common interest of expanding their territory, this federation was able to confront the Libidoo with a striking force unachievable before. In the generation long feud that continued to exist it was the nomads who had been up to that time the more aggressive party, repeatedly raiding the farmers on the eastern slopes of the mountains. In the decade before the conquest by M nil k II, the Mäsqan and their kinsmen, the Dobbi, settled in the lowland plain between Buta3ira and the escarpment of the Gurage massif, and ´T T inhabited an adjacent strip of land to the south.[421] The East-Gurage gained further territorial extensions at the expense of the Libidoo after the abäša conquest; this will be dealt with later on.

The Libidoo were viewed as an exceptionally courageous and militarily capable group whose very existence, however, as a result of being caught between two millstones of opposite movements of ethnic expansion, was in danger of collapsing. The Arsi, committed to an assimilation dynamic by their *gadaa* system, were pressing forward from the east, and from the west the East-Gurage with their inexhaustible source of farmer settlers advanced towards their territory. It was above all two men who determined the fate of the Libidoo people in the last phase before the occupation by the Christian Empire: Lachchebo Ajjaachcho and *wolab garaad* Beeto Shaale. Lachchebo from the Cabo clan had risen to become the leader of the southern Libidoo because of his war deeds, however dispensed with any kind of title. Under the command of his father, Ajjaachcho, the Libidoo were victorious over Amharic invaders at Eja in present-day Mäsqan territory. This battle was most likely fought against a contingent of those marauding troops from Šäwa which, allied with the Qabeena, had invaded Gurageland in 1876. The traditions describe this event as an incursion of the "Ajjaach-Amhara", named after the commander of the Libidoo, who was killed in that battle. The Libidoo thus differentiate it in their oral traditions from the subsequent campaign of the "M nil k-Amhara," the conquest of their territory through the Ethiopian kingdom of Šäwa.

Lachchebo Ajjaachcho retained an important place in the historical recollections of the people. This is evidenced by the following example:

> Lachchebo once looked for the king of the Kambaata, Dilbato, in order to find out about the governmental system of that country. It was explained to him that all subjects were duty-bound to pay the king taxes. As a result, he went back home and asked the Libidoo to pay tributes to him just as the Kambaata do to their king. The Libidoo men answered that they had never done this before and would never do it. They assured him, however, that in

421 For comprehensive data on the expansion of the East-Gurage in the 19th century see BUSTORF 2011, chap. 4.3-4.5.

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> the event of successful plundering raids he would get the lion's share of the Z, , g T VT VIV, . V. P ´T T Mäsqan and Arsi and brought substantial plunder with him.
>
> (According to Ochorro Xubbe and Nunishe Manta)

Beeto Shaale from the Waaremanna clan was somewhat older than Lachchebo. He bore the highest title in Libidoo, *wolab garaad,* and headed the northern part of the people in the last third of the 19th century. Although the tasks of the *wolab garaad* were in accordance with the traditional norms of a "peace chief" and highest judge, Beeto did not want to restrict himself to these domains, but he became one of the most successful *gadanna* (war commanders) of the Libidoo. Under his command the plundering raids were undertaken right into the territory of the Soddo-Gurage. One time the Libidoo are said to have circumvented neighbouring Arsi groups at night and to have attacked them from the rear. They killed many of their warriors and horses, captured their cattle and brought the relatives of the enemy home as prisoners. A third commander by the name of Duto Langamo, who was responsible for the security of the eastern side towards the Arsiland, belonged to the clan Baamo. The proportion of horsemen among the Libidoo warriors is said to have considerably outweighed that of the foot-soldiers.

CECCHI's report confirmed that the military capability of the Maräqo (Libidoo) and their victory over "Ajjach-Amhara":

> "They speak a particular language, live from robbery, possess very fine horses, inhabit such a dry and barren land that they are even compelled to buy nsät. When M nil k raided into their territory, they did not allow themselves to be frightened by guns; they plugged the ears of their horses, bandaged their eyes and in this way lunged at the enemy. This is a demonstration of great courage in a territory where one single gunshot can put 2-3000 people to flight. The Marekuo [Libidoo] tribe consists of approximately 7000 individuals. Their territory is bounded by a wide Udemma where it does not border on the territory of the Mans and Arussi."[422]

In reality, the territory of the Libidoo is not as dry and inhospitable as CECCHI, who himself had never reached there, was informed about. The relatively high population estimate in comparison with that of the Shaashoogo and other groups is contradictory just like the fact that this land today counts as one of the most valuable farming areas of Ethiopia. (The precipitation levels are, however, substantially less than in the Gurage Mountains). There is also no evidence that an inadequate nutritional basis forced the Libidoo to buy nsät from the Gurage. Supplementary vegetable food – nsät was clearly viewed as having less value than, for example, barley – was

422 CECCHI 1888: 125 (our translation of the text from the German edition). He specifies the location of the Maräqo T . T V, RT , R ´T , but this may have had to do with a printing error.

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acquired by all the nomads in the lowlands in exchange for their animal products. In Mäsqan territory alone, there were four market places on the highland slopes – Umbur at the hill of Bidara was the most important – which were regularly frequented by the Libidoo for this purpose. A calabash, termed *kooma*, filled with butter was exchanged for 20-30 filled with grain. Bent iron bars (*marco* or *marca*) were the standard unit of currency as was usual in many other territories of central and southern Ethiopia. The Libidoo purchased iron objects, tools and weapons, mostly from the Mäsqan, Dobbi and Soddo-Gurage. Among the Libidoo there were virtually no crafts-people, with the exception of a few leather workers. The term Udemma mentioned by CECCHI referred to strips of no-man's-land which partially encompassed some of the tribal territories. In the early 1970s remainders of them were still to be seen near Angolala and the hills of Faka west of Lake Z^{w}ay.[423]

Around 1880 the Libidoo were still largely adherents of the *Fandaanano* religion which had been interspersed with numerous Islamic "survivals". Within the whole Hadiyya cluster they were deemed to be the oldest and purest adherents of this syncretistic faith.[424] Attempts to islamize them were spearheaded by asan n3amo, who sent *azma* ^{c}Ali R, T and *shaikh aw* Wole (Shawwol) as missionaries to the Libidoo. Although the latter won great renown because of his magical abilities, the success of his efforts to convert the people remained modest. It was only after subjugation by the abäša that Islam and Christianity began to supplant the ancient *Fandaanano* religion. This did not occur as a mass conversion but rather as a gradual infiltration and emulation process.

The original marriage restrictions, which also applied to the East-Gurage, entailed a provision that the ancestors in the genealogies of the partner were not permitted to be identical up to ten generations back on the paternal, and five generations back on the maternal line. These ancient regulations were later abandoned through the influence of both Islam and Christianity (cf. chap. 3.7.2).

3.5.5 The Leemo

The Leemo – and additionally the scattered clans of the Weexo-giira – can be identified as the descendants of the Gudeella, already referred to in the chronicle of Emperor ^{c} V g, . , , . P T , V, R T ´ Tg ´ V TV . TP´Z, , R ´ T Libidoo in the northern part of the Lake Region. In the second half of the 16th century, the Leemo as a faction of the Ashaange, migrated northward from the region of Lake Abbayya and remained in the area between Mt. Celalo and Lake Langano whereas the bulk of their tribal kinsmen crossed the Awaš and continued on in the direction of Wällo (cf. chap. 3.4.3). What circumstances necessitated the linguistic separation of the group and where it came about – the Leemo are the sole group

423 In the language of the Oromo *wudeena* is said to mean something like wasteland.

424 CECCHI (1888: 125) calls them "idolaters". By his time, this was a common pejorative term for labelling adherents of a folk religion.

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within the Rayyaa-Ashaange-Azaboo cluster who do not speak Oromiffaa but have preserved their identity as Cushitic-speaking Hadiyya – remains obscure.

The progenitor after whom the Leemo are named, lived approximately fifteen generations before the 1970s, i.e., in the epoch of great turmoil and migrations of peoples in the 16th century, and it is highly probable that at this time they became an independent ethnic unit within the tribal association of the Gudeella. In the chronicles of the preceding period, significantly their name is not mentioned.

Among the Baarentuu-Oromo, members of a sub-group called Leemo were renowned as rainmakers and carried a special stick called a *loho* as a symbol of their dignity. Still in the 1970s, the saying "*Leemo fana rooba*" – *fana* means spur and *rooba* rain – was commonplace. The pilgrims visiting the *abbaa muuda* in Dallo are said to have been called the Leemo[425], but such conformities of names do not necessarily reveal anything about ethnic ties. In a legend of the Leemo-Hadiyya which related that their ancestors were powerful magicians (*qallichcha*), the Cärcär region is also mentioned as one of the stages they migrated through.

The Arsi in the highlands east of Lake Langano, particularly members of the Adaree clan, report that they had ousted the "Leemoso" from this territory eight to ten generations before the 1970s. That the clan Leemu in the same territory correlated to these people seems at first glance obvious. But despite the similarity of the name[426] and certain echoes in the genealogies it is not conclusively verifiable. According to communications of Arsi informants from the Leemu clan in the Boqojjii region, there were two Leemo(so) groups, one in their part of the country and another in the land of the Gudeella, who were also addressed as Garba.

Those Leemo in the highlands, who were pushed westwards by the Arsi from the beginning of the 18th century onwards, were not the first of their group to seek new dwelling places in the northern part of the Lake Region. Already two or three generations earlier, at the suggestion of a *hiraagaanchcho* (soothsayer), other groups are reported to have moved down in the Rift Valley at Lake Z^{w}ay. As on a number of occasions in the history of this area, the lowland zones which were covered with dense bush vegetation and were malaria-stricken, served as a retreat from danger or defeat. Additionally, it forced agropastoralists to largely abandon crop cultivation in favour of a nomadic livelihood.

> Through their leader Ashayerimo, the Leemo appealed to the Libidoo living in the territory to assimilate them into their tribal association and to share their pasture grounds with them. When this was refused, they shifted to the south-west and occupied the territory of Yarima in the nnäqor region which had been claimed by the Azärnät but hardly colonized. From there they migrated into the neighbouring district of Damaalla.
>
> (According to Faaqiro Farde and Nunishe Manta).

425 This was mentioned by D'ABBADIE (1890: 308).

426 With CECCHI (1888: 123f.) and COHEN (1931: 69, *passim*) the Leemo appear as the version Niemu, for example.

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The Leemo evidently did not resent the Libidoo because the targeted ethnic alliance with them had not materialised as they preferred to maintain good neighbourly relations and entered into numerous marriage relationships with them. By way of example, certain rain magicians, the Ochchlaboosa (Leemo) and Wigiira (Libidoo) are said to have had the same origin.

From the beginning of the 18th century, and reinforced by more immigrants from the Arsi highlands, the Leemo concentrated their efforts on expanding their residential zones along the western escarpment of the Rift Valley. The impact caused by the direction of this expansion into the climatically favourable pasture grounds of the *Wäyna Däga* zone (between 2000 and 2500m above sea level), meant that conflicts were inevitable with the peoples already settled there, the East-Gurage, Allaaba and Sooro. The military strength of the Leemo was heightened considerably, because just at that time the scattered remainders of the Weexo-giira expelled from Kämbata had sought refuge among them.

This name Weexo-giira is a collective term for a number of clans, above all the Baadogo, Haballo and Hayyibba, whose descendants had reached the then Christian province of Kämbata in the first immigration wave of people of Hadiyya stock along with the troops of A mad Grañ in 1531/32. Weexo, descending from a genealogical line closely related to that of the Leemo, is considered to be their first ancestor. The term *giira* means "hearth fire" and symbolically refers to a relation to a political action group.[427]

When, towards the end of the 16th century at the summit of the Mt. Ambarichcho, the new people and kingdom of the Kambaata began to evolve, the bellicose Hadiyya nomads of the Weexo-giira tribe established hegemony over the inhabitants of this state. The Kambaata peasants, interested in expanding their arable land by peaceful means, could only buy their safety through voluntary tribute payments. The Weexo-giira had the habit of humbling the Kambaata by forcibly taking their most beautiful daughters and pouring millet beer over the head of the king at a banquet. For a long time the downtrodden mountain farmers found no means of resisting this type of exploitation and humiliation until Kätäma, the seventh king of the Kambaata dynasty, succeeded in winning the Baaadawwaachcho- and Shaashoogo-Hadiyyat who were just infiltrating from the east, as allies against the Weexo-giira, who made unrealistic demands on the Kambaata king.[428]

> The Weexo-giira sent a delegation to King Kätäma and informed him that within a year he had to construct the central pole of the house out of a twig of *Solanum campylacanthum*, and to collect a whole sack of fleas, and finally to deliver a fat steer with absolutely no trace of vegetable substances in its stomach. Otherwise he and his people would fare badly. It so happened that

427 According to a widespread tradition the (holy) hearth fire is a symbol for political coalitions. This is also known, for example, among the Indians ("First Nations") of North America.

428 Sometimes Waaqo, the successor of Kätäma, is cited as the king under whom these events took place. Cf. my depiction of oral traditions of the Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 51f.).

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> among the Kambaata meagre number of cattle eight cows calved simultaneously. Seven of the calves were slaughtered and the eighth one received all the milk, so that it grew rapidly. However, it was kept away from every kind of vegetable fodder. Thus, the Kambaata could fulfil one of the requirements. For the other two they requested a postponement, which was granted to them. They used this respite to prepare an ambush. King Kätäma had ten houses built, inside of each a pitfall was made filled with hidden sharpened bamboo poles. The allied warriors of the Baadawwaachcho and Shaashoogo held themselves ready at a distance. He then invited the leaders and strongest warriors of the Weexo-giira on the pretext of a banquet at which he wanted to show them that he had fully accomplished their demands. Unsuspectingly, they entered the Kambaata residence led by the Baadogo men Hochaarro and Iyoose. They laid down their weapons and went into the houses designated for them. They plunged into the pits and were speared by the Hadiyya warriors through holes in the walls of the houses. When the news of the massacre became known, the remnants of the Weexo-giira who had lost their leaders, took flight in panic towards the north. The Kambaata choose to describe this event by the phrase "the Weexo-giira have gone from here".
>
> (According to Fiitaamo Qalbore and Annullo Cankalo).

The historical gist of this story, which is found again with only minor variations in the oral traditions of the Kambaata and the Baadawwaachcho, is the partial extermination and expulsion of the old-established Hadiyya groups through the Baadawwaachcho around the middle of the 18th century.

Sections of the Baadogo and Haballo remained in the territory south-east of Kämbata and were assimilated by the Baadawwaachcho. The rest of the dispersed Waayabo, Hoojjee and other clans were absorbed into the tribal association of the Sooro.

In Liisaanna, the fleeing Baadogo came upon the Leemo who had advanced south of nnäqor, and formed an alliance with them which was affirmed in a ritual regarded as particularly effective and prudent. They caught and killed a bird specimen called *mootaamme*, which they believed to possess magical powers. They ate honey, the consecrated dish at all ceremonial occasions, and took a vow to stand together as one forever. The chief negotiator of the Leemo was Onde, and the Weexo-giira clans were represented by the Baadogo man Assaaro. From this time on the refugees had become a part of the Leemo even though they remained fully conscious of their separate ethnic origin, and particularly the Baadogo stayed a more or less territorially closed group even up to the present.

In the territory of Liisaanna, where the Leemo and parts of the Weexo-giira federated, a fierce conflict between the Leemo and the Sooro had already started before. It resulted from the claim of the Sooro that this land which stretched as far as nnäqor was theirs. The first battle between the two related tribes tells of Ismaaq

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Sabiro, a Leemo warrior from the Arianna clan about whom it was prophesied: "If you do not sacrifice Ismaaq Sabiro, you will lose the territory".

> When the battle with the Sooro broke out, the Leemo remembered what the soothsayer had said about Ismaaq Sabiro. They wanted to save him and prevent any danger threatening to him. Consequently they tied him to the central pole of a house and assigned an old woman to watch over him, and then moved towards the enemy. Ismaaq Sabiro was forced to remain inactive. However, when he heard that his fellow tribesmen had fled from the Sooro northwards, he beseechingly begged the woman guarding him to untie him so that she finally complied with his desperate appeal. He threw himself into battle and carried his fellow combatants towards victory. However, he was finally killed in action at Guchche-Shurmo'o, just as the oracle had predicted.
>
> (According to aylä Maryam Malgo and Nunishe Manta).

In the last third of the 19th century, the Sooro were pushed southward by the Leemo as far as Waachchamo.

The Leemo were all the more prepared to incorporate and welcome the refugee clans of the Weexo-giira with open arms as they were famous for their warlike capability, because a decisive conflict with the Allaaba and Qabeena over pasture grounds between the Gurage and Kämbata Mountains was looming. The penetration of the Leemo from nnäqor towards the west was triggered by a call for help from the ndägañ (Shadger), a small group of Gurage peasants who had largely preserved their ancient Orthodox Christianity in a pure form. The Allaaba and Qabeena had forced them into tribute-paying dependency and also the neighbouring Gurage tribes of the nnämor and YäCärät seriously badgered them.

A *qallichcha* is supposed to have predicted that a warlike group coming from outside would free them militarily from their difficult situation. When they heard of the arrival of the Leemo in nnäqor, they sent envoys to them to win them over into an alliance against their hostile neighbours.

> When the ndägañ delegation arrived among the Leemo, they were sitting in their place of council smoking water pipes. They had barely heard the request for help, when they exchanged these for weapons. They then advanced south of Mt. Mugo to Yerema [in the vicinity of the market of Geja] and waged war against the YäCärät. Thereafter, they expelled the Allaaba.
>
> (According to aylä Maryam Malgo).

This event, confirmed by the traditions of the Allaaba (cf. chap. 3.5.2), can be chronologically fixed at the beginning of the 19th century. For the ethnic situation it had far-reaching consequences. The Leemo moved westwards into the lower-lying territory of Womba in the Omo gorge and also liberated the ndägañ from the sovereignty claim of the när and nnämor. South of the Dagosa River, the rest of the ancient Christian population could assert themselves in an exclave which included

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the Mäsmäs, linguistically and culturally associated with the när. The Qabeena and Sooro had separated them from the coherent bloc of the West-Gurage in the middle of the 18th century and increasingly constricted their dwelling area.[429] So they too hailed the invading Leemo as welcome allies and protectors against their mighty enemies.

The relationship between the Leemo and the Gurage peasants, whom they had freed from the yoke of tribute-payments, was one of tremendous friendship and did not confine itself to the ordinary economic symbiosis of agriculturalists and mobile herders. Intense intermarriages with the ndägañ helped facilitating the transition of the Leemo from a dominating nomadic to an agropastoralist way of life. This process of economic change had happened even earlier among the Leemo compared with other Hadiyya groups, i.e. already from the first half of the 19th century. In the case of the Mäsmäs, the close co-existence of both groups led to assimilation by the Hadiyya and to the loss of their Gurage language during three successive generations.

In Womba, the Leemo clashed with the Sooro from whom they had previously snatched the territory of Liisaanna. For a while, both groups had been separated by the Allaaba. When they again became neighbours, armed conflict over the pasture grounds broke out immediately and continued for decades which only ended with the arrival of the abäša conquerors. At that time, the Sooro were still located north of their present-day position and had a territory between the Batena River, the districts of Ondeleera and Gachimsuuta, not far from the boundary of ndägañ, Mt. Ambarichcho in Kämbata and the upper Gibe.

Historical narratives and songs (*draancha*) evocatively portray the turbulent fighting period between these two Hadiyya groups, who were hardly different linguistically and culturally.[430] The Sooro fiercely resisted the invading Leemo. One of their warriors by the name of Bakko Kamaala killed the Leemo leader Biiro Inagaaro from the Oodro clan at a place in the Woshsheeba district, which from then on was known as Biiro Tuka (narrow passage of Biiro). His dead body was laid to rest in Biiro Moora in Shaashoogo, the place where the Leemo had temporarily retreated from the advancing enemies, and all the people grieved for their fallen hero. After Biro's death, *azma* Woyye from the Gindoo clan was chosen to be their leader. He was replaced a short time later by Sebbooro (Dagaagmanna) holding the traditional Leemo title *asha'n garaad*.

One of the many praise songs concerns the combatant Fende Saa'moogo, who infused his tribal kinsmen with fighting spirit anew on account of their having been repulsed northwards by the Sooro. In the counter attack, the territory of Waachchamo, which had been fiercely contested for decades, was finally conquered by the

429 Hardly anything has been known about the Mäsmäs up to recently except the name. In the literature of the 19th century only scant mentions can be found by BORELLI (1890: 439) and D'ABBADIE (1890: 102, 257, 260).

430 A number of these songs were recorded by Siegfried Seyfarth and me on tape. A part of this collection was published (BRAUKÄMPER/TILAHUN MISHAGO 1999: 37-61).

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Leemo. Fende himself is said to have composed the following verses in order to glorify his victory.[431]

"Black cows came through nnämor,

Brown cows came through W lbaräg,

And a tempest blew through Saankura,

Habusa descended Mugo Mountain,

Jaara skulked through the tribes of the Gande,

And the marriage rules broke,

Because of the lack of self control by the young girls,

Then Waqotto was conquered,

Through the slaying of Banchana in battle,

And Waachchamo was occupied,

Because I, Fende, the son of Saa'moogo, was born".[432]

The first verses paint a bleak picture of the position of the Leemo in the middle of the 19th century as black and brown cows are held in low esteem, and a ratio of these colours in a herd is believed to be ominous. *Habusa* and *jaara* are evil spirits who hail from the territory of the Gurage enemies, the despised Gande peasants, and bring disaster. Moral decline was imminent. However, the threatening situation was then outshone by the glorious deed of the conquest of Waqotto, a district bordering Shaashoogo, and the strategically important plateau of Waachchamo, from where the southward sloping Sooro territories could be kept under surveillance.

After their triumph over the enemies of the ndägañ, the Leemo rose to become a significant power factor in this territory and had made the Magger-Gurage (a section of the nnämor) living to the north of them, liable for tribute payments. In order to be free of this burden seen as oppressive and disgraceful, the Magger decided to dispose of the Leemo by means of a treacherous plan. At this point, the work of the wise Ashawoyiniyye from the Mooch'ooso clan credited in the oral traditions for his achievements for his people here and in many other situations too.

431 In the culture of the Hadiyya and related peoples of southern Ethiopia, where the ethical value concepts were to a large extent determined by warlike deeds, it was common to herald one's own deeds in spectacular actions. I have dealt with this "meritorious complex" in a special article (BRAUKÄMPER 2002: 706-24).

432 I must thank my interpreter Sullaamo Lonseeqqo for the translation from the Hadiyya language. He was killed by soldiers in Bišoftu during the riots at the beginning of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974.

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> One time the Magger invited the strongest Leemo warriors to a banquet. They came willingly as they loved to celebrate festivals. They partook of food and drink. Only Ashawoyiniyye suspected calamity and attempted to persuade the other Leemo to return home before sunset. They were, however, so busy merrymaking that they ignored the warnings and called him a foolish man from Womba; all the inhabitants of the lowlands are anyway considered doltish. The Magger offered their guests water pipes, but they could not find the right hole to draw on the smoke, until finally Ashawoyiniyye discovered it. This episode signified a further bad omen – and yet again the other Leemo threw his spoken words to the wind. Thereupon, he alone out of all the invited guests left the banquet and went back to Mooch'ooso. When the celebration ended, the Leemo soldiers were offered sleeping quarters in different houses. After midnight when all the drunken guests had fallen asleep, a Magger man got up and killed the Leemo in his house. Thereafter, he climbed a tree and vociferously proclaimed his deed. This was the agreed upon signal for all the other Magger men who had accommodated guests, to kill them. In this way, most of the Leemo commanders who had not wanted to believe the warnings given by Ashawoyiniyye, perished. From then on, the Leemo no longer had power over the Magger, and the two groups then lived in peace next to each other.
>
> (According to Abagaaz Harbo and Haile Bubbamo Arficio).

Ashawoyiniyye won such prestige on account of his prudence that after this event he rose to become one of the most influential political leaders of the Leemo. In Bonochchora (Mooch'ooso) he held an important council meeting where the sub-groups of the northern Leemo agreed to a division of their territories.

Up to the middle of the 19th century the Sooro still laid claims to the pasture grounds up to the river Dagosa, which demarcated the southern boundary to the nnämor-Gurage. From this point in time, the Leemo began to increasingly challenge them for the territory particularly favourable for livestock rearing, and the conflict was decided with weapons as well as with negotiations. A somewhat curious dispute started when the Sooro maintained that they, i. e., their progenitors, come down directly from heaven, whereas all the other peoples including the Leemo, had been terrestrial from the beginning. Out of this, the Sooro derived a sense of superiority above all other people.

One day, both of the rival Hadiyya groups organised a council meeting (*dummichcha*) in the district of Shiro, which is today inhabited by the Leemo clan Dagaagmanna, for the purpose of protecting their bilateral interests. As is usual on such occasions, at first laudatory speeches were given on their own tribes. The Sooro began with the stereotype phrases that they, as "children from heaven", were superior to all people of ordinary earthly origin. The Leemo, at that time, did not understand this particular diction which is called *booyaansa* by the Sooro, and consulted Ashawoyiniyye, who on his maternal side had descended from the

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Booyyaamanna and was therefore familiar with this manner of thinking and arguing. Shortly after the Sooro again tediously depicted their heavenly origin, Ashawoyiniyye answered them in the following way: "As you are children from heaven, go back there to your land of origin. Leave the earth to those lower human beings who are created to live there". Over this answer the pride of the Sooro was hurt to such a degree that they became enraged and no contractual agreement could be reached over the boundaries. Then the two groups sought a decision by way of arms.

In order to resolve the land dispute that had broken out, Ashawoyiniyye, after a time, offered negotiations anew to the Sooro and suggested that Dilbato, the king of Kämbata, was to be the neutral intermediary.

> The Sooro agreed to Ashawoyiniyye's offer. A day was determined on which all men of both groups who were able to carry weapons should report to Dilbato's residence to receive his judgement. It was agreed that on that particular day early in the morning before daybreak, the Leemo were to light a fire on the Shurmo'o hill and the Sooro were to do the same and light a fire on Mt. Shonqolla. On the arranged morning, the Leemo lit their fire and saw that the Sooro also gave their fire signal. Thereafter, the Leemo wanted to leave immediately so as to arrive first at Dilbato's residence. However, Ashawoyiniyye restrained them and persuaded them to undertake the following course of action. One should let the Sooro warriors go to Kämbata and then break into their unprotected left-behind settlements in the northern territory of the Sooro and burn all farmsteads to ashes, but to not plunder them or hurt the women and children. Following his advice, the Leemo, instead of going to Dilbato, set fire to all the Sooro farmsteads up to the foot of the Shonqolla. When the Sooro warriors saw that their territory was in flames, they hurried back to confront the enemies. The Leemo had already gone northwards and the Sooro could not chase them as they were fully occupied dealing with and trying to overcome the unexpected emergency situation which had descended upon them. The now homeless people from the northern part of their territory were compelled to flee to their relatives in the south with their families, livestock and whatever remaining possessions they had. The Leemo seized the opportunity to partially occupy the vacated northern Sooro territory.
>
> (According to Abagaaz Harbo and Haile Bubbamo Arficio).

This was the last chapter in the dispute over land between both Hadiyya groups, Leemo and Sooro, which is to be dated around 1880. A short time later, in the wake of the abäša conquest, the ethnic boundaries were established and have essentially remained the same up to the present day.

Once the Leemo had occupied the slopes toward the Gibe valley – the groups residing there were known from then on as the Womb-[Lowland]Leemo in contrast to the Ann-Leemo of the highlands centred at Anna – they regularly led plundering

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and killing raids across the river to Yäm, although the steep escarpment of the river on its western bank hampered penetration enormously.

The Leemo maintained friendly relations towards the agricultural Kambaata with whom they had no common boundary right up to the end of the 19th century. Wotaame, king Dilbato's mother, descended from a Leemo clan, the Oodro. Some of her relatives went along with when she married in Kämbata and settled in the Iibaala district.

The alliance sealed by the marriage assured the Kambaata that, as a rule, they had nothing to fear from the Leemo. Nevertheless incursions did take place, like an anecdote about a certain Gaacheeno Ganfo depicts:

> Gaacheeno Ganfo was a *gaaxanna* [warleader] and so successful a slayer of enemies that he was envied by his fellow tribal kinsmen. Consequently, Leemo warriors one day went to raid against the Kambaata and slew many men and captured a lot of cattle. [The word *gaanchuma* which means "countless" it used here.] When Gaacheeno heard that the others had set out, he followed them, and met them on their return home with the captured cattle. One of the cows limped and could not keep pace with the rest. He solicited the cow and followed the others at an increasing distance. A Kambaata warrior caught him up and asked him to give back the stolen property. Gaacheeno answered him mockingly, saying he should go home and plant nsät, which befits his people. When the Kambaata man remained persistent, he said to him: 'Gan-Mancho [man of the "Gande" people] go back! I see in my mind's eye you and your relatives grieving". The Kambaata man continued to badger him, and Gaacheeno warned him again with the words: 'Go back! I see your bones whiten, the vultures eat your flesh and the ants your eyes'. When he did not cease badgering him, Gaacheeno ran his spear through him and took his genitals. *Meco'o* [substance from nsät plant] seeped out of them thus he only reluctantly took the trophies home. There is little honour in killing a Gan-Mancho!
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

In this story the contempt, with which the warlike pastoralists looked down on the peasants less experienced with arms, is explicit.

As already pointed out, the traditional economy of the Leemo focussed on livestock keeping. Shortly before the abäša conquest, however, a far-reaching change came about due to the encounter with and establishment of friendly relations with the ndägañ-Gurage. They were no longer pure nomads – as far as it can be concluded from the oral traditions – during their stage in nnäqor. In this area, they are said to have practiced modest cultivation of barley, wheat, lentils and also tobacco which was a highly esteemed stimulant as water-pipes were a constituent part of their culture. During the first half of the 19th century, they adopted, sporadically at first, the cultivation of nsät, yam (*dinichcho*) and six sorts of cabbage from the

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ndägañ. When they occupied the Waachchamo territory, pumpkin (*dubbo'o*) and taro (*gabija*) from the Sooro in the lowland areas were adopted. The actual breakthrough to sedentary peasant-farming – as with all groups of the Hadiyya cluster except for the East-Gurage – was only accomplished after their subjugation by the Christian Ethiopian Empire.

On the eve of this event, CECCHI (1888: 124) estimated a headcount of the Leemo, whom he referred to as the Niemu or with the Gurage name Konteb (Kuonteb), at 6000 individuals. With D'ABBADIE's Tufte – this ethnonym traces back, as already mentioned previously, to a corrupted version of the Guffuttaamo ancestors (Gufte) – undoubtedly the Leemo are meant, based on the scanty geographical information at hand on them. The explorer could hardly get any information about the Leemo:

> "I do not know the rivers of Tufte. I have only seen this country from afar. It is a highland full of cattle, horses and donkeys, and one does not cultivate cereals, but the Tufte exchange them for butter. In summer, the Omo can be crossed at fords to Tufte".[433]

The people of this tribe were described by D'ABBADIE (1890: 103) "as red and handsome", and he finally stated:

> "Tufte is fighting against 5 imma, Tambaro [imbaaro], Janjiro [Yäm], Xaka, Kambata, Walamo [Wälaytta], Boxa [Boša], Mazmasa [Mäsmäs], Kullo [Dawro], Harusi [Arsi], Ulbaraga [W lbaräg] and Donga. Tufte has no king."[434]

The last information is clearly confirmed by the orally transmitted data on the political organisation of the Leemo. Although they possessed the title *adil*(*a*) (derived from the Arabic word ᶜ*adil* = worthy), which was later interpreted as "king", the position connected to it was intrinsically one linked to personal merit rather than an inherited status. Within a lineage of the Oodro clan, a man by the name of Ada received a brass bangle (*laakka*) as a special attribute of *adil* dignity and thus received a prominent position. In the 1970s, this insignia was in the possession of his grandson Lamaago Lombeebo. Another *laakka* is said to have been obtained by *abbaagad* Orso, father of the *balabbat im m* Ermolo Handiso from the Gabrehanna clan. The Leemo knew of the special honorific title *asha'n garaad* and the Weexo-giira living among them possessed the titles *kontab garaad*, *moco'n garaad* and *haga garaad*.

3.5.6 The Sooro

After their exodus from Gädäb around the middle of the 16th century, the Sooro, the biggest group of the Booyyaamo descendants (Booyyaamanna), went through the

433 D'ABBADIE 1890: 221 (our translation from French).

434 D'ABBADIE 1890: 102 (our translation from French). Judging by the list of enemy tribes, the Tufte must have equally encompassed the Sooro and Baadawwaachcho (cf. chap. 1.1).

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Rift Valley in the direction of Šäwa, and found a new place of settlement in the old Christian province of Fä ägar, between Mt. Z kwala and the upper Dukam River. This area had become depopulated through the Grañ wars. The Sooro were the Hadiyya group which had penetrated furthest to the north. They did not stay long in the vicinity of the Ethiopian heartlands, however. As the oral traditions depict, at the end of the 16th century they started to migrate back to the south where they led a nomadic existence in a large territory between the upper Awaš and the Gurage Mountains. Whether this retreat was due to the Christian counter-offensive by the Emperors Gälawdewos and Mïrsä D ng l, or to the advance of the Tuulama-Oromo from the western Arsi highlands, or thirdly due to nomadic movements without having any external pressure, remains uncertain. For several generations the Sooro lived as neighbours of the Libidoo, with whom they were on friendly terms, in the northern Lake Region. The progenitors of the two groups, Booyyaamo and Biimaaddo respectively, were considered brothers.

The name Sooro is derived from the Hadiyya word "four" and refers to a federation of four factions, the Shakanna, Hadeanna, Habaaro and Boosho'anna. According to the pedigrees, they are direct descendants of four sons of Booyyaamo. The circumstances which resulted in the federation, its date and why the name Sooro was chosen have not been transmitted.

According to concurring traditions, the territory at the upper Bilate was being used by the Sooro for grazing when between 1560 and 1570 the East-Gurage reached there. Some Azärnät joined the Sooro and became the founders of the Sooro clan Usmaano (cf. chap. 3.5.3). For approximately two centuries, the Sooro roamed the lowlands of the Rift Valley, whereby the circle of their nomadic movements stretched from Lake Z^{w}ay up to the Kämbata Mountains. Their mostly frequented living area was unquestionably the region occupied later by the Shaashoogo, on both sides of the middle Bilate. The adjacent highlands on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley with their favourable climate and vegetation, and evidently only sparsely inhabited by the Weexo-giira, must have continually attracted them. The nomadic infiltration of the Sooro into this territory, which had started around six generations before the 1970s, was further motivated by the Shaashoogo who, being simultaneously forced westwards by the Arsi, started to challenge them for living space.

In the historical traditions of the Sooro an anachronistic version has been adopted that it was the famous ancestor Booyyaamo himself who led his people to their present-day settlement. In reality, his lifetime can be dated in the 15th century when the dwelling areas of the Hadiyya stretched east of the Rift Valley, as has already been explicated earlier (cf. chap. 3.2.5). The Sooro and also the Shaashoogo, both claiming descent from Booyyaamo, have retrospectively worked out the following legend which gives an indication of the territorial status quo and an insight into specific characteristics of their groups.

> When Booyyaamo got old, he could hardly move because of his frailty and corpulence, becoming so immobile that he could not even remove a snake

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that had settled on his belly. In his state of distress, he called out for his eldest son Shako who, instead of helping him, answered: 'I have to go into the bush to look for *cuu'so'o* [wild edible roots]'. Full of anger, Booyyaamo cursed him saying he should stick to doing that. Since then the Skakanna have lived in a territory where, more than any other groups, they have to support themselves by collecting wild plants. He then begged his second son Boosho to free him from the snake, yet he answered: 'I have to go to do bush clearing work in the forest and thus have no time'. Booyyaamo cursed him and his descendants to stick to this work, and indeed today the Boosho'anna live in the most wooded territory of all the Hadiyya lands. Next, the old man implored his son Habaaro for help, who retorted rudely: 'I must cut a new shaft for my lance and so have no time'. The curse of his father was that he should live as a restless soldier in permanent war and strife. [His descendants are regarded as the most warlike group of the Sooro.] After that, it was Shaashe's turn. He approached full of pity for the old helpless man's state. However, when he saw that a wound and a wet spot had developed in the fold of his belly, he withdrew in disgust. Booyyaamo cursed him to have to live in a wet and marshy territory. [The living area of his descendants is situated in a territory where during the rains it is mostly a floodplain of the middle Bilate.] Also Urusso, the fifth son, was not prepared to relieve his father's anguish and should thus as punishment live separated from his brothers wandering around aimlessly in a strange land. [The Urusso descendants separated themselves from the rest of the Booyyaamanna in the 18th century and later joined the Baadawwaachcho.] Finally, it was Hade's turn. He resolutely seized the snake by the head, hurled it away and freed his father from his disagreeable situation. Consequently, he received Booyyaamo's blessing: 'You should have the most descendants and possess the best land and be protected against external enemies!' This happened and the Hadeooso have by far the most clans out of all the four Sooro factions. They were separated from their generic neighbours, the Leemo and Kambaata, by the Shakanna, Boosho'anna and Habaaro.

(According to S yyum Annoore, Fuccune Hobombo and Wäldäyas Duuno).

Here we have an aetiological legend which was created to explain the territorial and cultural conditions of the late 20th century and to sanction the existing *status quo*.

When one validates the whole fund of oral traditions on the basis of their concrete contents, the following outline emerges for the period of immigration of the Sooro into their present-day places of residence. When their ancestors penetrated into the highland zone east of the Bilate eight generations before the 1970s, they assimilated parts of the Weexo-giira already living there, especially members of the Haballo, Hayyibba, Hoojjee, Haysabba and Bargaago. (They were formerly considered low-ranking groups, but since the 1990s they lay claim to the label Agara-

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Hadiyya, that is old-established inhabitants, and are proud of this attribute.)[435] With some of them, for instance the Areera, Massaawwa and a few others, only the names were preserved in the traditions. The Sooro are said to have converged at a big council meeting at Sorgoogo near Mt. Shonqolla to agree upon the distribution of the land to the four factions. Their pasture ground extended – around 1790 – from the western edge of the Rift Valley up to the Gibe, stretching from the river Dagosa in the north up to the Otooro-Danxa range in the south. The pastures in the northern part of this region were still used by some groups of Qabeena and Allaaba nomads. There is no evidence in the oral traditions of any warlike conflicts between them and the Sooro, however. The relatively small groups at that time obviously did not have much contact with each other, and the disputes over land for grazing and agricultural purposes began after the penetration of the Leemo. After the final exodus of the Allaaba and Qabeena, it seems certain that the Sooro increasingly pressed forward into the abandoned territories of Guna and Womba. But they now came up against the Leemo expanding in the reverse direction and feuded with them uninterruptedly for almost a century.

Within the territory controlled by the Sooro, the Mäsmäs held out, although their survival prospects as an independent ethnic group separated from the Gurage cluster had become extremely precarious. A Christian section having once occupied large parts of the Ethiopian province of Kämbata, they were first decimated in the turmoil of the Grañ wars. After the penetration of the Weexo-giira around the middle of the 16th century, they were finally pushed back to a small territory around their church Gibe Mika'el that they built a defensive wall around.[436] Besides this place in the present district of Lenchiichcho, the Mäsmäs possessed some larger landholdings which they used either permanently or temporarily as pasture grounds.

When the Sooro reached this territory around the middle of the 18th century, they forced the Mäsmäs farmers to pay tributes of an amount which was considered as highly onerous by them. A short time later, a quarrel developed between the *qallichcha* Kadaane, the spiritual leader of the Mäsmäs, and the *qallichcha* Hawzulla in Chibu on the summit of the Danxa range. The latter was greatly respected as a magician and clairvoyant by the Sooro even though he was not a member of their people but originated from the Kambaata-speaking Dubamo. In the wake of this dispute, the followers of Hawzulla advanced against the Mäsmäs, defeated them, and pushed them back up to the Gombora River which was from then on assigned as their southern boundary with the Boosho'anna-Sooro.[437]

435 Regarding recent political implications of this newly established consciousness of the Agara-Hadiyya clans cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2005: 369.

436 A priest there reported in 1970 that the church had owned a 700 year old chronicle which had been confiscated by the Italians during the period of occupation (1937-41) in the course of a manhunt for freedom fighters (*arbäñña*). It was not possible to find information on the whereabouts of this document.

437 D'ABBADIE (1890: 233) wrongly mentioned Boson (Boosho'anna), Xakan (Shakanna) and also Hawzulla as names of rivers.

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Whereas the relationship of the Sooro nomads towards the Mäsmäs was rather tense, amounting to a suppression of the peasants rather than an economic symbiosis for both parties, from the time of the first encounter with the Dubamo a constructive type of co-existence developed. The Dubamo lived as non-militant nsät-farmers in the highlands of Otooro-Danxa as well as scattered in the area from the Gamunna River north of the present market town of Gimbichchu up to Mt. Shonqolla. They had avoided conflicts with the Weexo-giira of the lowland zones, particularly the Haballo in the Lange'e district sloping down to the Omo gorge by paying voluntary tributes to them. However, they were principally not considered a despised and inferior group because of this. Indeed, their claim of being of Solomonic origin, similar to that of the dynasty of the Christian Empire, and of descent from the Gondärine Amhara, plus the fact that they liked to called themselves *Wombeeta* (= King's people; derived from the Cushitic word *woma*) made little impression on the militarily superior Hadiyya. But the Dubamo had complex syncretistic religious beliefs and practices which made them appear spiritually potent and particularly powerful in the eyes of the neighbouring ethnic groups. At first the Dubamo had possessed a priest as medium of the spirit *Nagaasso*, and this man was recognised also by the Hadiyya as the most important *qallichcha* in the whole region. When seven generations before the 1970s, the medium of *Nagaasso* was ousted through the bearer of the *Hawzulla* spirit who had come across from Boša west of the Omo, the trans-regional significance of Dubamoland as a spiritual centre increased.

Just as to the Weexo-giira before, the autochthonous Dubamo farmers voluntarily submitted to the Sooro-Hadiyya and were accepted by them as *Alana* (sing. *Alansho*), tribute payers. However, the newcomers were not content with only occupying the lowland zones for pasture grounds, especially as the Agara-Hadiyya were already herding their livestock there, and rather drove their cattle into the grassy highlands of Danxa and Donga. They thus became neighbours with the Baadawwaachcho who at the time lived in the northern part of the area which is today occupied by the Wälaytta (cf. chap. 3.5.8). On their southward move they also encroached on the imbaaro, who, just like the Donga and Dubamo, were linguistically and culturally related to the Kambaata. The Sooro managed to establish a kind of political superiority over these groups and increasingly assimilated the Dubamo and Donga. The imbaaro, however, could basically maintain their independence as a Kambaata-speaking political unit.[438] Approximately six generations before the 1970s, the southward expansion of the Sooro into this territory was essentially completed. In addition to the imbaaro, the Baadawwaachcho and later the Wälaytta blocked their further advance.

While the Sooro conquered new territories in the south and assimilated part of the Weexo-giira and brought the Dubamo and Donga under their sway, on their northern flank they had to face the increasingly strong pressure of the Leemo. Especially the Habaaro and Boosho'anna factions were exposed to this threat. In the first

438 For further information cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 56-58.

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half of the 19th century their pasture grounds still reached beyond Waachchamo and the enclave of the Mäsmäs, whereas the Leemo only possessed a narrow strip of land stretching from nnäqor and Liisaanna along the southern edge of Gurageland to the territory of när.

One of the greatest warriors at this time, Debbene Saale, whose activities are heralded in the traditions of the Sooro, successfully repelled enemy attacks and slew the best Shaashoogo fighters who were allied with the Leemo (cf. chap. 3.5.7). Despondent over the heavy losses, the Shaashoogo consulted a soothsayer (*hiraagaanchcho*) as to how to overcome the powerful combatant. They were advised to cease fighting a war against a tribe that they were closely connected with genealogically; and they followed his advice.

Despite his victories, Debbene Saale could not prevent the Leemo snatching the Sooro's northern abodes from them, since he was only a man conversant with hand weapons and not a match for the intelligence of his opponent, Ashawoyiniyye, who also had at his disposal a wealth of clever tricks. When Debbene one day joined his ancestors – how he died is not reported by the traditions – it looked bleak for the Sooro. Under their leader Biiro Ennagaaro the Leemo advanced up to Jaajura and the strategically important territory of Waachchamo was definitely lost to the Sooro. However, in this hour of hardship a new popular hero arose, namely Gii'mooro Aashanchche from the Agge'ooso clan of the Hade faction, whose name means something like "a man who never allows the enemy to rest". His career began after Biiro Ennagaaro in a second advance towards Jaajura during a subsequent Sooro counter-attack was killed in Woshsheeba. Already as a child Gii'mooro is said to have threatened the enemies of his people:

> "You had better look out! When I have the virility of a man, when my horse has thrown a foal and when the blacksmiths have made me two lances, then it is all over for you! Then I will defeat you with the sharpness of my weapons and steal the cattle out of your kraals."

Gii'mooro became the elected war commander of the Sooro when he was still very young. He succeeded in temporarily repulsing the Leemo north of Waachchamo, but his overall triumph was to be of short duration.

> Gii'mooro Aashanchche's uncle Mango was envious of his nephew's success and fame and he single-mindedly attempted to ruin him. He asked a magician for advice as to how to get rid of Gii'mooro. The magician instructed him to slaughter a black-speckled steer and when he had skinned it, to sleep on the skin. Then he should give Gii'mooro some of the meat to eat, which he did. Furthermore, Mango advised all the Sooro warriors at the behest of the *qallichcha* to give their horses runny butter to drink. He secretly revoked this assignment, however. Only Gii'mooro was not informed about this, so that only his horse drank the liquid butter and became weakened as a result. Then the Sooro began their attack against the Leemo. Gii'mooro rushed his warriors

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> forward via Ashowaala and Kidigisa where he killed an enemy scout and went right up to Shurmo'o. The Leemo kept watch in Lamsaalla noticing too late that the Sooro had already bypassed at the rear. The battle began particularly promisingly for the Sooro. However, around midday Gii'mooro's charger, because of the butter it had drunk, became weak. He continued obstinately to fight and wounded the famous Leemo fighter Goondaale Genfo with his lance as well as the Hayyibba man Kole. Then he was fatally wounded. Many of the enemies pursuing him were nevertheless slain by him before he died in Qaalisha. Triumphantly, the Leemo warriors reported to the old men of the council that they had killed their most powerful enemy. However, they said: 'We will only believe this if you bring us Gii'mooro's heart'. They then returned to the battlefield, followed the trail of blood and the vultures and eventually found the dead body of Gii'mooro. After they had taken his heart to the elders, it was cut into pieces and pregnant women hung small pieces as an amulet around their necks so that their children would become as strong and brave as the Sooro combatant Gii'mooro Aashanchche.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta and aylä Maryam Malgo).

Despite the incessant war between the Leemo and the Sooro, there were also intermarriages between the two groups. It happened occasionally that the women who were married to the men from the opposing side warned their relatives as to how an attack had been planned so that they could safeguard themselves in good time.

The battle, in which Gii'mooro fell, was one of the last which took place between the Leemo and the Sooro. Only a few years later, according to the oral communications, the abäša conquerors arrived. The portrayed events full of warlike clashes can be dated to the 1870s and 1880s. Since then, the boundaries of both Hadiyya sub-groups have remained essentially unchanged and run along the Ajo River south of Hossäyna and the Haruwa, a tributary of the Omo, between the territories of the Baadogo and Sooro-Boosho'anna (cf. map 29). When, however, in the aftermath of the coming into force of the "*Pax Aethiopica*" a bigger fluctuation started, the people's awareness of the ancient ethnic boundaries gradually disappeared.

This is not the case to the same degree for the boundaries between the Sooro and the Kambaata. Up to the present, disputes over the borders of the land assigned to ethnic groups, to clans, to government chiefs (*balabbat*) and to peasant associations (*qäbäle*), have induced frictions of various kinds and intensity.

As long as the Kambaata were dominated by the Weexo-giira and only possessed a small territory around Mt. Ambarichcho, they had little contact with the Sooro residing further north. Not until the settlement areas of the "Confederation of Four" – not least because of pressure exercised by the Leemo – had shifted south, did they become neighbours of the old-established Kambaata peasants. Unimpeded, the Hadiyya nomads could drive their herds up to the foot of the Ambarichcho. Under *woma*

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Dagooyye, who ruled approximately from 1810 to 1845,[439] the Kambaata, however, began their expansion into the lower-lying areas surrounding their centre of settlement. The expansion of the peasants threatened by overpopulation in their narrow mountain habitat was accomplished largely in the form of a peaceful infiltration which was tolerated without protest by most of the surrounding Hadiyya groups (cf. chap. 3.5.7 and 3.5.8). With the Sooro, however, a military conflict ensued.

Dagooyye had adopted the tradition of his predecessors of inviting the *gaaxxanna* (military commanders) of the neighbouring Hadiyya tribes to a great banquet three times a year and on these occasions gave these horses as a gift. The highlands of the Kambaata and Dubamo were namely famous as breeding areas for horses. This gesture which implied a type of involuntary tribute-payment, had the purpose on the one hand, of buying a guarantee of safety from attack by the warlike nomads, and, on the other hand, of playing one group off against the other in order to improve the hosts' own position. In this way, the Sooro leader Debbene Saale, for example, was ranked among the people who regularly received presents from Dagooyye.

The Kambaata king endeavoured above all to win the Baadawwaachcho as his allies and to also keep on friendly terms with the Shaashoogo, Allaaba and Leemo, so as to build an alliance against the Sooro from which his people should benefit. Simultaneously, he began to recruit Hadiyya and Arsi warriors who were to form the core of an enlarged military force. The relationship between the Sooro and Kambaata became more and more fraught with tension, and the number of violent clashes from both sides increased. The Sooro who had regularly used the pastures in the vicinity of Mt. Ambarichcho chose to avoid this territory from this time on.

Woma Dilbato, who purposefully continued the policy of his father, Dagooyye, succeeded in augmenting his base of power considerably. His opponent in Sooro was Adaayye Agaago, leader of the Jawwaaro clan at home in the Donga highlands, and at least in the initial phase of the escalating contention with the Kambaata Debbene Saale still played an important role. Dilbato's son Gaagaabo was his father's designated war commander and after a successful raid against Wälaytta he then wanted to win fame by conquering Sooro territories. How these enterprises went, is described in the oral traditions in the following way:

> Dilbato was highly pleased about his son Gaagaabo's fortunes of war and wanted to bestow many gifts upon him. But Gaagaabo rejected all the presents offered to him, namely horses, weapons and slaves, and demanded instead the districts Qankichcho and Shonqolla [in the western part of Sooro territory bordering on Kämbata]. The king who was known for his wisdom and prudence was aware of the intrinsic ominous consequence of this plan and tried to talk the young man out of it. He knew of the military strength of the Sooro and doubted the success of a war of conquest against them. When

439 BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 61ff. This was confirmed by the records of the missionary KRAPF (1858: 74). Cf. also D'ABBADIE 1890: 94, 167.

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Gaagaabo adamantly insisted on his request, Dilbato thought up a ruse which would facilitate the snatching away of Qankichcho and Shonqolla from the Sooro. He invited the Sooro warriors to a banquet and entertained them generously with food and drink. A Sooro man from Godichcho [his name was not reported] had, however, received advice from a soothsayer: 'Mistrust the Kambaata and avoid all their drinks'. Dilbato had actually arranged for the beer and the honey wine to be mixed with narcotic drugs. When he noticed that one of the Sooro warriors had not drunk, he encouraged him by saying: 'My friend, why are you not drinking? Do you think so little of my hospitality?' The man from Godichcho remained unwavering as Dilbato then presented him with a horse and a slave. This was repeated once more, but the Sooro man could not be persuaded to partake of a drink. – As most of the guests were already drunk in the meantime, Gaagaabo believed it was opportune to attack. At an agreed upon signal he set off for Sooro with his warriors. Without facing any resistance, the Kambaata reached Shonqolla and quickly built a house on the highest mountain peak in order to [symbolically] manifest that they had taken possession of it. However, as they approached with the timber and their tools, the Sooro were alerted by the man from Godichcho who had stayed vigilant. During the banquet, Dilbato had tried to elicit consent: 'Leave me Gadalbooyya' [This is the name for a grey-brown steer with a white blaze.] This Gadalbooyya was a code name for Qankichcho and Shonqolla. Most of the Sooro were unsuspecting and wanted to agree to Dilbato's request for possession of Gadalbooyya. Nevertheless the man from Godichcho induced them to back away, [whereby the Kambaata were denied the inevitable symbolic protection deemed by such an action.] – Adaayye Agaago, having not taken up Dilbato's invitation, was on a reconnaissance ride on his charger Ullisiida ["who roams the land"] at Mt. Shonqolla. He discovered the Kambaata invaders. Adaayye lived at the time in discord with the Sooro and had therefore not joined the other warriors who had gone to Kämbata. Now, he faced the enemy with his faithful supporters. One of the Sooro warriors, Digaabo Atar, a herald serving Adaayye, killed the Kambaata leader Gaagaabo in the first skirmish. [His grave is at the foot of Mt. Shonqolla.] – Equally, the very drunk Sooro in Dilbato's residence got on their feet and rushed back to defend their territory. The Kambaata did not only lose their commander but also many warriors on the battleground. They had to abandon their plans of conquering Sooro territories.

(According to Haile Bubbamo Arficio and Annullo Canqalo).

Frequently, not the Kambaata but the Sooro were the aggressors, harassing the peasants with their plundering raids and taking their property. In spite of this fact, their women liked to regularly visit the Kambaata market at Dooyoganna and at Mt. Ambarichcho in order to swap foodstuffs and articles of daily use in the well-worn system of economic symbiosis, known in the Hadiyya language as *qabaaja*. The

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Kambaata territory was in those days surrounded by walls made of earth and fortifications with thirty gates leading outside.[440] To curb the Sooro encroachments upon the people, Dilbato is supposed to have applied an arbitrary measure.

> When the Sooro women went once again to the Kämbata markets, Dilbato had the gates closed so that all the people within the walled area could not leave. When the Sooro learnt that their women were being held in Kämbata, full of rage they seized their weapons and wanted to free their relatives by force. However, when they realised that by doing this they would endanger the women's lives, they prudently decided to find a solution by way of negotiation, and requested the wise Leemo leader, Ashawoyiniyye, to mediate. He was the one who had advised Dilbato to take the women captive, which the Sooro did not know. Ashawoyiniyye asked the Sooro delegation which had been sent to him, whether the Sooro would be prepared to accept his advice and Dilbato's conditions. When they consented, he commanded that they should swear on their lances – [this was considered by the Hadiyya as a particularly effective oath] – never again to wage war against the Kambaata. Peace would be advantageous to both parties, because how could the Hadiyya get food from the Kambaata when they kept on hindering farming production, or even killing? – Ashawoyiniyye went through a secret gate to Kambaata and informed Dilbato of the negotiations. As a result, the Sooro women were set free and could go through the gates back to their people.
>
> (According to Hailed Bubbamo Arficio and Abagaaz Harbo).

The peace, however, did not last very long, as the expansion of living space became increasingly an existential one for the agricultural Kambaata. With the help of the Leemo, they occupied a strip of land east of Mt. Shonqolla and protected the conquered territory by means of earth walls which had more of a symbolic significance rather than a real line of defence. At the time of the abäša conquest, the Kambaata had pushed their area of settlement forward from the Saatame River some distance westwards into the Sooro territory, and since then the boundaries between both peoples are the rivers Saanna and Maarduuncho.

The close contact with the monarchically organised societies of the Dubamo, Donga, imbaaro and Kambaata in the 19th century had to some extent influenced the Sooro with regard to the shaping of their political sovereignty. In this respect, their institutions therefore noticeably differed from the pattern of other Hadiyya groups. Alongside the *gadab garaad* reserved for them, they also had the title *adil*(*a*). However, whereas among many other Hadiyya people, e.g., the Leemo, *adil(a)* was only bestowed as an honorary title, and did not signify a pronounced position of political power, among the Sooro it came to express an attempt to estab-

440 The Hadiyya and Kambaata traditions agree with this information. By a partial inspection of the enclosure I could view some relics of the former entry gates. Constructions of this type were also common, for example, in parts of Gurageland and in the kingdom of Wälaytta.

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lish a monarchical head within the egalitarian nomadic society. This aspiration revealingly emanated from the Jawwaaro clan located in Donga who had become thoroughly familiar with the kingship institutions of the Kambaata-speaking autochthonous inhabitants. According to the oral tradition, the Sooro are said to have requested the Dubamo *woma* Doojaamo to cede the *woma* title to them as they were the true masters of the land. Thereby they wanted to accomplish that this institution's inherently deemed spiritual power passed over to their own group.

> Doojaamo, surrounded by Sooro warriors, consulted the *qallichcha* of the Hawzulla spirit and then advised the Sooro: 'Go to Wälaytta and take along Adaayye Agaago. Make him your *woma*!' The Sooro followed his advice and sent messengers to Wälaytta where Adaayye was staying at the court of King Daamoota. He obeyed and returned to his place Donga.
>
> (According to KaKa Gäbrä, Sadore Siide and Hamfuco Waannoore in Danxa/Dubamo 1970).[441]

Adaayye Agaago received the blessing of the Dubamo and Donga leaders and was proclaimed *adil* of the Sooro at a big council meeting to which the Leemo, under their *adil* Firiixo, the Shaashoogo and other tribes sent delegations with presents. Adaayye did not adopt the title *woma*, common among many Cushitic- and Omotic-speaking peoples, but rather *adil* which his grandfather, Cukaalo, is supposed to have held. According to oral communications by some elders of that region, there had only been one other *adil* before Adaayye, namely Shirbo from the Saroore clan of the Hadeanna faction, who was deposed of office by the people for a reason no longer known.

Before this, Adaayye was apparently a *gaaxxanna*, an elected war leader, who had also made a name for himself as *hiraagaanchcho* and through his marriage relationship with the Wälaytta King Daamoota (c. 1848-53)[442] had gained respect beyond the borders of his territory. Daamoota, whom the traditions depict as a sinister despot who was half insane and finally deposed by his people, had married Lajibe, Adaayye's sister and had given his daughter Xabanse in marriage to his brother-in-law. Adaayye, together with a number of his fellow tribesmen, spent several years at the court of the king, and from this time on there is a clan of Sooro-Hadiyya descent, the Jawwaaro, in the Wälaytta districts of Sabe, Boombe and Ambe.

After his proclamation as *adil* of the Sooro, Adaayye ambitiously set about establishing a leadership attached to his person, in the sense of what he knew from his father-in-law or from the *woma* of the Kambaata-speaking groups. For his wife, the

441 For biographical details concerning these informants interviewed in Danxa/Dubamo in 1970 see BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 289f.

442 This dating comes from the Wälaytta dynasty list by Eike HABERLAND, which I have taken as a basis. KLAUSBERGER (1978: 48) specifies the reign of Daamoota as 1835-45. I have not considered data of more recent research, except the chronology of ABBINK 2010: 1093.

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princess from Wälaytta, he provided a residence in Sangiiyye in the Donga highland from where she could look down to her homeland. Adaayye Agaago was eager to install for himself that syndrome of attributes and rituals customary and typical for "divine kingship" in southern Ethiopia. In this way, he had five residences built and only let special meals be served to him. He attempted to establish a threshold of distance and aloofness towards his fellow tribesmen, whom he henceforth tended to regard no longer as members of an egalitarian society but as subjects. By such an attitude he not only alienated from most of his people, but he also provoked a quarrel with the *anjaanchcho*, the spiritual leader of the Habaaro group.

> The *anjaanchcho* had a dream. In this dream dignitaries of the Kambaata King Dilbato defected to Adaayye Agaago as they believed him to be more powerful. The *anjaanchcho* delivered an ultimatum that from the six who had deserted two should be put at his disposal. When the dream became a reality shortly after, the *anjaanchcho* demanded the dismissal of two of the six Kambaata dignitaries. Adaayye refused, pointing to his royal dignity and sovereignty. Consequently, the *anjaanchcho* summoned a council meeting in which the arrogant *adil* was forced to abdicate.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

From then on Adaayye was only considered as the leader of his original territory Donga. However, his descendants still retained a certain position of power for the whole of the Sooro territory. As told in the local traditions, he died a year after the Amharic conquest of the territory. His son, Annoore, who had inherited the title *adil*, came forward as the leading personality among the delegates of the tribe in the negotiations about subjugation.

The system of the separation of power and the differentiation of socio-political functions among the Sooro prevented the formation of a kingship being pursued in the face of the developing process that was looming. Psychologically, however, a certain transformation had ensued. The Sooro in the 20th century were obviously more amenable and more subservient to the authorities and also towards the exploitation practices of their own *balabbat* than the "more democratic" Leemo or other Hadiyya tribes. In all cases, the bearers of political offices, *adil* and *daddachcho*, were allocated chieftancies by the abäša administration in Sooro, whereas the altogether five *anjaamma*, the spiritual leaders (three from Haabaro, one from Hade and one from Shakanna), became more or less exempted from any significant role in the public sphere.

3.5.7 The Shaashoogo

According to the oral traditions, the Shaashoogo (Shaashoogooso) are the last migration wave of the Hadiyya from the east to have reached the area of the middle

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Bilate at the western escarpment of the Rift Valley.[443] In ancient times their ancestors are said to have lived south of the Cärcär range, where they were assimilated by the Oromo in the 17h century. In the region of Seeruu it can indeed be proved by a comparative analysis of pedigrees that there are clans of Shaashoogo descent. Joining the *djih d* of A mad Grañ most inhabitants left the area, crossed the mountains of the Celalo massif towards the west and penetrated into the heartland of the Christian province Wä3. In a district of this region, in Sire, genealogical traces of the Shaashoogo can be identified among the Oromo as well. However, the majority of the Shaashoogo migrated to the eastern slope of the Rift Valley between the lakes Langano and Awasa. They were forced onward to the lowlands by the Oromo – presumably it was the Alabdu-Gu33i who had penetrated into the territory of the Leephisi River. The place Šasämäne (Shaashemanna) which translates as "Shaashe people" is said to have been named after a forefather holding this name who was buried there. From approximately the 13th to the 7th generation in their genealogy, i.e. roughly from the beginning of the 17th century and the end of the 18th century, the Shaashoogo adopted the livelihood of nomadic pastoralists in the central Lake Region.[444] After 1750, the pressure exerted by the Arsi from the eastern highland evidently intensified to such an extent that initially the Alabdu-Gu33i withdrew by moving south-west and then the Shaashoogo themselves were compelled to retreat due to the expansion of the Arsi-Oromo.

The oral traditions have preserved the stages of the migrations in detail and depict a clear picture of their course. Starting from their domiciles in the region of Šašämäne, the Shaashoogo moved westward through the bush zones of the lowlands which were hardly penetrable by that time and finally reached Saankura.[445] This district is today situated in the border area between Allaaba and W lbaräg northwest of Lake Shaala. The Hoggoannooso and Dodichchmanna, clans of the Urusso faction of the Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya, were also among their followers.

One day, a number of Shaashoogo men who were on a hunting expedition are said to have lost their bearings. Finally, as the conspicuous landmark of Mt. Ambarichcho got closer and their fatigue progressed, they were seized by Kambaata hunters who brought them before their King Kätäma.[446] After they had described their misfortune and had explained their ethnic affiliation, the Kambaata, who at that time had been suffering greatly under the reprisals of the Weexo-giira, made them an offer:

443 This was also stated by PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 80), who differentiates the Shaashoogo from the "real" Hadiyya, however.

444 The bulk of the information about the Shaashoogo traces back to Nunishe Manta.

445 For information concerning the history of this place cf. BUSTORF (2011: 290-94).

446 Instead of Kätäma, the oral traditions sometimes refer to his successor Waaqo, whose rule can be dated according to my own investigations (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 45) approximately to the period from 1790 to 1810. From the overall historical context it is more probably, however, that this particular event is to be associated with King Kätäma.

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> Come with your warriors and expel the Weexo-giira. Then you can graze your herds in a peaceful neighbourhood with us in the pastures of the lowland zones.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta, Namana Dilliso and Annullo Canqalo).

The Shaashoogo hunters returned to their tribe and after the men, who had been believed dead, reported back, the council decided to follow the Kambaata request for help. They went south to bypass the districts of Leenda and Qolito in order to avoid a clash with the Allaaba who laid claim to this area. However, the Shaashoogo encountered a strong contingent of Arsi warriors near Senqelle west of Lake Awasa which had advanced far towards the west. A severe dispute developed between the Shaashoogo and the Arsi who were supported by the Allaaba under *abagaaz* Qootto. The reason for this quarrel is said to have been a bagged buffalo. Despite this obviously minor incitement, it culminated in cattle raids and eventually a bitterly fought battle. The Hadiyya were driven by the Arsi as far as Roopi at the Bilate River. In the battle which broke out there and was costly on both sides, one of the bravest Shashoogo warriors from the Budiyye clan was mortally struck by a lance and is said to have called out: "*Keera baasa umfummo*", which roughly translates as: "alas this is the worst ever experienced". Ever since then the place has been called Baasa and has remained a site of bloodshed in memory of this battle.

After this serious defeat, the Shaashoogo together with the Baadawwaachcho expelled the Weexo-giira, the enemies of the Kambaata. They moved to the eastern slope of the Qata and Daato mountains to the north under their leaders Callo Ogoddo and Hollamo Heeraaro and drove their cattle down into the lowlands of the central Bilate. At that time, these were pasture grounds partly occupied by the Sooro which extended from the Bilate River westwards as far as Liisaanna. The Shaashoogo tradition recounts the following incident of the encounter with this group:

> When the Shaashoogo came, the Sooro lived in the territory at Lake Booyo under their leader Onor Doojo from the Hade group. They wanted to expel the newcomers by force. However, the Shaashoogo elders suggested a peaceful solution: 'We are sister tribes and do not want to shed each other's blood'. The Sooro accepted this and the opponents agreed on an ordeal. Two steers should fight against each other in the middle between the two fronts of the warriors, and the group with the animal brought down had to leave the territory. The steer of the Shaashoogo put the Sooro steer to flight. However, because the Sooro refused to leave the territory as a result of the ordeal, a fight ensued. The Sooro were defeated in Shaamo and Taisa and moved back to their kinsmen in the highlands.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta).

Since then, that was shortly before the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, the Shaashoogo possessed the land between the escarpment of the Rift Valley in the

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west and south-west, Saankura in the plain of Arsiland in the east, and the foothills of the Gurage Mountains in the north. Hollamo, one of the two leaders, died shortly afterwards in Loolla, a district lived in today by the W lbaräg. The other leader, Callo, got into a quarrel with his people over the fact that his endeavours for justice and peace went unheeded by the people. He is supposed to have employed black magic so that the territory experienced a severe drought which only ended when the Shaashoogo, at the recommendation of a prophet, visited Callo three times with presents in his places of exile in Leemo and Sooro, and only then did he retract the curse with a ceremonial sacrifice of a steer. After the return of the then aged Callo, his son Alamo became one of the determining figures in the history of the Shaashoogo during the second half of the 19th century. A number of moralising stories about his life and his later prudence and wisdom have been preserved.

After the withdrawal of the Sooro, the Shaashoogo divided the territory among their five factions: the Shokmoollo went north to the W lbaräg and Libidoo boundary, the Taraachcho occupied the territory on the edge of the highlands in the west, the Wishshiiro took the territory in the south on the Kambaata boundary, the Daaniyye were awarded the territory around the Shaamo district and the Annosichcho the land around Suuto.

There was a lack of clarity among the European explorers of the 19th century with regard to the location and geographical conditions of the Shaashoogo territory. D'ABBADIE (1890: 260, 265) believed that a large river, which flowed into the Omo, crossed the territory "Xaxego", which he described wrongly as an extensive plateau. He did not know that the Bilate did not drain into the Omo but into Lake Abbayya. CECCHI (1888: 412) presumed that the Waaraa, the name given to the Bilate by the Hadiyya, turned eastward to form a tributary of the Ganaale-Juba system.

The Shaashoogo were relatively secure from outside enemies in their new homeland. Peace prevailed with the Libidoo, sanctioned by marriage relationships. They were separated from the Arsi by an impenetrable bush wilderness on the far side of Saankura, and the W lbaräg resided at that time still in the border areas of the Gurage Mountains. Regarding their allies, the Leemo, they were just in the process of occupying the area around Liisaanna. Thus, no common boundary existed any more between the Shaashoogo and the Sooro. The Kambaata were still militarily weak and the Allaaba only became an adversary to be taken seriously after the asan group had immigrated from Guna and founded an alliance with the Uull-Allaaba in approximately 1820. On the other hand, the Shaashoogo themselves became an aggressive tribe frequently afflicting the neighbouring groups with their raids.

In the association with the Libidoo and Leemo they undertook incursions against the East-Gurage, robbed the W lbaräg from Eaffegalla of their meagre livestock and pushed northwards up to Mäsqan. On one of these raids, the Shaashoogo man Geya, about whom a traditional song of praise exists, was killed. When the East-Gurage in the second half of the 19th century had successfully intensified their endeavours to unify under the banner of Islam, the forays became increasingly risky for the Shaashoogo and other groups of pastoralists. The victory of the Leemo over the

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Muslim forces of *im m* Gomfamo around 1875 at Fonqo'o witnessed the support of the Shaashoogo, who came rushing in to play a significant role in this battle. The warlike deeds of their leader, *abagaaz* Geedo Ojjee, as well as those of the warriors Arkiisso Ammuuxo and Ayyaano Migo, have been glorified in a number of narratives and songs of praise (*draancha*).

During the first half of the 19th century, the Shaashoogo had also supported the Leemo against the Sooro. However, they did not raise their weapons against this foe again after three of their best warriors Bukkaano Miraammo, Hayise Uduunsho and Heeto Goljo were slain by Debbene Saale (cf. chap. 3.5.6). With their eastern neighbours, the Arsi-Oromo, in that area made up largely of Baadeooso groups of Hadiyya descent, they fought a running battle throughout the whole century on account of never-ending reciprocal cattle raids. Such actions were interrupted, according to the reports, by relatively brief periods of precarious ceasefire. In these conflicts, the Shaashoogo are supposed to have been rather successful. One time, under *abagaaz* Gedo, they succeeded in taking the opposing war leader Dabbo'o prisoner and receiving a ransom of fifty young cows in exchange. This incident can be dated around 1860 through the overall framework of genealogies and historical traditions.

The Allaaba had at first endeavoured to live peacefully together with the Shaashoogo and their leader *im m* Nuunade ceremoniously made a pact of non-aggression with *abbaagad* Alamo Callo. The Shaashoogo did not keep to the agreement and robbed a lot of cattle from the Allaaba. Nuunade is said to have then acted as follows. Dressed in leather clothing like the women he wandered through the entire country of the Shaashoogo, from Hanje to Danaba, for the purpose of reminding them of their pledge. However, they only laughed at him until a wondrous thing is suddenly said to have happened:

> The cattle stolen by the Shaashoogo began all of a sudden to run back to Allaaba on their own accord. They ran so fast that the Shaashoogo could not retrieve them. Also many head of their own cattle joined them. This occurred as a punishment for their breach of promise.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta and Ibrdhim Affuuso).

It is a fact that the Allaaba did not passively allow the Shaashoogo attacks to continue unheeded and went on the offensive. As an example Funkaammo, Alamo's son, was once embroiled in a fierce skirmish against the Allaaba who had wanted to steal his cattle. This, on the other hand, caused a Shaashoogo counter-attack in the territory south of Saankura during which Funkaammo killed many opponents and went home in triumph. It can frequently be observed that with regard to conflicts between neighbouring groups, the versions of both opponents are divergent in the traditions. Each of them strives to credit itself with glory and to suppress ignominy and defeat as far as possible. That is also the case here. The Shaashoogo were themselves victims of enemy attacks during the last third of the 19th century. This is evi-

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denced by a reference by CECCHI (1888: 124) who estimated the size of the group at around 3000 people.

> "They are worshippers of idols and are called Galla in the territory; their present Meskeri (King) is Allemo. They themselves do not trade in slaves but often fall victim to enemy tribes."

With the Kambaata, from whom they received a tribute paid in items of vegetable food, the Shaashoogo lived in peace, especially as they did not consider these peaceful people as equal opponents. The exchange of products took place at the two markets of Melisa and Tinjiira between the Waachchamo plateau and Mt. Ambarichcho. King Dilbato pursued an adroit policy of land grabbing, the consequences of which were initially not sufficiently realised by the mobile pastoralists. In an area on the northern slope of Mt. Daato still used for grazing by the Shaashoogo, he had ramparts and ditches built which at first were to symbolically demonstrate right of ownership of the land stretching behind them. However, after a while they were attributed the character of a real boundary.[447] The agropastoralists subjectively did not yet feel confronted with a noteworthy loss of their grazing reserves and were readily willing to accept the explanation of the peasants that the earth walls were an indispensable protection against pests and wild animals harming particularly the nsät plantations.

Only once, about a year before the first invasion by the abäša conquerors under *ras* Gobäna Daci (Goobana Daaci), did an armed conflict break out between the Shaashoogo and the Kambaata. It was allegedly provoked by a raid against unguarded farmsteads by warriors sent by King Dilbato. The Shaashoogo leader *abagaaz* Geedo Bashiro is said to have retaliated with a fearsome counter strike. In the border district of Buchamo, many Kambaata fighters under the command of Anniyyo, a man from the Gulba clan, were evidently killed, so that the day of this battle is memorized in the oral tradition as *Bucham-balla* (day of Buchamo). In the following year, the Shaashoogo again fought against the Kambaata, wanted however, to speedily make peace on account of a threatening abäša invasion. Before peace with their neighbours could be sealed ceremoniously with the slaughter of a black sheep, they saw the rising smoke from their burning homesteads in the lowlands and marched hastily to the Shaamo district to where *ras* Gobäna's marauding expedition army had advanced.

Among the sub-groups of the Hadiyya cluster, the Shaashoogo are believed to be one of the smallest and also in regard to their ritual position, they were considered as one of the least privileged. This is explained by the fact that Shaashe had been forgotten in the allocation of his inheritance by his father, and only then when all the property had been assigned, is he said to have arrived on the scene. As a result, Booyyaamo gave him an iron ring (*jimfoo* or *mishiinsha*) of the type which is fixed

447 For similar actions of the Kambaata with regard to other Hadiyya groups cf. pp. 236.

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at the bottom of lance shafts. His descendants have ever since guarded it as a kind of relic whose magical power has to be renewed every year in a sacrificial ceremony.

CECCHI's notion that the Shaashoogo were headed by a king did not apply in any phase of their documentable history. Since approximately six generations (before the 1970s) an *abbaagad* was the highest dignitary, elected by the people and mostly an older man who had distinguished himself through war feats and wisdom in the council. The title itself obviously derived from *abbaa gadaa* which was the customary Oromo designation for leaders in the *gadaa* system. But it did not share discernible socio-political criteria with this cyclical generation-set system.

Among the Shaashoogo, two elders simultaneously held the honorary position of *abbaagad*. As the genealogies reveal, they were all recruited from the same lineages of the Assaaro and Jawwaaro sub-groups. However, no automatic son-father succession prevailed but rather the principle of an achieved meritorious status. Besides the two *abbaagad*, who officiated as the highest judges, there was a *daddaachcho* – this title was also known among the other groups of Booyyaamanna (descendants of Booyyaamo) – whose decision-making sphere was confined to civil matters. He was recruited from a clan different from that of the *abbaagad*, and the appointment to this office could normally be passed on from father to son only once. Thereafter the position of the *daddaachcho* had to be transferred to another branch of the family.[448]

The title of the war leaders, *abagaaz* and *azma* were originally unknown and were not adopted by the Shaashoogo from W lbaräg before the second half of the 19th century.

D'ABBADIE (1890: 116) called the Shaashoogo a "heathen" group. However, the informants emphasised – as with the other Hadiyya groups – the distinction that their ancestors were *Fandaanano* and not *Ibjee* (sing. *Ibjekichcho*), "people without religion".

The Shaashoogo hunted the numerous hippopotami present in Lake Booyo at the upper Bilate. Their highly dangerous strategy was to wound the animals in the water and then kill them on the land. For miles around, they were the suppliers of whips which they fabricated from hippo skins. From the time of the abäša occupation this source of income became lost because of the imposition of an increasingly tighter hunting ban.

3.5.8 The Baadawwaachcho

The group with the collective name Baadawwaachcho originates from Hadiyya factions of different descent who coalesced in the course of two centuries to become a new ethnic unit. The group received its name from Baade(ooso), the offspring of Baade, who is not identical with the often same-named progenitor of the Baadogo. The suffix *–waachcho* was evidently first introduced by the abäša and then ac-

448 By far the majority of information referring to the Shaashoogo was recorded from Nunishe Manta in 1970.

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cepted as a general designation by the other groups who lived together with the Baade in the same territory.[449]

Warlike activities seem to have been indeed a kind of "*Leitidee*", which appears to be more pronounced with the Baadawwaachcho than with all the other Hadiyya groups.

The Urusso, the second main faction of the Baadawwaachcho, is supposed to have originated from the marriage of Booyyaamo to the Hayyibba woman Urussee. Because this information from of the oral traditions is only reluctantly accepted by the present people – a female progenitor is considered less prestigious – Urusso is largely seen as the son of Booyyaamo. According to an aetiological legend he was cursed by his father for his obstinacy "to have a permanently restless warring future". Deviating from the legend of the Sooro, according to which Habaaro was condemned to a combatant's existence (cf. page 205), this fate was allotted here to Urusso's sons Hooggo and Dodichcho. Instead of helping their senile father Booyyaamo to remove the snake, they are said to have been on the lookout for enemies, whereas Habaaro chose to hang up bee-hives in the trees. In fact, one can often encounter his descendants doing this in their present places of residence.

The Baadawwaachcho liked to say they were similar to red pepper, attacking their foes with the sharpness of this spice, and it was only the Libidoo similarly condemned to a warring existence, who were their equal as combatants. Like them, their ethnic survival was also severely threatened in approximately 1890. At the time of the conquest by the Christian Empire it appeared to be only a question of time for their complete assimilation by the mighty kingdom of Wälaytta and final loss of their ethnic identity.

The third inherent part of the Baadawwaachcho is the Weexo-giira group, fragments of the Agara-Hadiyya, who are also found among the Leemo and Sooro.[450] Their most important clan is the Haballo(so), who either belonged to the ancient Hadiyya stratum west of the Bilate dating back to the time of A mad Grañ, or immigrated together with other groups at a later time. They claim to be of the same descent as the Daayyu, who are numerous among the Arsi-Oromo in Dallo and Bale, and received their name just as with the Urusso, from a woman. Haballo, so related in the oral tradition, partook of smoking the water-pipe at council meetings like a man and was famous for her wise judgement. The dispersal of her descendants over a large part of the Hadiyya and Arsi territories is depicted in the following story which is supposed to have taken place six or seven generations before the 1970s.

> A man from the Urusso clan Olishmanna wanted to marry the daughter of the Haballo *anjaanchcho* [High Priest]. Together with his followers he fetched

449 Concerning the etymology no satisfactory explanation can be arrived at. According to a questionable interpretation the name is said to indicate that they had perpetually inflicted war on the territory. In general, the ending -chcho is to be regarded as a determinate suffix.

450 This has already been dealt with in the chapters about these groups. Remnants of Agara-Hadiyya are also to be found as clans among the Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 191-97).

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> the bride and started the return journey. At a river he was attacked by Haballo warriors and he and his followers were all killed. The *anjaanchcho* was deeply shocked at this breach of fidelity by his own people. He went to the place of the massacre and threw his *laakka* [the brass bangle symbolising his dignity] into the water and cursed the Haballo that they would be scattered all over the land.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso, Daaimo Abbäbä and Oyika Gadabo).

The fourth important faction of the Baadawwaachcho are the Sha'amanna who are also numerous among the Allaaba and Arsi-Oromo. Genealogically, they are linked to the Haballo lineage of the Ankatmanna through intermarriage and achieved a significant position not only because of the magic power they are believed to possess, but also because of their political and military capabilities.

As a result of the heterogeneous ethnic composition and the rather vaguely drawn migration sequences of the Baadawwaachcho from the 17th century onwards, as well as of the often overlapping versions of the oral traditions, historical reconstruction has become immensely difficult.[451] Compared with the Semitic-speaking Hadiyya as well as the Qabeena, Allaaba, Libidoo and Booyyaamanna, the Baadeooso evolved considerably later as an ethnic unit of their own. From the very beginning they appear to have been strongly mixed with Arsi-Oromo. The tradition relates that the ancestor Baade himself, together with the troops of A mad Grañ, reached the vicinity of Mt. n otto, not far from today's Addis Abäba, and to have died somewhere in the territory of the Christian province Šäwa. The Baadeooso groups, who had advanced to these northern positions, were defeated by the Oromo eight to ten generations before the 1970s at the Kataara River east of Lake Z^{w}ay, and thereafter were forced back into the Rift Valley lowlands.

Subsequently, the migration stages of the Baadeooso were largely depicted as identical with those of the Urusso. The movements of the two factions clearly have to be differentiated, however, in order not to merge their largely separate historical development. It is obvious from the genealogies that the Baadeooso, more or less strongly mixed with Arsi-Oromo over ten generations (before the 1970s), continually expanded northward from their dwelling-areas in Dallo and Gädäb. Subsequently, they ousted other Hadiyya groups, particularly the Leemo, Shaashoogo and Urusso, down to the lowlands of the Rift Valley and gradually pushed them towards the Bilate. The tradition of the Shaashoogo explicitly says that they evaded the pressure of Arsi groups, who were mainly of Baadeooso descent, from the east of Lake Langano to the region of Šašämäne. Shortly later they had also to evacuate this area and occupied their final places of residence in the Bilate valley (cf. below). From the

451 To PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 72ff.) the genealogical differences of the Baadawwaachcho factions are not clear, which considerably heightens the confusion evident in her account. I was in the lucky situation to have found among them the most knowledgeable informants, particularly Namana Dilliso.

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altogether six main groups of the Baadeoooso, not more than two, and these only partially, live in the present-day territory of Baadawwaachcho: the Dooda (not to be mixed up with the Doodichchmanna of the Urusso) and the Heerooso. The Woggichcho originally belonged to this faction as well, but they were completely assimilated by the Wälaytta. The Dooda, Weege and Gonsho are widely dispersed among the Arsi, the last-mentioned are also found among the Jiille-Oromo, and the Malgee (Malgichcho) were absorbed by the Sidaama.

The Urusso had at one time migrated to the north together with other Booyyaamanna from Gädäb and for several generations long had grazed on the plains between Lake Z^{w}ay and Mt. Z kwala, roughly from the beginning of the 17th up to the middle of the 18th century. For a reason not known, they then moved southwards and apparently separated themselves from the Sooro in Daaloochcha, east of the Gurage Mountains (in a district mainly inhabited by groups of the East-Gurage at present). While the Sooro people oriented themselves in a south-westerly direction, the Urusso went south-eastwards via Saankura and Mamba'lla in the central Lake Region and came upon the Shaashoogo on the highland escarpment south of Lake Langano. Both groups established a fraternal friendship and lived for several decades in the Šašämäne region. Then around the middle of the 18th century, they both moved westward together to elude the advance of the Baadeoooso and the Arsi. The appeal for help from the Kambaata king Kätäma (cf. p. 215) was a welcome inducement to give up their old places of settlement. Via Senqelle they moved to the Bilate, but they had to force their way through in a fierce battle with heavy losses (cf. chap. 3.5.7), as Baadeoooso groups had already spread out into the whole of the lowland territory between that river and Lake Awasa. The newcomers also had to face the Allaaba. After the battle on the cliffs of Baasa, which the traditions of the allied Urusso and Shaashoogo preserved as a devastating defeat, they traversed the Bilate[452] and then had to immediately face a new adversary, the Weexo-giira.

The already portrayed incident, how the humiliated Kambaata king treacherously disposed of the suppressors of his people with the assistance of the Urusso and Shaashoogo, can only be an episode in the conflict between the newly immigrated and the old established Hadiyya. On the part of the Agara-Hadiyya it primarily affected the Baadogo. The Weexo-giira are supposed to have mobilised their warriors immediately after the arrival of the Urusso and Shaashoogo at the Bilate, and attempted to annihilate the invaders in a nocturnal massacre. However, they were warned just in time by a woman and won the day in a surprising counter-attack, in which they lost their two war leaders, Jamo and Xiriibbo. The Shaashoogo then separated themselves from their comrades-in-arms and went north; the Urusso migrated in the opposite direction and grazed their herds in the territory between Mt.

452 PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 73) calls the river Oda'a which means sykomore in the Hadiyya language. The crossover point is specified by her as Blati Arussi (Bilate Arsi), which relates to the whole region east of the Bilate up to the territory of Šašämäne.

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Daamoota, Lake Abbayya and the Qoyisha mountains in present-day Wälaytta territory.

This region was almost devoid of people because the Wälaytta had hardly expanded outside their ancestral homeland in Kindo by that time. The area north of the Urusso, on the southern edge of the Kämbata Mountains, was used as pastureland by groups of agropastoralist Weexo-giira and Allaaba. Gassuuba, in the vicinity of Lake Abbayya, was one of the most important stations during the Urusso migrations. Further stages preserved by the oral traditions were Gaudaba on the highland slope of Qoyisha, Soriifeela, not far from the present-day Wälaytta capital Soddo, Siyyaara at Mt. Daamoota and Gamasha on the boundary with Donga.

According to correlating reports which are also confirmed by the Shaashoogo and Kambaata traditions, the Urusso had crossed over the Bilate towards the west seven generations before the 1970s, that is, in the last decades of the 18th century. Under the same item in the pedigree and under the successive one, several groups of the Baadeooso, the Dooda, Heerogaara and Wogiichcho followed and concluded an alliance with their former enemies in which they are said to have assumed a dominating role within a short time. They lived in part in Gassuuba, Soriifeela and other places together with the Urusso, but they also often went separate ways in the course of their nomadic movements (regarding the complexity of migrations see map 17).

The Baadeooso were mostly designated as Arsi by the Wälaytta, presumably because the biggest section of their tribal kinsmen remained east of the Bilate and became Oromised there. Those groups located furthest west, however, were pure Hadiyya not only in relation to their descent, but also regarding their language. From approximately the beginning of the 19th century, the river increasingly formed a political borderline between the Baadawwaachcho and groups of Hadiyya descent who were partly assimilated by the Oromo and mostly bilingual. The inhabitants of the area between the Bilate and Lake Awasa consisted mainly of members of clans of the Baadeooso, Urusso, Hoojjee and Haballo. But they had closely aligned themselves with the Arsi in a ceremony known as *lallaba,* and from then on were under the control of the *abbaa gadaa* of the Eka and Heebanoo clans.

The influence of the *gadaa* system also started to intermittently reach into the territories west of Bilate when a Haballo man, *gaaxanna* Gatiso Balango, rose to a leading position among the Arsi in the southern Lake Region and among the Baadawwaachcho. However, the process of political assimilation and cultural diffusion on the part of the Arsi-Oromo a short time thereafter stopped with the arrival of the Christian conquerors.[453] Despite their linguistic and socio-political differences conditioned by the *gadaa* system, both groups across the Bilate were aware of their kinship and ever since the battle of Baasa evidently did not fight against each other but fought only as allies against the Sidaama, Allaaba, Alabdu-Gu33i and Wälaytta.

453 This situation was somewhat similar to that among the Libidoo on the eve of the abäša conquest (cf. chap. 3.5.4).

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When the Urusso and Baadeooso migrated out of the *Q*^{w}*älla* areas of the Lake Region to the climatically favourable *Wäyna Däga* west of the Bilate, the Wälaytta agriculturalists still lived in the narrow habitat of the Kindo mountains, an area north of the confluence of the rivers Omo and Gorgora. Whether the earlier Hadiyya incursions of the Gänz and Weexo-giira had triggered a withdrawal movement of the Omotic-speaking farmers into the mountain refuges is unknown. According to HABERLAND's (1965: 257) investigations, in this territory over the last three hundred years close contact had existed between the Wälaytta and the Hadiyya, peaceful as well as hostile. The bilateral relations obviously intensified towards the end of the 18th century after the immigration of the Baadawwaachcho.[454]

Under King Xubbe (c. 1770-1803), the tenth ruler of the "T gre Dynasty", the Wälaytta were internally consolidated as an ethnic group and their population had obviously increased to an extent that the demographic pressure became more and more unbearable in the narrow mountain habitat. As a result, they started to expand beyond their territory and occupied the adjacent area of Qoyisha.[455] In this territory, which in the language of the Baadawwaachcho is said to mean something like "ours", i.e., "our house" or "our land", the Wälaytta constructed a market at which they could exchange their products with the neighbouring pastoralists. The relations were often strained.

> One day at the Qoyisha market, King Xubbe kidnapped six Hadiyya young women from different clans, from the Boosichcho, Miroore, Wogiichcho, Olishmanna, Waageshmanna and Abbamanna, and married them. Idoote was the one who bore [the later crown prince] Saanna. A storm of indignation arose among the groups affected, and the Baadawwaachcho set out to avenge the dishonour done to them. They inflicted a severe defeat on the Wälaytta. King Xubbe knew, however, how to placate them through negotiations and benefits. The families related by marriage henceforth entered his service as allies.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

From then on a continual process of assimilation of ever new Baadawwaachcho groups into the ethnic body of the Wälaytta took place. It was decisively encouraged by the marriage and integration policy of the royal family. By this means, the Wälaytta could not only neutralise the potential enemy, but at the same time foster an increase in the power of their state in relation to the kinsmen of incorporated

454 This is evidenced by the oral traditions of the Hadiyya. I could not check it from the Wälaytta side.

455 A dynasty list of the Wälaytta rulers was composed by HABERLAND (personal communications) already in the 1960s, but unfortunately not published. ABBINK (2010: 1092f.) was able to make use of these materials. TSEHAI BERHANE SELASSIE (1975: 37 ff.) provided another dating which appears to me, on the basis of the entire historical situation, to be less reliable. This also applies, in my view, to KLAUSBERGER (1978: 48). MÉRAB (1921:363) submitted a list of the Wälaytta kings without chronological specifications.

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Hadiyya. When Xubbe died, the Wälaytta boundary had been extended northwest into the district of Lareena, and parts of the Qoyisha region were regarded as firmly annexed to his kingdom, even though the Hadiyya had not officially relinquished their territorial claims and continued periodically to graze their livestock there.

Xubbe's successor, Saanna (c. 1803-1818), married Shuraame from the Doodichchmanna clan of the Urusso faction, and again a part of the Baadawwaachcho linked itself to the Wälaytta. It was said to have become an increasingly more frequent practice that by the birth of a child fathered by the Wälaytta king to a Hadiyya woman, the group which she had originated from was to bestow a large land grant to the king. In any case the possession of landed property was never fixed among the mobile pastoralists as was the case with the peasants and as long a pasture ground was abundant there was no reason for concern. However, at that time the Baadawwaachcho maintained a military predominance which constrained the Wälaytta king's room for political manoeuvre.

When King Saanna died without having surrendered the sovereign insignia to one of his four sons resulting from the marriage to Shuraame, namely Oogatoo, Laakka, Deyyaaso and Kella, a civil war broke out over the succession. The oldest prince, Oogatoo, finally succeeded in asserting himself over his three brothers and ascended the Wälaytta throne as the new king. Historically, he was considered a conqueror king, and during his reign (c. 1818-34), Wälaytta expanded considerably at the expense of the Hadiyya and became one of the most powerful states in southern Ethiopia.

> When the civil war in Wälaytta broke out over the succession of King Saanna, the Hadiyya took action. The Dooda and Doodichchmanna supported the Wälaytta law that the eldest son had the right of succession; the Waageshmanna, however, wanted to see Laakka as king because he was as handsome as the *laakka* itself [the bangle as insignia of sovereignty]. Because Oogatoo won in the power struggle, his rivals had to flee to the Hadiyya: Kella into the Duquna Mountains (on the boundary of Arsiland) where he was killed after hired murderers had set his house alight. Deyyaaso went to the Omo where he too fell into the hands of his brother's henchman and drowned in the river. Laakka took refuge among the Waageshmanna to whom he was related by marriage. Oogatoo lured him to his residence by empty promises and then gave the order to strangle him under the mats spread out on the floor. He then turned his rage towards the Waageshmanna, who had granted refuge to Laakka, and decided to exterminate them. He invited their strongest warriors to a banquet in Qoyisha. They were credulous despite knowing about the treacherous nature of the king, disregarded their mistrust and accepted the invitation. The guests had barely laid down their weapons and partaken of drinks when Oogatoo gave the order to murder them. With the aid of the Boohalmanna, he waged war against the rest of the

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> Waageshmanna who fled right up to the Qacabiira territory [on the Kämbata boundary] to the north.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

The Dooda and Doodichchmanna, who were originally allied with the Oogatoo party, are apparently not supposed to have participated in the fight against their fellow tribesmen because even the politically less far-sighted agropastoralists began to grasp that the ambition of the Wälaytta king to expand further would not stop with them.

A united front of the Hadiyya clans to arrest the growing threat to their dwelling-areas and to their very existence did not materialise, especially as Oogatoo cleverly understood how to exploit their internal discord in his favour. He had married a woman, Wuutee Wonjee from the Heerooso lineage of the Dooda clan, who bore his successor, Amado. When he was supposed to receive a land grant from them, her kinsmen were at first extremely reluctant against what they viewed as a scandalous dissipation of their pasture grounds which they had inherited from their fathers. However, the Wälaytta monarch, through skilful political moves got them to back down. A brother-in-law of Oogatoo, Amaaro Wonjee, even became one of the most successful commanders of the Wälaytta in their war against the Hadiyya, his tribal kinsmen. A serious crisis for the king developed when the allied Doodichchmanna instigated a conspiracy against him which, however, was uncovered and quelled. The clan evaded threatened extermination by fleeing, and occupied new settlements in the Qoto district south of the Kämbata Mountains and from then on reinforced the Hadiyya front against the increasingly expanding Wälaytta state.

If under Saanna the Wälaytta boundary ran a certain distance south-west of Mt. Daamoota, under Oogatoo it had been pushed forward right up to the districts of Wandara and Dalbo in the north-east of that mountain. As Lake Abbayya in the plains of Gassuuba and Abala were also reached at the same time, the bloc of Baadawwaachcho territory evidently broke up into two parts. While the majority retreated northwards, a smaller faction was pushed southwards across the Sawwaare River, the boundary line between the Wälaytta and the Gamu region. The Baadawwaachcho claim that a group named Annakichcho in Gamu-Gofa is closely related to them genealogically. They could then go back to a Hadiyya faction which had become splintered on account of the pressure exerted by the kingdom of Wälaytta in the period of Oogatoo.[456]

King Oogatoo's successor, Amado (c. 1834-54), on his mother's side an offspring of the Heerooso lineage of the Dooda, continued the conquering policy of his father and understood how to play off the Baadeooso and the Urusso against each

456 I could not confirm this information during my field work and the Annakichcho, who are , TV , T . ´T TP , . , R Z s . , V. , ZT , T T Tg , TVZg T . of the vague indications received from Baadawwaachcho informants. According to information from Hermann Amborn and Gunter Minker, who carried out field research in the Gamu-Gofa region, there is supposed to be a mountain near Gidole named Hadiyya.

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other with skilful diplomacy. Also under his rule a massacre was carried out at a banquet with invited Hadiyya warriors in which primarily the Urusso-Hooggoanna fell victim.[457]

> In his residence Dalbo [at the foot of Mt. Daamoota] Amado hosted a great banquet at which around five hundred cattle were slaughtered and many thousands of pitchers of honey wine and millet beer were served. The Hadiyya laid down their weapons, as was the custom for guests. However, armed Wälaytta warriors were in the background hidden from view. As the Hadiyya eagerly drank, on receiving a signal, they stormed forward and many of the Baadawwaachcho were massacred.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso)

The Hadiyya were said to have been struck with horror and while their indignation spread, the resilience of the warlike people was temporarily paralysed. The Wälaytta seized the opportunity to extend the territory of their state up to Santo, Adachcha and in the direction of the Shapa River. The new border mark Gugiissa Boohe'e, named after the Wälaytta commander Gugiissa, was constructed in the district of Gaage, at a considerable distance north-east of Mt. Daamoota. *Boohe'e* was the term for the wall-ditch systems which many kingdoms of southern Ethiopia liked to surround their territorial possessions with.[458] The limes construction is said to have been in part firmly fortified with palisades, which Amado, in a symbolic act signalising a concession, allegedly ordered to be removed after his marriage with a young Hadiyya woman called Buutte.

The Wälaytta King's most dangerous opponent on the side of the Baadawwaachcho was Daarahochcho Dagaanno from the Dooda-Annimanna clan who had sealed an alliance with the Kambaata through the marriage of his daughter Duffaare with Prince Dilbato. Whereas most of the Baadawwaachcho had been forced to the north, the bulk of the Larooso, Heerogaara and Boohalmanna stayed on the other side of the Boohe'e demarcation line and were assimilated by the Wälaytta.

Under King Daamoota (c. 1854-59) a new ditch of demarcation was constructed whereby information on its purpose was contradictory. According to a widespread tradition, it was the plan of the ruler, who was abhorred by the people for his despotic attitude, to divert the water of the Shapa, a river tributary of the Omo, southwards to the heartland of Wälaytta. Allegedly, a major reason of this project

457 This is also mentioned by PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 73f.). The authoress describes Amado as the king of the "K'oyscha" and was not aware of his position in the Wälaytta dynasty.

458 It remains doubtful whether the word *boohe'e* is derived from the Amharic word *boy* which denotes an artificial water ditch. The Baadawwaachcho use besides *dichchirra* for ditch in general and border ditch in particular. The name *kella* is also found often in southern Ethiopia and used for "border-ditch" or "border gate". In the Wälaytta language the wall-ditch systems constructed on the borders are called *boohoo* or *mixa*; in the Oromo language *moggaa* means something like "border wilderness" or "stretch of no man's land".

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was to gain effective control over the Baadawwaachcho pastoralists for whom the river served as an important watering place for the livestock. This seems more doubtful than the second interpretation for the function of the so-called Daamoota-ditch, even though this appears not less fantastic and unrealistic. According to this plan, the water of the Zumaamo, a tributary of the Shapa, was to be channelled to Dalbo at Mt. Daamoota and from there via the course of the Choramo also to the second Wälaytta residence Garo, situated further east.

As remains of the constructions suggest, the projected ditch beginning near the mouth of the Zumaamo should potentially ensure both objectives: to deprive the Baadawwaachcho herders of favourable facilities for watering their livestock, and, at the same time, provide the King's palace with fresh river water. However, because of the north-south course of the ditch, it was not suitable as limes against the Hadiyya. The ditches, which were only partially finished, seem to have been the idea of a megalomaniac and simply unfeasible. Due to the technical resources at the disposal of the Wälaytta it was hardly manageable to divert the course of rivers to other stretches many kilometres away with a considerable difference in altitude. The people, who were forced to do the drudgery for the ditches, supervised and goaded by the "engineer" Makke Fellaha from Gamu, rebelled. This action resulted in the despotic ruler being deposed and banished after only five years in office. Daamoota is supposed to have fled to Fooshe, one of his former residences in Qoyisha, and to have remained deprived of power.

Regarding marriage relationships with the Hadiyya – they had more or less become an institution for the Wälaytta kings – Daamoota apparently preferred the Sooro to the Baadawwaachcho (cf. chap. 3.5.6). Besides Lajiibe, the sister of the *adil* Adaayye Agaago, he is supposed to have married another woman named Masaammo from the imbaaro *woma* family.

The Baadawwaachcho and particularly the Larooso, one of their clans, who herded their cattle south of the Shapa river towards the Omo, are said to have had occasional quarrels with the Sooro, imbaaro and Donga. These were limited to small skirmishes, however.

During the long reign of King Gobe (c. 1859-89), the forward expansion of the Wälaytta at the expense of the Hadiyya, realized through warlike and peaceful means, reached a new culmination. Henceforth, the Shapa River marked the boundary to imbaaro and Donga and further east the district of Buuge between the present towns of Boditte and Shonee was secured with *boohe'e* constructions. With its marriage policy the royal family started devoting its attention to the mixed Hadiyya and Arsi groups at the lower Bilate. The Wälaytta, proud of their more advanced level of civilisation, looked down with a certain amount of contempt on the nomadic herdsmen who appeared barbaric to them; and yet from as long as anyone can remember, a union with women from these warlike tribes was considered a guarantee for producing strong and courageous sons. HABERLAND received some information about such a "princely wedding" from an Arsi informant whose aunt had married one of Gobe's sons.

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> "Beforehand a delegation from Wolamo [Wälaytta] came and chose the most beautiful of the three daughters in the family who some time later was fetched with great pageantry by the bridegroom. As a dowry she got from her father, at that time a renowned ruling gada [*abbaa gadaa*], besides the territory of Kontola one hundred head of cattle and eight slaves, who were very scarce in Arussi. Before the actual wedding, the girl was taught by experienced women at the Wolamo court about fine manners, cooking and other things which she had not learnt up until then".[459]

Basenne was the *abbaa gadaa* of the Arsi, also recognised by the Baadawwaachcho as a spiritual leader, in whose term of office the territories of Duquna and Fanjo were largely lost to the Wälaytta. The acquisition of land by King Gobe through the policy of marriage and land grants receded significantly in contrast to territorial expansion by means of war. The military enterprises were, however, mostly accompanied by prudent actions of diplomacy. Numerically, the military power of Wälaytta with its comparatively dense population and well organised political system had most likely become superior to the Baadawwaachcho warriors. However, the politically less far-sighted Hadiyya pastoralists believed to be able to offset this disadvantage simply by a higher moral and capacity for fighting. Not without pride, they tell a story which is to be understood metaphorically, and which is known in a similar way also among some other ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia. The version specifically on behalf of the Baadawwaachcho is as follows:

> The Wälaytta King Gobe sent a basket full of grains of barley to the Baadawwaachcho and declared: 'Be careful! My soldiers are as numerous as these grains. I therefore advise you to voluntarily capitulate!' – The Hadiyya filled the basket with red pepper pods and sent it back to the Wälaytta. Their messengers addressed King Gobe with the words: 'See, o King, our warriors are perhaps less in number. However, these pepper pods are sufficient for the many grains of barley, so we will annihilate your combatants.'
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

To a large degree, King Gobe had continued the practice of his predecessor of presenting gifts of horses, slaves and other precious goods to Hadiyya warriors in order to draw them into service. This recruitment steadily strengthened the military capacity of the Wälaytta. Obviously, it was not really clear to the Baadawwaachcho that their defeat was caused by a rationally-minded policy and a kind of "ideology of expansion" which was strange to their own mentality and their value concepts. They only reluctantly comprehended that they were outwitted by an opponent whose political strategy and way of thinking was considerably different from their own. Still in the late 20th century they tended to ascribe the loss of most of their land to a punishment from God which was inflicted upon them because they had been so

459 HABERLAND 1963a: 416 (our translation from German).

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bellicose and defaulting. There was a well-known saying, "The peace of the Baadawwaachcho is only for the morning". At the latest in the second half of the day, they had forgotten all oaths and broken the truce because they could not abstain from fighting actions. Thus the supernatural powers had become angry with them and taken large parts of their territory which had belonged to their fathers.

It was an undoubted fact that it was the Baadawwaachcho who were often the ones who induced outside hostility through their lust for plundering and war. Attacking the territory of the adversary to gain genital trophies, or to conquer booty, particularly cattle, was one of their most favoured activities, because this is said to have been their ethic *leitmotif* determining their warlike existence. At specific intervals they continued to drive their herds into the boundary areas as a way of tempting the Wälaytta, not very rich in cattle, to cross the boundary walls and attack them. Here, their purpose was to measure themselves against the Wälaytta, either in an open struggle or to attack them in an ambush. When conversely, their scouts had discovered that King Gobe had mobilised a very large troop contingent, they hastily retreated with their herds back in the direction of the Kämbata Mountains.

The armed conflicts between the Baadawwaachcho and the Wälaytta mostly took place in the districts of Didamaata and Jaarso. But also other places in the boundary area such as Bule, Muulle, Leera and Kofara commemorate the battlefields of the two opponents. During the period of King Gobe, five *gaaxanna* sided with the Hadiyya whose contingents each had different sections of the Wälaytta front to defend: the Haballo leader Gatiso Balango at the Bilate against the Sidaama, Sandaabo Bijaamo (Urusso-Dawwee) in Jaarso, the main Wälaytta target of attack in the territory of Mt. Daamoota, Fagiisso Goddee (Urusso-Waageshmanna) in the region of Qoto and Qacabiira, Henjeerro Siibaaye (Dooda-Annimanna) in the section Fagiisso-Gofara, and Shumbuullo Manganne from the allied Kambaata (Oyyata-Hadalmanna) in the deployment zone through Ilgiira and Boloosso. If the Kambaata were generally believed to be unwarlike and cowardly, their royal Oyyata clan, however, was valued by the Baadawwaachcho as being equal to them as fighting comrades. On the side of the Wälaytta they had to face the commander-in-chief Fooshe, a brother of King Gobe.

Among the war commanders of the Baadawwaachcho and the allied Arsi clans Gatiso Balango was seen as the most capable and most successful. He is said to have implemented the so-called *deebansa,* an evasion tactic which had been borrowed from the practices of hunting expeditions. Gatiso successfully applied it as a military tactic. The following incident about this was reported on:

> Gatiso Balango sent a message to King Gobe which was worded: 'I will only recognise you as a proper King, if you are able to expel me from Qorga' [a district west of the lower Bilate]. Gobe's pride was offended and so he personally led the Wälaytta army against his challenger. From the hill of Shonee he advanced towards Qorga where Gatiso was waiting for him with a section of his warriors. Another section of the Baadawwaachcho striking force had

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> bypassed the Wälaytta and attacked them from the rear, from Gacheena in the west. The Wälaytta were caught in a two-pronged trap and a heavy defeat seemed inevitable, especially as Gobe's fighters, all too assured of success, having drunk plenty of honey wine the day before had reduced their fighting capacity. When King Gobe was aware of his ominous position, he cried and wept. He beseeched Gatiso to let him and his men safely withdraw, in return for opulent presents. This was granted. Gatiso sent the following message to King Gobe: 'Recognise the power of the Baadawwaachcho! I only wanted to teach you a lesson because you behaved so arrogantly towards us'.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso)

The Baadawwaachcho were anyway very eager for the riches of the culturally superior Wälaytta. They therefore often preferred the practice to take prominent enemies prisoner instead of killing them. If, for instance, a warrior of the T gre, the royal clan of the Wälaytta, was captured, his conqueror could obtain a ransom of forty woven cloaks and four slaves for his release.

Despite occasional victories, the position of the Baadawwaachcho in the fight for their land and the preservation of their ethnic identity and autonomy became increasingly desperate. At the suggestion of a Wälaytta man named Kesaammo Buriichcho, who had emigrated to Hadiyyaland due to a dispute with his king, they too began with the construction of a rampart-ditch system behind which they could withdraw with their families and herds in case of emergency.

However, strategic considerations and actions of this kind were taken up after some hesitation by a minority of the Baadawwaachcho, because such a fixed line of defence contradicted their traditional flexible attack and retreat manoeuvres which characterised their "hit and run" style of fighting as well as their ethos of offensive warfare. It was only when the Kambaata with their "know-how" and efficiency in implementation came to their aid, could the proponent of the fortification work, Dilaamo from the clan Eefo'anna-Mesheechcho, realise the project. The remains of the construction between the districts of Weera and Abonsa, still visible in the 1970s, were called *Dilaam dichchira*, Dilaamo's ditch.

Around 1880, on account of preceding Baadawwaachcho attacks, King Gobe is said to have advanced northward with a mighty army in order to decisively defeat this people in its heartland. The followers of Gatiso Balango withdrew through the almost impenetrable bush territory of Qorga. The defence of the *Dilaam dichchira* fortification was entrusted to the *gaaxanna* Fagiisso Goddee, who was determined to resist to the utmost even though many of his comrades pressed for a peaceful agreement in view of the enemy's military supremacy. Gobe ordered trees and bush land to be removed at different places within a radius of the ditch in order to make the opponent's cover more difficult, and secondly to create favourable possibilities for the attacks of his own cavalry. However, without achieving a sweeping success, the Wälaytta had to beat a retreat. The Baadawwaachcho pursued the enemy and registered a partial success in that they wounded Gobe's son Diido.

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In the five years that remained with Xona (1888-94), Gobe's successor, until his deposition by the Amhara, the Wälaytta state reached the size of the territory which later became known as *Wolamo Awra a* (now *Wälaytta Zone*). In the north-east the courses of the rivers Bulgiitta and Wedeba were reached, which went beyond the Duquna district already acquired by Gobe, and near the present-day boundary to the Hadiyya Zone the northern-most Wälaytta ditch, *Osgur' boohe'e* ("child killing ditch"), was constructed. It received this name, because according to the oral traditions a number of Hadiyya children were slain there by Wälaytta warriors at this place. Even the proud *gaaxanna* Gatiso Balango, then advanced in age, is said to have visited King Xona in his residence and consented to the group under his leadership paying a regular tribute.

The territory under Gatiso's command in the second half of the 19th century extended intermittently from Qorga west of Bilate to Marto near Šašämäne and into the vicinity of Lake Awasa. Originally, he is said to have been hostile to the Baadawwaachcho and also to the Kambaata, and it was only the growing threat emanating from the Wälaytta state which caused him to form an alliance with them. His group, comprising the Haballo and different clans of Arsi-Hadiyya (Sha'amanna, Dooda and others), joined together and occupied around 1850, allied with groups of the Baadeooso and Urusso who were nomads further south, a territory reaching as far west as Mishigida, at the foot of Mt. Ambarichcho. By that time, most of the Baadeooso and Urusso were still roaming with their herds around the territory which later became northern Wälaytta. His father, Balango, had moved with his people from the central lowlands of the Lake Region to the Bilate. Just as the Weexo-giira had once done, he imposed a tribute upon the Kambaata. There was pasture ground in Mishigida which was reserved for his charger and even today it is called *Balang' farashsh' koro'o*, the pasture for Balango's horse. His warriors liked to name the cattle stolen from the Kambaata after the districts from which they had originated. His son succeeded as *gaaxanna* only after the elected war commander from the Madarsho clan was fatally struck by a lance in a campaign against the Wälaytta and all his warriors, except for the young Gatiso, deserted him. He brought the mortally wounded commander back behind the lines of his combatants and was appointed *gaaxanna* on the strength of this deed. The threat posed by the power of the Wälaytta state as well as King Dilbato's prudent diplomacy led to an alliance of Gatiso Balango's faction with Kämbata. Additionally, numerous Haballo and Arsi warriors, induced by King Dilbato's abundant gifts, entered the service of the Kambaata and contributed significantly to its ascendency as an important state in central-southern Ethiopia by the middle of the 19th century.

The Urusso, who had one time freed the Kambaata from the yoke of the Weexo-giira, had been on friendly terms with this people since then. Both partners had sealed their alliance with a solemn oath. According to a tradition – during the period of King Kätäma (cf. chap. 3.5.5 and 3.5.7) – the fact that the Hadiyya boys had beaten the Kambaata youngsters and treated them contemptuously thereafter contributed to their resolve to move to grazing areas further south. Otherwise the mutual pledge

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of allegiance would have been compromised. The Baadeooso who had pushed forward into the territory west of the Bilate had a similar situation not to harass the Kambaata and searched for new pasture ground in the later Wälaytta territory. However, in case a Baadawwaachcho warrior either deliberately or in conflict with a Kambaata man actually slew him, he did not bring his lance back home with him but rather threw it away as he feared that a breach of the agreement would cause a calamity.

When in the first half of the 19th century – at the time Dagooyye was king of Kämbata – several of the Baadawwaachcho groups, which had been decimated by the Wälaytta, surged back to the north and pressure was exerted on them in the neighbourhood of imbaaro by Hayyibba and clans of the other Weexo-giira, Kambaata warriors are said to have hurried to their aid. As a unified force they subsequently succeeded in repulsing the enemies. However, the Baadawwaachcho preferred to move further east to the Ilgiira territory especially as a conflict with Sooro, who possessed a numerous population, appeared precarious.[460]

In the second half of the 19th century, during Dilbato's rule, the Kämbata were bound to a fixed alliance with the Baadawwaachcho, and the contingent of the Oyyata clan under the command of a *gaaxanna* was always at the ready to march south. A successful military campaign was waged by Dilbato's son Gaagaabo, later killed in action by the Sooro, against the Wälaytta (cf. p. 210f.). One time Gobe's troops are supposed to have advanced to the foot of Mt. Ambarichcho shortly after they had broken through the line of defence of the Kambaata and Baadawwaachcho under the leadership of Prince Sakaallo. King Dilbato hurled back with another contingent against at the Wälaytta led by his son Heelamo who succeeded in stopping the enemy's series of triumphs. The Kambaata commander was killed by a warrior of Hadiyya descent from the Larooso clan. His grave is surrounded by an earth mound and planted with trees which could still be seen in the 1970s in the Xaza district at the place where he fell.

The only armed conflict which the Baadawwaachcho fought with the Kambaata before the abäša conquest was their intervention in a civil war c. 1885. A refugee from Wälaytta, and it is not certain whether he was the same man as Kesaammo Buriichcho, who had prompted the construction of the fortification work Dilaam Dichchira, evidently incited the Kambaata to revolt against the dominating Oyyata clan who are said to have oppressed the rest of the tribal kinsmen. This event is reported by the oral tradition as follows:

> The insurgent Kambaata, the *Kontoma* ["commoners"], called on an eminent man named Helaanno Dagiso to go against the King Dilbato. The monarch and the Oyyata were sorely distressed. They saw no other alternative but to call upon the Baadawwaachcho with whom they were aligned through inter-

460 PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER (1957a: 74) evidently put this event together with the Baadawwaachcho incursion and liberation of the Kambaata from Weexo-giira domination at the time of King Kätäma, without being fully aware of the relevant chronology.

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> marriage,[461] to help fight against the numerically superior rebels. When the insurgent *Kontoma* disregarded the Baadawwaachcho warning to put down their weapons and to surrender to the Oyyata ruefully, they devastatingly defeated the militarily inexperienced peasants and killed many of them. Consequently, the *Kontoma* acknowledged the Oyyata as their masters once more.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso and Annullo Canqalo)

Marriage relationships and an alliance did not, however, prevent the Kambaata dynasty from secretly pressing ahead with the expansion of their state territory at the expense of the Baadawwaachcho. King Dagooyye even had the first extensive rampart-ditch system constructed extending in an east-west direction towards the rivers Saanna and Bilate. His son Dilbato ordered the construction of yet another structure some distance away and thereby brought about a claim of ownership not only of enemy Hadiyya territory like that of the Sooro but also that of the befriended Baadawwaachcho. The latter were less suspicious concerning the covert seizure of land as it was convincingly argued that the border fortifications were directed against the Wälaytta, a common foe, and would therefore also be of strategic use to the Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya. Moreover, the self-assured agropastoralists felt it was beneath their dignity to have to quarrel with pathetic, despised peasants over a piece of land when they had sufficient pasture ground. In this way, the Kambaata could extend their areas of settlement unimpeded into the districts of Adiillo, Abonsa and Siike up until the arrival of the Amhara conquerors.

Whereas friendly relations existed between the Baadawwaachcho and the Kambaata and Arsi-Oromo during the whole of the 19th century, the Baadawwaachcho's arch-enemies alongside the Wälaytta were the Allaaba. The awareness of common Hadiyya descent was largely lost with regard to this tribe, even though both ethnic units were aware of certain links in their genealogical framework. As already mentioned, the Allaaba under their *abagaaz* Qootto had played a decisive role in the victory over the Shaashoogo and Urusso at Baasa, and thereafter they had constantly squabbled with the Baadawwaachcho about grazing land between imbaaro and the Bilate. Indeed, shortly after the Baadawwaachcho invasion into this territory, the largest section of the Allaaba around 1790 had moved off northwards to Waachchamo and Guna – the onrush of the invaders from the other side of the Bilate might even have been a triggering moment – yet those remaining behind witnessed an ongoing influx of people from Qolito and Leenda in the course of the nomadic movements.

After the Baadeooso and Urusso factions had migrated south, and as long as the territory there as far as Koyisha and Lake Abbayya was held, the distance to the Allaaba was so great that it rarely came to any hostile confrontation. However, when

461 In principle, the Hadiyya preferred to enter marriage relationship only with "noble" clans of the Kambaata, particularly the Oyyata and the Gulba (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 170-72).

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in the second half of the 19th century they were increasingly huddled together in a constantly diminishing area because of the Wälaytta expansion, the Baadawwaachcho intensified the pressure on the Allaaba groups south of the Kämbata Mountains. From now on they were no longer willing to share the increasingly dwindling grazing grounds with them. At the time of M nil k's occupation the Allaaba held only the districts of Qeranso and Chaffe west of the Bilate.

The migration dynamics of the mobile herders south of the Kämbata Mountains was, according to the traditions, depicted as an altogether rather confusing sequence. Especially in the case of the Baadawwaachcho and Allaaba, a constant back and forth displacement of ethnic territories occurred.

As with the other Hadiyya tribes mainly practicing livestock-breeding, the Baadawwaachcho also developed an economic symbiosis with the agriculturalists in their environment, which became an almost institutionalised system and was never seriously questioned even when at times animosity prevailed between the groups. In the late 18th and early 19th century, they especially frequented markets in Koyisha. Later on, when the Wälaytta had pushed the Baadawwaachcho northward, the newly established market centres in the vicinity of Mt. Daamoota and in the districts of Boditte and Araka became destinations for the Hadiyya women to trade their livestock products for vegetable foodstuffs as well as for coveted handicraft articles fabricated in the more sophisticated peasant cultures, like for example, woven articles, iron tools and horse harnesses.

Boycott measures were not customary in the economic realm. Only a decree issued by King Dilbato is known whereby his subjects were forbidden to sell horses to Wälaytta or Sooro so as not to strengthen the military power of these opponents. The Baadawwaachcho obtained most of their horses from the Kambaata and Dubamo who had specialised in horse-breeding. They also bought a large portion of their supplementary plant food from them, especially nsät and barley as well as ready-made leather women's clothing, shields and ceramic articles. The market were they exchanged goods was Sombe Meera (*meera* = market), situated in the present-day district of Xaza, at the south-eastern foothill of Mt. Ambarichcho. It was named after the animal disease *sombe* which killed many cattle and it was where the Hadiyya brought cattle that had not been ritually slaughtered and therefore rejected for religious reasons. The castes of craftsmen as well as the low-ranking clans of the *Kontoma* among the Kambaata are, however, said to have still consumed the meat of such animals.

Pack oxen (*abu'la*) were generally used to transport loads whereas horses, which were largely traded and therefore costly, were reserved for war and hunting. The unit of currency – as far as trade was not done on the basis of the exchange of animals, food items and fabricated goods, was facilitated by means of flat, bent iron bars (*marco* or *marca*).[462]

462 In most regions of southern Ethiopia, the *marca* seemed to have been more or less uniform in shape with a length of c. 30 centimetres (cf. also p. 76, 180, 194, 252).

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The fact that no groups of professional craftsmen had settled among the Baadawwaachcho before the abäša conquest, can be explained by the nomadic way of life of these people. Only on a limited scale, parcels of land were occasionally cleared near kraals and planted with sorghum, barley, maize, wheat and lentils by the women. The demand for vegetable foodstuff could nowhere be sufficiently satisfied, however, so that the Baadawwaachcho stayed dependant on the surplus produce of the agriculturalists. The point in time when the cultivation of cereals began, made known to them through contact with the Wälaytta and the Kambaata, was specified as being four generations before the 1970s. This corresponds roughly to the middle of the 19th century. During their extensive cycles of nomadic transhumance in the relatively dry lowlands of the Rift Valley the Baadawwaachcho had obviously abandoned any cultivation of crops which they had practiced in their original territories. For a considerably time, they had thus lived as pure nomads.

Tobacco, which was of ritual significance as well as considered pleasurable, was purchased from the Kambaata and imbaaro. The fruit of the wild coffee shrub was also gathered which did not serve, however, to make a drink, but was employed for several purposes in lifecycle ceremonies and in the realm of religious and cult practices.

An important part of nutrition was comprised of the gathering of wild plants, tree fruits and bulb plants which were especially common in the lowland steppe. Baadawwaachcho informants could list eight species by name as the most important. Compared with this, hunting in the form of small trips or also in great battues with artificial bush fires organised for this purpose during the dry season, was essentially a prestigious activity. The major aim of such actions was not the acquisition of additional food, but to show courage and to bag trophies of wild animal species.

In the field of religion, the Baadawwaachcho reported that their traditional faith called *Fandaanano*, characterized by Islamic relics, had almost faded into obscurity about five generations before the 1970s. It is said to have then been revitalised through contact with the Libidoo and people of the Sha'amanna clan. In contrast to the girls, where clitoridectomy was regularly practiced, circumcision for the boys had first been replaced by a type of incision and then finally substituted through a symbolic cut on the knee joint. The reason for these modifications was no longer remembered.

Before their subjugation by the Ethiopian Empire, the socio-political conditions of the Baadawwaachcho – and this also refers to all the other groups of agropastoralist Hadiyya – were predominantly egalitarian. This meant, unlike in the kingships of the area, that no static hierarchy prevailed in which the positions were either ascribed or inherited. It was rather the individual's own achievement, the possession of property, a big number of cattle in particular, wisdom in social, religious and administrative matters, bravery and success in hunting and warlike actions, by which a male person's status was basically defined. Females could receive a high reputation mainly by giving birth to many children. By organizing and celebrating "feasts of merit" parts of the accumulated property were redistributed within a larger group of

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relatives and more or less the community as a whole benefited.[463] The spiritual leader of the people was a type of High Priest, the *anjaanchcho*, who always descended from the Meesheera clan of the Baadawwaachcho. As a rule, the office was passed on by the father's designation to the son he regarded as being the most worthy. However, as the "dynasty" list reveals, occasionally a branch line was resorted to. A confirmation by the council of elders was always indispensable for the investiture. As a symbol of his dominion and dignity, the *anjaanchcho* wore a *laakka* bangle, a bandeau with a piece of metal of phallic shape on the forehead (*kallachcha*), as was also customary with the *abbaa gadaa* of the Oromo or the kings of the Omotic-speaking peoples, and a white ostrich feather. In former times, the Haballo also possessed an *anjaanchcho* recruited from their sub-clan Hawiso who was not regarded as equal in dignity to that of the Meesheera, however. Six generations before the 1970s an interruption occurred as the then holder of the title, as already mentioned (cf. p. 222), renounced his consecrated appointment together with the insignia and put a curse on his kinsmen because of their act of treason. However, his descendants had another *laakka* made. The office of the *daddaachcho* was traditionally held by the Urusso and, in the same way as among the Sooro, he was proclaimed at a great feast (*luuba*). Alongside the *anjaanchcho* he functioned as the highest arbitrator in matters of political and civil law.

In everyday life and also in the political executive, the military commanders (*gaaxanno'o),* elected by the assembly of the people and at any time removable, gained *de facto* a sphere of authority and competence which surpassed that of the spiritual leaders. However, the co-existence of two competing institutions, whose functions and interests in the spiritual-juridical and the political-military spheres often overlapped, to some extent secured a mechanism of mutual control with regard to the ambitions and potential deficits of the representatives vested with the respective leading positions. This certainly had a decisive influence on the fact that the Baadawwaachcho, despite their close contact with the monarchies of Wälaytta and Kämbata, came nowhere near to developing a kingship. On the contrary, they were proud that their egalitarian societal model prevented them from developing such a huge gap of distance and subservience as was displayed by the peasant peoples with respect to their monarchical authorities. The Baadawwaachcho handed down an episode regarding this pattern of thinking and behaviour which illustrates this attitude impressively:

> The warrior Hengeera Siibaaye had been taken prisoner in Wälaytta and was brought before King Gobe. Instead of casting his eyes down in front of the king, he conversed with him as if he was his equal and looked at him fearlessly in the eye. Gobe was impressed by this man's courage and ordered his release. Several years later, however, Hengeera Sibaayye lost his sight. No

463 I have already indicated this cultural phenomenon as the "meritorious complex" before. Cf. pp. 22, 200 and BRAUKÄMPER 2002.

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commoner can endure the invisible fire that the gaze of the King emits unscathed.

(According to Namana Dilliso)

When in 1894 the Christian Empire under M nil k II put an end to the political independence of the Baadawwaachcho, they had been pushed back to a relatively small territory between the Saanna in the west, the Bilate in the east, the Kämbata Mountains in the north and the rivers Shapa, Wegeera, Bulgiitta and Wodeba in the south. This political change obviously prevented them from the total loss of their ethnic identity through the expanding Wälaytta state. However, the contribution they made for the Wälaytta state over the last centuries through intermarriage and assimilation processes cannot go unmentioned. About a dozen important clans in Wälaytta are of Hadiyya descent (cf. clan list in Appendix III), and in some territories, for example, among the Larooso south of imbaaro and Donga and the Haballo in the Duquna territory, a partial bilingualism has been preserved up to the end of the 20th century. Culturally and linguistically, the Wälaytta belong to the Omotic bloc but they do not essentially differ from the Baadawwaachcho in their somatic type.[464]

3.5.9 The Arsi-Hadiyya

The Baadawwaachcho, Shaashoogo and the other Hadiyya groups were in the habit of calling their tribal kinsmen among the Arsi Oromo-Hadiyya. This name can lead to misinterpretations as the Arsi regarded themselves as an ethnic unit divided into Oromo clans and Hadiyya clans. It therefore appears more sensible to speak of Arsi-Hadiyya. However, the ethnic self-consciousness of the Arsi as being Oromo is totally free of any doubt. Therefore, since the second part of the 20th century, the different origin of the Hadiyya clans has been not more than a historical reminiscence without relevant implications in the socio-political and cultural life.

Nearly two-thirds of all Arsi clans are, as already mentioned, of Hadiyya descent and most notably exhibit close relations to the Baadawwaachcho, Allaaba and East-Gurage. It would extend the scope and possibilities of this study to illustrate the historical processes and cultural transitions of the Arsi in detail from the middle of the 17th century to the end of the 19th century in their vast settlement areas stretching over a large part of south-eastern Ethiopia. The natural conditions of their habitat are markedly heterogeneous encompassing both highland and lowland zones. Between those inhabitants in the territory of Lake Z^{w}ay and their antipodes in Galb(i) west of the middle Wabi Šäbälle, solely because of the spatial distance between them, there

464 A difference was insofar visible that the proportion of former slaves, mostly people of darker complexion, according to an estimation by Eike HABERLAND (personal communication), constituted approximately one quarter of the Wälaytta population. Physical anthropological differences are considerable in the regions of Gamu-Gofa and Käfa, but they do not appear of much diagnostic value for the historical interpretation in the context of this study on the Hadiyya.

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was hardly any direct contact, and the inhabitants of the one territory did not possess detailed knowledge about those in the other one.

Internal disputes between Arsi clans are supposed to have not been uncommon. It was above all the fact that there was a universally acknowledged spiritual leader, the *abbaa mudaa* in Luggo in the Dallo region, which perpetuated an awareness of ethnic affinity and unity over long periods of time. An opposing spiritual pole began to evolve which intensified from the 18th century onwards through the mausoleum of Shaikh usayn (Shek Hussen); and the emerging duality between a traditionally orientated and a Muslim section of the people only came to an end in the last third of the 20th century through the almost hundred per cent adoption of Islam by the Arsi.[465]

In almost all boundary territories the Arsi feuded with their neighbours: in the north with the Jiille, Ittuu and ᶜAfar, in the east with the Anniyya and Somali, in the south with the Boorana, Sidaama and Gu33i and in the west with the Wälaytta, Allaaba, Shaashoogo, East-Gurage and Libidoo.

The genealogies enable the reconstruction of a constant migration dynamic between the territories for centuries. Spatial mobility was largely directed from the southeast to the northwest and exerted a lasting influence on the Hadiyya living in the Lake Region. In the areas of eastern Arsiland where a mixed economy predominated, particularly in Shirka and in the Robee region of Bale, there was evidently only a slight population fluctuation. By contrast, the informants interviewed in the lowland regions of the Rift Valley reported that almost every ancestor within the last ten to twelve generations had died in a different place.

Transhumance, a system involving regular nomadic movements between pastures in the highland and in the lowland, called *goddantuu*, had begun to develop among some of the Arsi-Hadiyya clans, particularly the Habarnoosa, Abuure and Saymannaa eight generations before the 1970s. This signalised the first step towards permanent occupation of the Lake Region. The groups of nomads pushing westward were of different size. Horsemen formed the vanguard and the bulk of the rest followed with the herds. These roaming bands usually attempted to improve their means of existence by raiding neighbouring groups.[466]

The Arsi have always been seen as a particularly warlike people and the explanation given by HABERLAND (1963a: 415) is worth mentioning for a study on the Hadiyya: "The other Galla attribute the notoriously bloodthirsty and unruly character of the Arussi to their intermixture with the Hadiyya."

Before the middle of the 18th century, there was hardly a clan of the Arsi-Oromo in the Lake Region. At that time, the territory was still completely occupied by the Hadiyya sub-groups of the Libidoo, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho. When the Arsi began pressing down from the eastern escarpment of the Rift Valley into the

465 Regarding this historical process cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 152-69.

466 Descriptions about such movements in reference to the 19th century were recorded, for example, by MARTIAL DE SALVIAC (1900: 281ff.) and HABERLAND (1963a: 416).

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lowlands of the Lake Region, they had just undergone a far-reaching cultural and ethnic change. Primarily also of Hadiyya descent, they had adopted the Oromo language and ethnicity as well as the core element of their culture, the *gadaa* system. This had worked towards the emergence of a marked consciousness of facing and excluding all non-Oromo groups who then found themselves confronted either with successive assimilation or with expulsion (cf. chap. 3.4.3).

Around 1800, the territory between the Leephisi River and Gugicha in the Muneessa area was still to a large extent in the possession of the Alabdu-Gu33i, a people emerging from an amalgamation of the Oromo and Allaaba groups (cf. chap. 3.5.2). In the tradition of the Arsi they were generally labelled Sidaama (in the sense of "enemies"). The Arsi ancestors are supposed to have forcefully ousted them from the territory, but no details have been handed down about these events. Around the same time, i.e., at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, the Semitic-speaking Adaree living in the area of Muneessa north of the Alabdu, were assimilated by the Arsi-Oromo.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the highlands on the eastern slope of the Rift Valley towards the Lake Region were completely conquered by the Arsi and they also began henceforth to extend their pasture grounds permanently into the lowland regions. The exodus of the Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho to the territories west of the Bilate, which followed towards the end of the 18th century approximately, left behind a thinned out zone of human settlement. Those Hadiyya groups, who had remained there, particularly the Madarshoo are mentioned in the oral traditions, more or less voluntarily joined the expanding Arsi.

Five generations before the 1970s, the Aboosa and Weege made inroads into the region on the western shore of Lake Z^{w}ay and through armed conflict against the Jiille-Oromo and the Libidoo achieved a further expansion of the Arsi habitation to the north-west. Prior to this they had fought against each other and then under the sixth or seventh ancestor in the pedigree (before the 1970s) established an alliance called *Jimfoo-tuula*.[467] Apparently the Weege and Aboosa had neglected to join the Oromo in time through *lallaba* and the *Jimfo-tuula* agreement was seen as a substitute accepted and sanctioned by the *abbaa gadaa* from the Oliiyye clan. In the course of time, other clans joined the *Jimfoo-tuula* so that the Arsi could consolidate their position in the northern Lake Region.

At the same time as the Hadiyya clans of the Aboosa, Weege, Abuure, Jiliinshaa, Harbarnoosa and Ubmanoosa descended into the lowland, i.e., in the first half of the 19th century, the Oliiyye, a pure Oromo clan, had also come down and occupied an area in the vicinity of Adaamii Tulluu on the south-western shore of Lake Z^{w}ay. When their relatives crossed the Demisa River, they are supposed to have – just like the Weege – sacrificed a steer to entreat the gods and demons to support them with their land occupation. After the distribution of territories had been largely settled,

467 *Jimfoo* means the iron ring on the bottom of the shaft of a lance (cf. also p. 221) and *tuula* signifies a batch as in a stack of lances.

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the *abbaa gadaa* of the Oliiyye was generally acknowledged as the spiritual leader in the north-western part of Arsiland.

Besides being confronted with the Hadiyya in the Lake Region, the Arsi came upon the Semitic-speaking Christian populations who called themselves Zay. They settled on the islands of Lake Z^{w}ay where they had survived the Grañ wars as well as the subsequent invasions of the Hadiyya and the Oromo. These people collectively called Laaqii by the Oromo claim in their oral traditions to have subsequently dispatched colonists to the islands of Lake Langano and Lake Shaala who then partly mixed with other groups.

Laaqii[468] informants whom I interviewed on the southern shore of Lake Shaala reported that they belonged to the so-called Boorana-Laqii and distinctly distinguished themselves in regard to ancestry and culture from the Alliibo-Laaqii and the Zay of that region. They were said to lack entrenchment in an old-established Christian tradition.

Even by the end of the 20th century it was considered an unsolved problem as to whether the islands of Lake Shaala which in the meantime had silted up with the mainland, had ever sustained human settlement. The steep, stony islands barely had soil for cultivation purposes, and the salt water of the lake was hardly drinkable for people.[469] A report by WELLBY (1901: 126) about a chase by aggressive islanders in boats and abandoned terraced fields on which finger millet and cotton were said to have been cultivated, are doubtlessly proof of a former settlement, however. Apparently, a freshwater source also existed. Already some generations before, the Shaala-Laaqii were supposed to have concluded a peace agreement with the Arsi which enabled them to relocate to the mainland.[470] The last remaining Laaqii, as was told to me in 1973, left the increasingly inhospitable islands only around 1930, especially when the salt content of the lake intensified. From this time on, there were also no more hippopotami there whereas they had been prolific prior to that.[471]

After the upheavals of the 16th century involving numerous peoples in central-southern Ethiopia were over, the inhabitants of the Lake Z^{w}ay islands began to utilize the adjacent shore zones as pasture ground. The islands themselves, on which settlements and fields were situated, remained refuges from attack. This strategic advantage allowed the Zay to undertake night raids on neighbouring groups without having to fear retaliations, as the Arsi had no water vessels.[472] Around 1870, the islanders were still in the habit of letting their herds graze regularly on the western

468 They had obviously adopted the Oromiffaa name Laaqii for themselves, and as far as the time of my research in the 1970s is concerned, did not consider it as pejorative.

469 Cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 652. I have not yet come across data of more recent research which could give satisfying answers to such questions.

470 The only hitherto available source of information seems to be HABERLAND (1963a: 653).

471 The existence of hippopotami in Lake Shaala was mentioned, for instance, by LATHAM (1912: 6).

472 HABERLAND 1963a: 661f.

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and southern shores of Lake Z^{w}ay, as the Oromo nomads initially roamed through this territory only sporadically.[473]

According to the traditions of the Weege clan, a man named Shamoo – he lived five generations before the 1970s – watered his cattle at Lake Z^{w}ay and came across a Laaqii (Zay) man named Shabbo.

> Shamoo had been warned that the Laaqii were marauding and devious. However, he did not bother about this, went to see them and suggested forging an alliance of permanent amity. The Laaqii agreed to this and the agreement was sealed by swearing an oath on a ceremonial stone.
>
> (According to Wodeesso Bunee and Eddoo Abbayyee).

These kinds of agreements, which were also carried out by other groups in analogous ways, did not, however, prevent the Arsi from occasionally slaying Laaqii men who they ran into on the shore in order to fulfil the killing obligations required by the *gadaa* system. Conversely, the islanders stole cattle from the pastoralists and managed to bring the meat of the slaughtered animals to the islands. Both sides nevertheless basically acknowledged the advantages which would be provided by a peaceful co-existence. HABERLAND stated:

> "The Arussi were interested in peaceful relations with the Zay, not only because of the beautiful, woven textiles. Many of them maintained friendship with the Zay so as to bring their women and children along with their stocks of honey and butter to the safety of an island as a place of refuge in case of war. The Arussi then arranged to be ceremoniously adopted by the Zay and, in accordance with a common Ethiopian custom, they suckled on the nipple of the adoptive father's breast as a way of strengthening the new kinship".[474]

During the 19th century, in the southern Lake Region groups of Arsi-Hadiyya penetrated the area west of the Bilate and there they largely merged with the Baadawwaachcho and Kambaata (cf. chap. 3.5.8). Once, the Arsi are supposed to have reached the Omo during a military campaign.[475] The lowlands between the lakes Awasa and Abbayya were permanently occupied by them, and the highland populations did not yet dare to move down to settle there. One day the Arsi fighters on a killing campaign are said to have overcome their traditional fear of using waterborne vessels and by means of inflated tubes reached the island of Wolage on Lake Abbayya and then massacred almost the entire population of the Gidichcho tribe.[476]

473 HABERLAND 1963a: 663.
474 HABERLAND 1963a: 661 (our translation from German). The "breast friendship" was called *harma hode* by the Arsi.
475 HABERLAND 1963a: 416. This was presumably not a spectacular action, because I did not receive an approval by the oral traditions of the peoples of this region.
476 HABERLAND 1963a: 416.

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In the second half of the 19th century, the ᶜAfar also suffered from raids by Arsi horsemen who advanced along the right bank of the Awaš River as far as the territory of Goro.[477]

How far the areas of Arsi settlement reached eastward and which territorial changes took place over the last three hundred years, cannot even roughly be reconstructed as only scant details can thus far be ascertained about the ethnic conditions at the middle Wabi Šäbälle and in the vast, thinly populated plains stretching in the direction of Ogaadeen. As has already been expounded, it is, however, without doubt that the Oromo were spread much further east before the westward expansion of the Somali started on a large scale from approximately the 18th century onwards.

When in 1865 the southern Oromo were decimated by an epidemic, the Darood-Somali who had up until then been considered their vassals[478] became militarily predominant (cf. chap. 3.4.3). The Somali in those days conquered large parts of Oromo-occupied territories right up to central Kenya, and carried their raids between 1860 and 1886 into the territory south-east of Lake Turkana.[479] Around the same time, they clashed with the Arsi at the Wabi Šäbälle. Weaker Hawiye and Darood-Somali groups were increasingly forced westward by stronger ones and had then to fight for new dwelling-areas against the autochthonous populations they met with there. So in this way the Reer Awlihan, who had been expelled by the Reer Amaden, gained a foothold west of the middle Wabi Šäbälle for some time and asserted themselves in a constant feud with of the Raayituu clan of the Arsi-Oromo, a group of Hadiyya descent.[480] Whereas in this area a warlike conflict took place, mixed tribes of Somali and Arsi peacefully evolved in southern parts of Bale, which became known under the name Gurra.[481] According to observations by the traveller SMITH (1897: 106), also among the Raayituu an increasing "Somalization", a process of ethnic assimilation by the Somali, became apparent at the end of the 19th century.

As farmers, hunters and fishermen, the Addoona, a Negroid Somali-speaking group, who was called Wärra-Duubbaa by the Oromo, expanded along the Wabi.[482] According to personal observations in the then Arusi Province in 1973, they had meantime expanded to the upper course of the river.

The only information known about Arsi relations with the neighbouring Anniyya-Oromo in the north states that they were, for the most part, fraught with tension. According to PAULITSCHKE (1888b: 6) the Erär River demarcated the boundary between the Arsi and the Anniyya in the west and the Somali in the east.

477 This was recorded by PAULITSCHKE (1893: 26).

478 GUILLAIN (1856, III: 179 f.). CERULLI (1957/64, I: 58) and LEWIS (1960: 226) mention the original vassalage of the Somali.

479 DECKEN 1871, II: 320; FISCHER 1878: 346ff.; ROBECCHI BRICCHETTI 1890: 380; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 26, 254. Cf. also chap. 3.4.3.

480 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 53f.; HOYOS 1895: 85, 89.

481 See, for example, ERLANGER 1902: 71; HABERLAND 1963a: 14.

482 RAVENSTEIN1884: 179-207; PAULITSCHKE 1888b: 5; PAULITSCHKE 1893: 23, 29; SWAYNE 1895: 137, 221, 223; VANNUTELLI/CITERNI (BOTTEGO) 1899: 39. Cf. also chap. 3.4.1.

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The Arsi defended their living areas between the Wabi Šäbälle and Ganaale at a line of approximately 6°30´ north latitude. The territories adjoining in the south were occupied by the Somali and Gurra.[483]

The Arsi as an ethnic group were hardly known by the European explorers in the first half of the 19th century. ISENBERG and KRAPF mentioned them being located in the territories Sierme and Luban east of Gurage.[484] Only a vague notion about the extent of their living areas existed. PAULITSCHKE's (1888b: 49f.) knowledge was essentially more extensive, although the sources of his information sometimes appear to be doubtful. For example, he estimated the number of the Arsi at a million, enumerating altogether eighteen sub-tribes ("families"), who in part are supposed to have been made up of 50-60,000 souls. The detailed list and localisation which the researcher mostly obtained from informants of other ethnic backgrounds outside the Arsi territories does not specify the different levels of sociological classification, for instance, the clans and moieties. In the north-east, the Arsi had a territory on the left bank of the Wabi Šäbälle towards the end of the 19th century, where for example the place Guluufa is believed to have been located. An uninhabited strip of land which took two travel hours to stride through (a distance of around eight to ten kilometres) separated their territory from the Anniyya-Oromo.[485]

Agricultural centres are supposed to have existed in Arsiland, including north-eastern Bale (Robee, Gooroo), Shirka and parts of Arba-Gugu and Sire. The people of the Fankal and Sinaana districts are said to have received the name *Qottuu* (derived from the word "to dig") already a few generations before, which also established itself as an ethnonym for the agriculturalist Baarentuu and the mixed Oromo-Somali tribes of the eastern Harär Plateau. Tilling was mostly carried out only with digging-sticks and hoes. However, a plough without an iron plough share, which the Oromo took over from the previous Hadiyya population, is supposed to have been in use. The abäša type of plough gained acceptance only after the conquest by Emperor M nil k.

Barley is consistently identified as the oldest crop. Also varieties of wheat, maize and sorghum have supposedly been known for many generations, whereas eff was not introduced before the 20th century. The traditions report that occasionally cotton was planted, the seeds of which were stuck in the dung of left open kraals.

How barley came to be their most important and valuable crop is explained by the Islamised Arsi in the following legend:

483 BOTTEGO (1895:305) who travelled there shortly before 1890, mentioned the Gurra in the territory west of the Wälmäl River. Cf. also map 1.

484 ISENBERG/KRAPF 1843:30. HARRIS (1844, II: 65) mentioned the neighbouring Jiille and Lumi who bordered upon the old province of "Fatigar". The names of localities and ethnic units referred to by the travellers of the 19th century cannot always be identified with absolute certainty.

485 PAULITSCHKE 1888b: 49; cf. also PAULITSCHKE 1888a, general map.

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> One day the Prophet Mu ammad rode through our land and saw a barley corn lying on the ground. He picked it up and sowed it. From then on, our ancestors emulated him. To this day, it is common to pick up a barley corn from the ground and put it into the pocket in commemoration of this incident.[486]

On the basis of the reports of his informants, PAULITSCHKE described the largest part of the Arsi territory as "excellently cultivated"; and only in the territories towards Lake Z^{w}ay could nomads and semi-nomads be encountered.[487] Concerning the economic system, the high mountain range stretching from Celalo over the Wärra-Luukko Range to the Urgooma Massif of Bale, formed a dividing line right up to the 20th century.[488] East of these mountains, a mixed economy was prevalent and alongside livestock breeding, the cultivation of cereals was of considerable importance there. Cultivation was not to be found in the dry steppe zones of Dallo and the stretches of land towards El-Käre. In the area of Ginnir on the eastern escarpment of the Bale highlands in the Raayituu plain, a temporary cultivation of sorghum could be practiced if the current precipitation conditions permitted it. Irrigation was virtually not practiced until the late 20th century. A semi-nomadic existence predominated, whereas in the zones at a higher altitude where rainfall was sufficient, the farmsteads that were surrounded by euphorbia hedges mostly stayed in the same place for longer periods of time.

West of the big mountain range mentioned above, in Gädäb, Muneessa and the Lake Region, mobile livestock breeding predominated. A pure nomadism without any form of cultivation – as also among the Libidoo, Shaashoogo, Allaaba and Baadawwaachcho – established itself in special cases; and when it happened, it signified a relatively new specialisation due to ecological or man-made constraints. The Arsi who had settled in the Gädäb districts of Kofale and Kokossa on the periphery of Sidaama territory, were used to employing a simple digging stick without an iron tip (*dongora*) like their farming neighbours, which then fell into disuse in the 20th century after the introduction of the plough. Cultivation remained minimal there, even though the climatic conditions are similarly favourable to those in the Bale highlands or in Shirka.

A more or less pure nomadism evolved in the lowlands of the Rift Valley from the middle of the 18th century. The fact that the clans of Hadiyya descent are more frequent among the western Arsi than among their eastern tribesmen cannot primarily explain their division into a bloc of agriculturalists on the one hand and of mobile livestock-keepers on the other hand. In principle, the Hadiyya are considered to have been the initiators and representatives of more sophisticated traits of culture. It is mainly from them that the Oromo clans, who became militarily and politically dom-

486 For the significance of barley in culture history among the Oromo, which has already been mentioned in chap. 3.4.2, cf. also HABERLAND 1963a: 433 ff.

487 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 212f., *passim*. Cf. also JOHNSTON 1854, I: 363.

488 CERULLI (1932: 141). This is supported by my own data of research.

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inant among the Arsi, are said to have adopted achievements such as the plough, the iron and the horse. The explanation for the significant difference in economic strategies may rather be found instead in geographical and ecological factors. The successive forcing of Hadiyya groups back to the west, which inevitably caused an increased mobility, and finally adaptation to the natural conditions of the relatively dry lowlands of the Rift Valley, favoured the development of a way of life as nomadic pastoralists. The herders' aversion to agricultural practices then became partially so strong that the men spurned vegetable foods like cabbage and nsät.

The Arsi in Gädäb and in the Lake Region obtained their demand for barley primarily from Shirka in exchange for butter. Their tribal kinsmen in the regions bordering on Ogaadeen got their supplies from the peasant farmers in the Bale highlands. Regarding woven articles, the Arsi, who lived as nomadic pastoralists, were reliant on the predominantly farming and resident populations of their ethnic group, because castes of professional craftsmen were only established there. Throughout their entire dwelling-area the Arsi were masters in the production of containers and vats out of wood, leather and basket-weave which proved to be more advantageous under the prevailing living conditions than crockery made of clay. Thus pottery was of little importance. In Bale merely Robee was supposed to be an old centre for potters.[489] A caste of hunters and potters named Waata had sporadically established themselves among the western Arsi. As this was widespread in north-eastern Africa, their social position was ambivalent. On the one hand they were considered unclean and barred from intermarriage with "ordinary" people, i.e. the bulk of the group of which they were members, on the other hand they were feared and respected because of the magical powers they were believed to possess.[490] The "Arsi Cormoso", mentioned by BOTTEGO, who hunted hippopotami in the Ganaale River with harpoons and exchanged the meat and leather for cereals, nsät, coffee, tobacco and various other commodities,[491] presumably belonged to this particular social category. Potters from Wälaytta had sporadically settled down since the 19th century in Gädäb and Bale, and also craftsmen from the Haadiichcho clan of the Sidaama looked for a living among the neighbouring Arsi.

The tanners (*caawwa*), who were the lowest ranked of all the professional castes, are supposed to have lived among the Arsi since ancient times. They were, however, not numerous enough to satisfy the demand for women's leather clothing, shields, bed bases etc. As mentioned before, the shortage of these products was compensated

489 The names for potters differed in the various regions of Arsiland. In the vicinity of Wälaytta the term *wottilee* was common.

490 See, for example, the analysis of HABERLAND 1963a: 448. For modern research in this field cf. AMBORN 1990, chap. 2.1, 2.2; FREEMAN/PANKHURST 2001: 344ff.

491 BOTTEGO 1895: 168. The cultivation of coffee was already known to the Ittuu-Oromo in Cärcär. (SOLEILLET 1886: 71; PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 198), but apparently not to the Arsi, although JOHNSTON (1854, I: 363) mentioned it. According to their oral traditions, the north-eastern Arsi did not adopt coffee cultivation from the neighbouring Ittuu before the 20th century.

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by craftsmen from the Wälaytta and Kambaata. Families of tanners from these tribes also settled among the Oromo in the 19th century as they found good earning possibilities there. For two complete sets of women's clothing (each consisting of apron, cape and headdress) they could apparently obtain from the Arsi an amount equivalent to a cow.

Also the craftsmanship of the smiths (*tumaancho, pl. tumtu*) was originally practiced by a special caste with an ambivalent reputation. As long as it was not carried out by potters, tanners and former slaves, ironwork increasingly became a domain which could also be adopted by "commoners" (*Kontoma*) without too much loss of social prestige.[492] The Arsi in eastern Bale obtained, along with ready-made iron gadgets, also crude iron rods from the Harär region which the local smiths of the Ginnir and Robee area used to process further. For the north-western Arsi clans the K stane-Gurage remained the main suppliers of iron tools beyond the period of M nil k II.[493] As iron was precious and expensive, sickles were partly made out of horn. However, the informants did not know about the fabrication of spearheads out of this material, which the Oromo are supposed to have used during their great expansion in the 16th century.[494]

There were no weavers (*shamane*) among the western Arsi,[495] and also the cultivation of cotton was uncommon due to their nomadic lifestyle. The whole of Arsiland was largely reliant on the import of textiles, especially for men's clothing, from the weaving centres in Wälaytta and Gamu and the Lake Z^{w}ay islands. For the weavers, who later settled among the Arsi, the name of their original group, the Dorze, simply became a job designation. In Bale, particularly in the district of Sinaana, the cultivation of cotton and weaving are both supposed to have been well established cultural skills which, however, never gained significance outside the local context.

In the pre- abäša period, market centres for the exchange of products remained essentially limited in the highlands. The western lowland-Arsi supplied themselves with vegetable food and handcrafted articles from the markets of their neighbours, the Sidaama, Kambaata, Wälaytta, Gurage and Zay. Baatuu, located at the southern shore of Lake Z^{w}ay, was for a long time one of the most important commercial centres which was not only frequented by the island population and the pastoralists living in the surrounding areas, but also by Gurage traders. According to HABERLAND (1963a: 661), the finger millet beer brewed by the Zay enjoyed great popularity.

In the Gädäb region, Kofale, Dodola and Adaba and in north-eastern Arsiland Sire, á , and Guna are supposed to have been rooted in older open air markets. In

492 Such a development can be inferred from the reports of informants particularly for the Hadiyya west of the Bilate in the 20th century. It can also be assumed for the western Arsi-Oromo.

493 For the 19th century, this was stated by CECCHI (1888: 77).

494 This information was documented by HABERLAND (1963a: 9).

495 This was also stated by HABERLAND (1963a: 448).

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Bale, on the eastern side of the Urgooma range Robee, Ginnir, Gololcha, Gasaarra and Anaajiina were the most important places for the exchange of products. According to PAULITSCHKE (1893: 261), Guluufa at the boundary with the Anniyya-Oromo, east of the Wabi Šäbälle, was one of the greatest slave markets of south-eastern Ethiopia.

When considering the huge expansion of Arsiland, the density of the market centres must be viewed as low. Therefore, the traders had substantial distances to travel between the different places. With regard to the trans-regional trade relations, an east-west axis with an orientation towards Harär and the Somali coast stood out as the priority. The routes running from south to north connecting the area with the highland of Šäwa and beyond were comparatively less frequented. One of the oldest trade routes ran from Siree via Guna into the Cärcär territory and led from there via Bakaksa and Machara to Harär. Another began in Robee/Diida'a, proceeded through Colle, Gololcha and Minne and met with the northern route at Bakaksa. In the south of Arsiland, a much used trade route with the stages at Ginnir, Maliyu, Robee/Bale, Adaba, Dodola, Kofale and Qolito connected eastern Bale with the western escarpment of the Rift Valley in Allaaba.

The most important commodity that was promoted on this route was salt which was extracted in two ways in the semi-arid areas of Dool and Hog in El-Käre (Ogaadeen). Utilizing the so-called *boojji* process, saltwater was stored in holes in the ground; the water evaporated and the salt remained behind on the surface. The second procedure, known as *afdera*, was different from the first mentioned in that saltwater was distributed over a bigger surface area to maximise the evaporating effect, and thereafter a thin salt crust covered the ground. The salt was then pressed into bars and became one of the most sought after commodities of southern Ethiopia as far as the middle Omo River.

The camel caravans of the salt traders, who were mostly Ogaadeen-Somali and to a lesser extent Arsi-Oromo, was organised in Hargele and moved via Argadab, Helmadooyye and Magaallo through the valley of the Wäyb River as far as Maliyu in the Bale highland. There, a junction was established where Arsi traders loaded the salt on horses and male donkeys for further transport westwards because the climatic conditions at high altitudes were intolerable for the camels. The people of Ogaadeen exchanged the salt mainly for grains and then returned to their homeland. This caravan trade was still carried on to a modest extent in the 1970s. It inevitably lost much of its significance when modern means of transport rationalised the import of salt from the north.

Starting at Maliyu, the caravans were en route for weeks. They had to overcome the top of the pass of the Urgooma range, nearly 4000 metres high, and to ford the Wabi Šäbälle at Hanto near Assasa or near Dodola. Usually, the traders sold a part of their goods already in Kofale, before they proceeded to the markets in Allaaba and Wälaytta. From there the coveted salt was traded as far as Käfa and other parts of south-western Ethiopia, where it was hard to establish where the salt had origi-

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nated.[496] In the first half of the 19th century, the "salt from Arsi", according to information obtained by the European explorers ISENBERG and KRAPF (1843: 258), was employed as a standard currency in Wälaytta.

As a rule, the traders were considered inviolable, because their activity was acknowledged by the public as particularly beneficial. However, it did occasionally happen that foreign traders who accepted the dangers of the journey for the sake of high profits, were slain by the Arsi. Stories about such occurrences were in fact widespread.

Woven capes and iron rods, or *marca,* which the blacksmiths in Bale readily accepted as intermediate goods to be processed further, were used to pay for the salt at the markets in all areas of Bale. At the Kofale market, one obtained for a horse-load of salt enough cotton cloth for four to six cloaks (*buluko* or *šämma*)[497] according to size. One such cloak was conversely equated with four *marca*. To maximise their income and the capacity of their pack animals, the salt traders returned with loads of grain. Next to iron, salt and cloth, the currency units at the Arsi markets in the period before the Amharic conquest included Maria Theresa thalers, cowry snails and glass beads which were valued by the women for jewellery. In Gädäb, a horse's value was the equivalent of eight head of cattle. Trade with live animals was limited for the most part to the domestic market, however.

The location of Guluufa, which Paulitschke mentioned as an important slave market, can only be inadequately reconstructed. Among the Arsi, slavery never had a comparable significance as with the Omotic-speaking societies. The trafficked humans originated largely from the west, from Wälaytta, Allaaba and Gurage, and were accepted, for example, as payment for salt. Additionally, they were taken by professional slave traders (*worgiach*) to the east. On the northern route via Bakaksa, the slaves were taken to Harär and from there to the Somali coast. In the south, the trade in slaves was undertaken by the Habar Awal-Somali who transported them via Bubuussa to the port of Berbera.[498] In the forties of the 19th century, traders from Benaadir (Somalia) are supposed to have reached Gurageland and the Omo via Bale.[499] On the southern flank of the Arsi territory, Somali traders expanded their activities shortly before 1890 as far as the territory of Bur3i[500] and Lake Turkana,[501] and came up against the growing competition on the part of the Arsi who attempted

496 Information on this topic was provided, for example, by the following researchers: VANNUTELLI/CITERNI (BOTTEGO) 1899: 161, 211ff.; SMITH 1897: 197, 240; ABIR 1968b: 114.

497 When reporting about items of clothes, the informants commonly used these Amharic words.

498 This information from PAULITSCHKE (1893: 261) is confirmed by the traditions of the eastern Arsi which I recorded. In the reverse direction, i.e. towards the west, slaves were occasionally bargained for by the Arsi at markets in Allaaba and Gurage.

499 GUILLAIN 1856, II: 173, 175f.; III: 53.

500 Information received from Helmut STRAUBE. Cf. also AMBORN 2009: 38ff., 72.

501 NEW 1874: 460, 464; THOMPSON 1885: 531; ABIR 1968b: 107. Until the end of the colonial period in the 1960s the name Lake Rudolph was common.

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to defend their trading position in southern Ethiopia against their Somali rivals.[502] However, trading activities from Bale to the coast of the Indian Ocean in the vicinity of Mogadishu remained in the hands of the Benaadir-Somali.[503]

In Gurage and Allaaba, on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley, the east-west trade route joined the north-west axis through Arsiland, which started in Šäwa and led in the direction of Wälaytta and Sidaama. Links between the east-west routes running parallel led from Gädäb to Shirka and from Lake Z^{w}ay in the direction of Sire. A brisk trade in various goods took place on these routes still in the 1970s, and the modern roads for vehicles oriented themselves largely towards the positions of the old caravan routes.

Trade and the making of handcrafted commodities had much more significance among the eastern Arsi who were located closer to the Islamic centres in Harär and on the Somali coast, than among their western tribesmen. For a long time, the line of the mountain ranges Celalo, Wärra-Luukko and Urgooma formed not only the boundary between an agricultural and a predominantly pastoralist type of economy, but also it bordered the western extension of the Islamic sphere of influence.[504]

An unbroken continuity of Islam from the time of the collapse of the Muslim states of Bale, Däwaro and Šar a in the 16th century was, however, only evident in a few geographical pockets of eastern Arsiland. The wave of re-Islamization, which extended to broader parts of the population, did not begin before the 1750s.[505] Anaajiina became the mission centre in Bale, where according to the tradition *shaikh* N r usayn is buried. The trans-regional significance of this sacred site must have been quite considerable according to the reports of the European researchers in the late 19th century.[506]

Another centre of Islamization in Arsiland was established in Robee/Diida'a where ur^{c}an scholars of Somali origin founded schools and dispatched their graduates to surrounding parts of the country. However, as in most parts of Africa, the Muslim religion, unlike Christianity, was not primarily propagated and expanded by professional missionaries. It was through traders who made the cultural system of Islam accessible to the indigenous people, and who through their example, either stimulated them towards a gradual emulation or even to a self-executing conversion.

502 VANNUTELLI/CITERNI (BOTTEGO) 1899: 142, 158, 168f., 199, 214, 355; SMITH 1897: 177f., 185, 206, 229; HOEHNEL 1892, II: 167, 187; ABIR 1968b: 107.

503 This was told to me by Arsi elders in the Ginnir region of Bale. Cf. also the map by ABIR (1968b: 105).

504 CERULLI 1932: 141; AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 208f; BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 158.

505 PAULITSCHKE (1896: 70) mentioned this date for the Baarentuu-Oromo as well. From all the available information we have to assume that the process of adopting Islam among the Arsi (with the exception of the inhabitants of Anaajiina) to a numerically significant extent started considerably later, i. e., in the 19th century (cf. also BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 138ff.).

506 MARTIAL DE SALVIAC 1900: 40; PAULITSCHKE 1896: 70; SMITH 1897: 56ff. Since the middle of the 20th century Anaajiina has developed increasingly into a type of "Ethiopian Mecca".

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The same phenomenon was also outlined for the early phase of Islamization in south-eastern Ethiopia at the beginning of the second millennium (cf. chap. 3.2.3).

According to the information obtained in eastern Arsiland, it was mostly the generation of the grandfather or the great-grandfather (counted back from the 1970s) which accomplished the conversion from the traditional religion to Islam with all its socio-cultural commitments. In the western parts of the area, by contrast, this process was mostly not instituted on a broad basis before the 1930s, although numerous Muslim relics had always been preserved by the Hadiyya clans and particularly the Qall chcha Shan. Their religious practices designated as *sagaddee* or *sagidda* incorporated, for example, a ritual prayer with bowing down and a thirty-day fasting period (*soomano*). The *Sagidda* believers more or less strictly separated themselves from the *Awaama*, the "heathens".[507] The process of adopting Islam also changed the old rules of exogamy which had excluded a marriage between clan relatives. However, the codified regulations of ur^{c}anic law could not be thoroughly enforced. A customary practice evolved, still valid in the late 20th century, that one could marry if the genealogies of the partners neither converged in the male nor in the female line during the previous four generations. If the spouses descended from different clans or lineages, the reckoning was not necessary.

The cultural changes caused by Islamization within the socio-political sphere were even more profound and far-reaching than those in the field of religious faith. Being Muslim inevitably implied that the obligation to observe the age-old institution of the Oromo, the *gadaa* system, had to be abandoned because it was incompatible with the moral standards and the ethical concepts of the Islamic religion. It had been the bastion of the old order right up to the present, and its abandonment thus meant a radical change of the hitherto prevailing living conditions. Among the eastern Arsi, the dissolution of the *gaada* system through Islam was a process which had almost been finalised at the time of the abäša occupation in the 1880s and 1890s. With regard to the functioning of the old socio-political organisation in the western part of Arsiland where the new cultural system of Islam did not make a breakthrough before the middle of the 20th century, sufficient information is provided by HABERLAND (1963a: 454). He compiled detailed documentation of the *gadaa* system and drew up a list of its leaders going back as far as 1747.

Among the Arsi in the Islamic east, it was the consistently elected "peace chiefs" (*haaxe* or *moote*) who wielded the most influential position in political life and for the most part led the subjugation negotiations with the abäša conquerors, like for example Duubbe Jiilo and Robee Buttaa in Bale.[508] It was frequently the war com-

507 *Awaama* is a term which is also used by the Gu33i- and Boorana-Oromo. Among the Ittuu, the only Baarentuu group except for the Karrayyuu, who at the beginning of the 1970s were still not completely Islamised, the corresponding term was *Shanano*.

508 In most of the Arsi territories *haaxe* and *moote* are exchangeable, designated titles which are misleadingly believed by early researchers to have had the original meaning "king". Cf., for example, BOTTEGO 1895: 210; PAULITSCHKE 1896: 117; PLAZIKOWSKY-BRAUNER 1975b:

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manders (*abbaa dulaa*) who, on the basis of their character and their personal merits, won a prominent role in the political executive. Some groups, like the Wolashee in Bale, gained a leading position because many people requested their *abbaa dulaa* for permission to become his followers. Muslim Arsi had to abandon the participation in killing raids which were an integrated part of the *gadaa* order. As a consequence, aggressive warfare with all its implications of the "meritorious complex" increasingly lost the prominent role which it had possessed for the traditionally oriented "pagan" section of the people.

From the 19th century onwards, a new dualism, Muslims on the one hand, and adherents of the traditional *gaada* order on the other hand, started replacing the former division of the Arsi ethnos in a faction of "pure" Oromo clans and "assimilated" Hadiyya clans. As the Hadiyya had retained numerous Islamic traditions, they usually showed more eager willingness to turn Muslim and to undergo the socio-cultural upheavals brought about in the wake of socio-religious change. Moreover, as *moggaasa* they had been underprivileged in the old political system and particularly in the *gadaa* order, and therefore conceived Islamization as a chance for vertical social mobility.

In comparison with Islam, the influence of Christianity remained insignificant, even though already in the 1880s French Capuchin missions had established stations at the middle Awaš, on the northern periphery of Arsiland.[509]

3.6 Wars of Conquest under M nil k II (1875-94)

From the middle of the 17th century up to the last third of the 19th century, the Hadiyya experienced an autonomous development largely detached from the Christian north. As long as the collapse of the Ethiopian Empire into rival territories and the lack of central authority impeded the development of its political and military power, the adjoining southern peoples were spared from its expansionist aspirations. Concealed or also exposed the abäša, however, particularly the Amhara and T gray, have always maintained a certain historically justified claim to large areas south of Šäwa. It was derived from the legacy of former times and royal dynasties, documented in the ancient chronicles, so that the Christian peoples of the north were inclined to talk of a 'reconquista' of the south and of a restoration of the old cultural achievements in that part of the country. With the rise of the kingdom of Šäwa under M´ M T -47), the Amhara could build on the tradition of southward expansion into the naturally more favourable neighbouring territories.

313. Monarchical institutions are, however, hardly comprehensible even in rudimentary form among the Arsi-Oromo and have never existed to the best of my knowledge. By contrast, monarchies developed under the influences of Omotic-speaking peoples among the Macaa-Oromo of the Gibe region. Cf. MOHAMMED HASSEN 1990, chap. 2 and 3.

509 This was reported by PAULITSCHKE (1888b: 58). The success of these Roman-Catholic missions has remained insignificant.

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The expansion was directed initially against the Tuulama-Oromo and Argobba.[510] , T T . T " M´ T had also called himself "King of the Gurage",[511] although the campaign to conquer this group had only just begun at that time. With an intensified strength, exerting a destructive effect on the people in the south, the policy of expansion was pursued by Emperor Tewodros II (r. 1855-68). The eyewitness Werner MUNZINGER stated the following:

> "The war with the Muslim Galla, which was conducted with great persistence, made southern Abyssinia, where previously milk and honey flowed and an ox-load of wheat cost only 1 franc, into a desert, and completely dislocated trade".[512]

This observation most likely referred to the Oromo in Wällo and Šäwa who were by then not yet fully conquered by the Christian Empire.

Very little up to now is known about the abäša conquest of central-southern Ethiopia as systematic field research has hardly been carried out on this topic and the available written sources are extremely scant.[513]

3.6.1 The Conquest of Gurageland and the "Holy War" of asan n amo (1875-89)

When M nil k II ascended the throne of the Šäwa kingdom in 1865, the military campaigns in the south were intensified. In 1875 he brought the northern part of Gurageland into subjection, and thereby extended the boundaries of his state within close proximity to the Hadiyya who were henceforth faced with the growing threat to their autonomy.

The "M nil k-Amhara", as they were frequently named by the autochthones,[514] left the people of the south only one alternative as a rule: voluntary subjugation and the associated tribute obligations or armed resistance which, considering their military inferiority, had little chance of success and after the defeat resulted in a worse relationship with the conqueror.

510 See, for example, STITZ 1974: 98ff.; A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1989: 535.
511 CECCHI 1888: 115; REIN 1918/20: 242.
512 MUNZINGER 1883: 39 (our translation from German).
513 For example, the information about this is limited to a short mention of the Käfa campaign in the three-volume work by REIN (1918/20). The monographs by DARKWAH (1975) and MARCUS (1975) on M nil k II basically make use of the information from GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (GÄBRÄ M LLASE) about the Arsi campaigns and the report of VANDERHEYM (1896) who took part in the Wälaytta campaign in 1894. Also the painstakingly compiled chronology of the events of the era of M nil k II by ROSENFELD (1976) is not very illuminating for central-southern Ethiopia.
514 The oral traditions often differentiate the "M nil k-Amhara" from the "Zär'a Ya^{c} qob-Amhara" of the period before the 17th century, about whom information has survived only in rare cases.

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The fate of the Oromo in Šäwa and Wällo and of the Gurage had clearly demonstrated that the inhabitants of this region could not withstand the armies of the abäša invaders, who were equipped with modern firearms, and this realisation prompted the readiness for a diplomatic solution. The Qabeena living west of Gurageland were the first Hadiyya group to be affected by the military expansion of the Šäwa-Amhara. In a campaign, which took place in 1876, the Christian invaders extended their dominion as far as the Eaha territory. The Qabeena leader ᶜUmar Baksa chose to come to terms with the conquerors from the north and in the following year sent a tribute to Šäwa.[515] By means of this, he could acquire an extensive measure of political autonomy for his territory whereas other areas in Gurageland were plundered and occupied by Christian Ethiopian troops.

However, the conquests had not yet been consolidated and further raids in October 1877 ended in a disaster for the Šäwan invaders.

> "Soon in the month of eqemt, having mobilized a huge army and won a PT . . , R , . P ´T G . TV . Tj TV , . , ET On 21. eqemt, the army of the NeguKwas exterminated. Alaqd Zannab, the knowledgeable man who wrote Ma hafa cawdtd, died on that occasion. Many Makwdnnent also died. The Muslim people of Eeha captured many Amdrd people and sold them to Kamtd [Kambdtd] and Weldmo. Only about one-third of the whole army which participated in the expedition with the NeguK returned. At that time there was no house in Šawa where there was no lamentation. The NeguKalso returned in sorrow and entered LeŒè".[516]

Defeats of this kind could not stop the Amharic campaign of conquest. Still in 1877, the Sultan Abbaa 5 ifaar of 5 imma emulated the Qabeena and pledged himself to M nil k as ally and vassal.[517] The King of Šäwa had a new administrative district built in Soddo from where the territories in the south-west could be controlled. The first governor, Mäšäša Säyfu, was followed in 1886 by the former governor of 5 a33u, *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari,[518] who carried out further campaigns of conquest to the south from his residence at Wäliso. The East-Gurage surrendered without a fight. The *im m* Imerkiisso from nnäqor sent the Amharic war commander two valuable horses and presents were also offered by the other leaders of Semitic-speaking Hadiyya.

From the beginning of the 1880s, *ras* Gobäna Daci (1821-89), a general of Oromo descent, was the initiator of the Ethiopian conquest in the territory of the upper Gibe. In 1886, when M nil k decreed a restructuring of the districts in the conquered territories, he advanced to the position of the supreme administrative

515 LANDE 1879: 390. Cf. BUSTORF 2011: 223f.
516 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 653.
517 CECCHI 1885/87, II: 407; CERULLI 1930/33, I: 105; cf. DARKWAH 1975: 99.
518 ROSENFELD 1976:118. DARKWAH (1975: 138 f.) puts the assumption of office of *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari "in the 1880s", based on the information provided by BORELLI (1890: 150) and CECCHI (1885/87, I: 421).

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commissioner in south-western Ethiopia and became superior to *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari, with whom he had a tense relationship. ᶜUmar Baksa and asan n3amo viewed Šäwa's constant territorial enlargement with mounting concern. At the beginning of the 1880s, they heard of the military successes of the Mahdists in Sudan, and this propaganda obviously inspired them with enough confidence to try to break the power of the non-believers also in their own region. Foreign oppression and tutelage had generated such a high degree of resentment that a charismatic leader could easily mobilise the masses with religious slogans in order to enforce political objectives. The socio-economic circumstances and the personality of asan n3amo evidently fulfilled all prerequisites for such a development. Details on the causes and background which led to the "holy war" are, however, unknown.

It can be presumed that the Qabeena had hoped for support from the 5 imma-Oromo in the event of a military conflict against the Amhara. They had mostly been on friendly terms with them and had highly valued the solidarity of the Muslim brothers-in-faith. In 1883, in the conflict between M nil k and King Täklä Haymanot of Go33am, it was suspected that the latter had succeeded in gaining the sympathy of Sultan Abbaa 5 ifaar,[519] whose loyalty for Šäwa was thus considered doubtful.

Z M T Tj T. T T , , . ´T RT, R T, s . contains a scant reference about the Qabeena war that the Muslim "Hassan Endjabo", who passed himself off as a Dervish, had incited an insurrection and swept through the territory on plundering raids with his followers. In all haste, the Amhara mobilised a contingent of troops under the command of *ras* Gobäna against the rebels and annihilated them.[520]

In reality, the war lasted more than three years and the Christians suffered a row of serious defeats before achieving their final victory. When exactly the *djih d* was proclaimed is not known, but the beginning of the hostilities can almost exactly be determined. Before the big rainy season of 1886, in about June, the Qabeena surprisingly attacked the Amharic garrison in the area of Wäliso and killed *qäññazma* Wabe Argano, amongst others. M nil k, who was personally leading a campaign against the Maaca-Oromo, had in September despatched *dä azma* Wäldä, *dä azma* Gärmame and *balambaras* Mäkʷänn n against the insurgents.[521]

Within a short time, the news that the Qabeena were in revolt and had killed *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari's brother, spread like wildfire throughout central-southern Ethiopia.[522] asan n3amo succeeded in bringing the territory from Amayya to East-Gurage and the major trade routes from south-western Ethiopia to Šäwa under

519 CERULLI 1930/33, I: 105.

520 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (COPPET) 1930/31, I: 259.

521 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 755 A further aid to the chronology is that the time of the departure of these commanders was one month before the campaign that *ras* Täsämma carried out in October 1886 against the Oromo from Guummaa and almost simultaneously with the return of *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis from a successful enterprise against Geera.

522 This was recorded by BORELLI (1890: 135).

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his control. His followers ravaged the areas west of the Gibe River and *dä azma* Wäldä had to retreat to a fortified *kätäma*. In July 1888, the Qabeena defeated an Amharic army, killed its commander *dä azma* Gärmame and most of the soldiers in the battle and carried off 400 rifles.[523]

With this victory, asan n3amo stood at the pinnacle of his success, which was to be of only short duration, however. From then on, M nil k no longer wanted to underestimate the fighting force of the Qabeena and summoned *ras* Gobäna Daci, who in 1887/88 had kept the Sudanese Mahdist invaders in Wälläga under surveillance, to suppress the insurrection at the region of the upper Gibe. The circumstances by that time were insofar advantageous for the Muslims, as a large part of the Ethiopian troops were tied up in the north with the threatening "Dervish" invasion from the Sudan and simultaneously Emperor Yohann s was busy waging a campaign against the disloyal Go33am King Täklä Haymanot in 1888.[524] Moreover, Gobäna obviously lacked the motivation to embark on a campaign to rescue his adversary Wäldä Aššagari and therefore carried out this order with decided tardiness. In the first half of 1889, the Šäwan commander-in-chief finally advanced with his strong forces against the Qabeena, defeated the *djih d* fighters who had been stimulated to undertake a desperate resistance, and subjugated the entire territory under Ethiopian sovereignty.[525] ʿUmar Baksa was taken prisoner and asan n3amo fled.

Informative details about the combat operations are contained in a report which CERULLI (1922: 163f.) recorded in the Oromo language and then translated into English. This text is worth being quoted in full here:

> "After four years the king of the Amhara sent against this mussulman [asan n3amo] R s Gobana; Fitdwrdri Garadô, and Bašdh Abuye. When Hasan was warned of the coming of the latter, he gathered together his people, threw away his lance, and took in hand his drawn sword. The thousand soldiers of the holy war then armed themselves with the sword and not with the lance, and they swore not to hurl lances. One Friday morning he joined battle, destroyed the subchiefs (literally, the drums) of R s Goban ; the soldiers of the holy war exterminated the people of R s Goban . When evening came R s Goban decided to escape to the Soddo, and withdrew to Walisô. The soldiers of the holy war did not enter Walisô; they spent the night on the street. Saturday morning they went to battle. For the second time the Amhara perished. R s Goban fled and reentered Shoa. Hasan In3 m on Saturday evening made his war boast, saying 'Slave of my father (I am)'. His son said to him, 'Why hast thou said 'slave of my father'?' Thou art only rather the slave of the Lord. Therefore thou hast said a thing contrary to religion'. (Ara-

523 BORELLI 1890: 395, 400, 402.
524 BAIRU TAFLA 1967: 149; MARCUS 1975: 105.
525 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 755, 795-97. Gobäna Daci died after his return to the Šäwan residence on Mt. n o o in July 1889.

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> bic in the text, kafarta). 'I ask pardon for it of Alldh (Arabic in the text, astagfir Alldh). Thou hast spoken truly, my son', replied Hasan. Then they occupied the region. He sent a messenger to 5imma, saying to Abba 5if r, 'Come to the holy war with me'. Abba Gafir answered him, 'I am not a soldier of holy wars and in my country there are no zawdyd'. [Under this designation the western Oromo are known as followers of Islamic fraternities (*turuc*). This basically means 'Dervish'.] – Then Hasan reigned for more years. In one of these years Goban returned for the third time, but his people perished; then he came back for a fourth time. Then said the Fitdwrdri, Habta Giyorgis, 'Give me the command of Qabiênd. I will fight with Hasan In3 m : The river knows the Dwellers of its banks'. The Fitdwrdri, Habta Giyorgis, native of Walisô, had command of Walisô. And so he descended thither. They gave him a hundred guns. When the Fitdwrdri, Habta Giyorgis, was placed at the head of the Walisô, before he was Bdldmbdrds, the Galla of Walisô, of Sulú, of Edbô, all the horsemen came to Habta Giyorgis and said, 'We will fight with thee'. He then went to the Tuláma Sódd and wholly destroyed the soldiers of the holy war and entered Qabiênd. He built a residence for himself in Qabiênd and remained there six months. Then the emperor called him to Shoa. When he called him to Shoa, Hasan resumed the war and stopped in the region of Ambatê. When Firdwrdri Habta Giyorgis returned among the Gurdgie, the soldiers of the holy war began to fight with him. Then R s Goban named as Fitdwrdri the head of the Sulús, Banti Mannê, and gave him command. For the fifth time R s Goban returned and exterminated the Hádiyd, destroyed the soldiers of the holy war. Then he advanced and entered Qabiênd. Whether Hasan In3 m sank into the earth or rose to heaven, no one knows, he disappeared."

The Amhara suspected Abbaa 5ifaar from 5imma to have given refuge to his defeated brother-in-faith. They detained the sultan in Ankobär in the residence of Šäwa, but then allowed him to return to his territory when the suspicions were proven to be unfounded and his countrymen entreated his release through additional tributes.[526] It appears uncertain whether after his defeat asan n3amo received active support from the sultan of 5imma who, on realistically estimating M nil k's military strength, refused to take part in the "holy war". The traditions of the Qabeena contradict themselves on this point. Whereas the one version says that he actually fled to 5imma, the other says he is supposed to have been kept hidden by the Amayya-Oromo, the north-western neighbours of the Qabeena, and sometime later contracted smallpox and died (possibly during the epidemic of 1892).

According to the traditions recorded by CERULLI, a total of five campaigns were necessary to subjugate the Qabeena. This appears to be quite plausible considering that the combat operations lasted over three years from the time of the proclamation

526 CERULLI 1922: 164; CERULLI 1930/33, I: 105.

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of the *djih d* up to the final defeat of the Hadiyya, Gurage and Oromo fighters led by asan n3amo. Despite their initial victories, the position of the insurgents in the longer term was hopeless, as the potential of the Amhara military superiority was too overwhelming. However, Gobäna Daci, one of King M nil k's most successful army commanders, underestimated the strength of the adversary at the beginning. He was not sufficiently aware of the fact of being faced with a phenomenon of fanatical *djih d* fighters whose contempt for death made them seek close combat. Thus he had to adjust his tactics accordingly. In a "holy war" embracing chiliastic features, each victory of the "Dervishes" is evaluated as more than just a won battle.

The way in which a fanatical religious movement, partly in a conscious rejection of military reasoning, wants to force victory, is atypical for the Ethiopian Muslims. It shows, however, certain parallels to the Mahdist revolts in the way they convulsed other parts of Africa towards the end of the 19th century.[527] The Qabeena and their allies hardly had firearms at their disposal and incurred a further technical fighting disadvantage by dispensing with their lances, which, however, according to the informants' statements, combatants only complied with in exceptional cases. Overall, they could not compensate for their hopelessly inferior position through an elevated fighting spirit.

The informants listed nine men by name as commanders under asan n3amo in the "holy war": asan Mani from the Abooshe clan, Salia Namichcha (Safaato), Kabiisso Habiibo (Dulaa), Dureesso Kasimo from the Miskeen Oromo group, Mukhtdr Galise (Safaato), Esso Fandiino (Safaato), Sullaamo Buullo (Xoromboora), Abbaakko Habiibo (Abaakiro) and Gafaarro Baamaddo (Xoromboora).

The decisive battle in which the *djih d* fighters were finally defeated took place at Jabdu, near Wäliso. Apparently one of the sons or close relatives of *ras* Gobäna fell in this battle, which raged with great animosity over several days. Thereafter there was no further resistance.[528]

By mid-1889 the process of conquest had been concluded, and the Shäwa Amhara started securing their sovereignty over Qabeena and Gurageland by means of garrisons and military colonies.

3.6.2 The Campaigns Subjugating the Arsi and Southern Hadiyya (1880-93)

Already a number of years before the Amhara conquered the territory, the Hadiyya reported that from the recollections of their fathers, prophecies had circulated heralding such an event, and this had imbued the people with a fateful foreboding. The soothsayers (*hiraagaano*) would behold apocalyptical signs from the interpretation of dreams and of haruspicium predicting natural disasters as well as the subjugation

527 The Mahdi movement in Sudan (cf. in the secondary literature TRIMINGHAM 1965: 123 f.) apparently had a direct influence on Ethiopia and especially on the Qabeena. Also in West Africa the end of the 19th century was a period of Mahdist activities and anti-colonial uprisings (see LE GRIP 1952; BRAUKÄMPER 1970: 101-107).

528 Details about this were reported to me by Baadaaro Obbiyyo and Shaaro Nuuruu.

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of their people by one more powerful invader. A vision which is said to have become well-known all over the Hadiyyaland and even neighbouring regions was spread by the Baadawwaachcho seer Abooshe, a member of the clan Waageshmanna, who died in approximately 1892.[529] He pointed to the circumstance of a sheep which had been born malformed with testicles on the throat in the following way:

> Ferocious invaders with fire and sword came to our people. The harsh tributes they are going to impose on us will clench us as the testicles with the throat of the sheep.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso)

Another story which the dream reader Kumme attempted to explain went around in the southern parts of Hadiyyaland. Strange occurrences are said to have taken place which contradicted human experiences. Hunters had gone into the bush and bagged animals of prey which they hung up on trees together with their clothes in order to be able to continue hunting unburdened. They were astonished to come across an elephant upon whose back a monkey was sitting, cleaning its teeth with a small stick. As this sight was so suspicious, they spared the elephant. After that they found a tortoise which had bright blossoms on its head and a fire on its tail. They left the animal unmolested. Next they came across a buffalo cow in calf and as they got ready to throw their lances, the animal's foetus groaned loudly so that they let it escape. The hunters then spotted three antelopes running alongside each other, the middle one of which they struck with a lance. However, it escaped, whereas the two outer ones, fatally hit, suddenly dropped down dead. After all these mysterious events, the men returned to the place where they had left their clothing and the bagged animals. When they discovered that the tree had grown very tall, full of fear they bolted to Kumme who first instructed them to fetch the things they had left behind and then he explained to the people the symbolic substance of the depicted events:

> The monkey on the elephant stands for a small people who will rule over great multitudes of people. The bright blossoms on the head of the tortoise give a premonition of white hair resulting from hard work under subjugation. The groaning of the buffalo foetus signifies that the children will know and have to put up with everything that the present generation does not know. The struck antelope is the defaulter and the other two are the warrantors who will go to prison for him. As high as the tree has grown, this will be the increase of human unreliability and unscrupulousness.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso and Daaimo Abbäbä)

529 Ominous occurrences and dreams seem to have been a widespread phenomenon of southern Ethiopia reported in numerous versions by that time (personal communications by Eike Haberland and Helmut Straube).

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This is an allegorical account of the socio-political situation which arose in the wake of abäša occupation in Hadiyyaland and other parts of southern Ethiopia. All the fantastic stories and legends of this nature were more or less shaped by the actual experiences which the inhabitants were exposed to after the conquest by the Christian Empire.

Already in the first half of the 19th century when the Baadawwachcho-Hadiyya lived further south in proximity to Mt. Daamoota in present-day Wälaytta territory, the female seer Toloolle from the Waageshmanna clan is supposed to have predicted the following events:

> You will soon settle far to the north of the Daamoota and these people [the Wälaytta from Kindo and Koyisha] will follow you and only make a stop in the plain north of the mountain. You will then go across water, which has the name of fire [the hot springs of Harto] and find a new place of settlement in a well-forested area. Thereafter, a warlike opponent will subjugate you, but after a time you will live in understanding with him. Then a selfish man will marry an equally selfish girl and our people will no longer live in closed kraal settlements like before, but in individual houses.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso and Daaimo Abbäbä)

(The last part hints at the change in the settlement pattern which was accomplished after the shift from nomadism to a more sedentary type of agropastoralism). Everything that Toloolle envisaged, so the people stated, actually occurred.

What arose as a result of the prophesies around 1880 had already been influenced by the specific impact of the Amharic campaign and assaults which carried over as far as the Lake Region, allowing the people's awareness of the threat to their autonomy in this area to reach a new dimension. In 1851, the military thrust by King aylä Mäläkot of Šäwa T , , M´ M T , T T T. g T T TVZg the Arsi that the defeated Amhara could only save their leader from being taken captive with great difficulty.[530] However, from that time the military strength of the Christian Ethiopians grew considerably.

. y g w . P s . , R , who had been commissioned by Emperor Yohann s to seize the treasures that were allegedly stored on the islands of Lake Z^{w}ay, led a contingent of troops against the Jiille and the north-western Arsi. The expedition did not reach the aimed at target – beside, the precious objects which were said to have been in the Zay churches having survived the Grañ wars, were only in the imagination of the abäša – but the invaders captured an appreciable number of cattle.[531] The Šäwan army spent the rainy season in Dabba-Gojjo and returned to their country with a huge booty of cattle.[532]

530 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) (1987: 769) seems to refer to this event which is also reflected in oral traditions.
531 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 167; cf. HABERLAND 1963a: 418.
532 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) 1987: 699ff.; MARCUS 1975: 89.

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In January 1882, M nil k led a second military expedition against the Arsi and reached the highland at Mt. Celalo. After initial successes, his army faced considerable difficulties because of the Arsi counter-attacks as they had mobilised warriors from all over their territory. M nil k's troops were then forced to retreat with heavy losses to the royal residence at Mt. n o o.[533]

During the following years, the abäša attacks were directed specifically eastward against the Cärcär territory known for its rich agricultural resources and inhabited mainly by the Ittuu-Oromo. The Ittuu had regularly sent a cattle tribute to the court of Šäwa at Ankobär over a long period, but were nevertheless not spared from Amharic plundering raids. In 1883, the advance of the Šäwa troops into Cärcär territory led to the Egyptian garrison in Harär being on higher alert,[534] and in the face of the threatening proximity of the Christian conquerors' advance, Harär concluded an agreement on a ceasefire with the surrounding Oromo tribes. In 1885, a raid by the Šäwa-Amhara against the Ittuu was so destructive that the coffee import from Cärcär, which was vitally important for the trade of the Harari, came to a standstill. An enraged sentiment against the Christians grew.[535]

The Ittuu put up energetic resistance against the troops of the Šäwa commander *dä azma* Waldä Gäbr 'el and were not finally subjugated until 1887 after numerous battles against the opponents led by M nil k himself. Roman Catholic missions which had shortly before gained a foothold in Ittuu had to give up their stations there on the orders of the King.[536]

On their campaigns of conquest in the Cärcär territory, the Amhara had also had contact with the north-eastern Arsi in Arba-Gugu and thereby began to annex the territory of this great Oromo group. Already before the defeat of the Harär Emirate in the battle of Cällänqo sealed the subjugation of large parts of eastern Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Christian Empire in 1887, M nil k had started a systematic campaign of conquest southwards directed against the Arsi-Oromo. Whereas both the preceding enterprises in 1880 and 1882 were only plundering raids, the third expedition's objective was permanent occupation.

According to GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (1930/31, I: 233) the marching route from Šäwa led through Soddo, East-Gurage and then through the Libidoo plain to the east shore of Lake Z^{w}ay. For further details on this campaign we owe thanks to the Ethiopian historiographer A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 763, 765).

> "He [M nil k] left his Katamd on 5. Genbot and camped at Endod . Then he camped at Abu Malkd, Awaš. He took the direction of Soddo and camped at Bddo, then at Qonddlititi, then at Masqd, then by the Gogotti river, the

533 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 171 f. The comment by MAURICE DE COPPET (fn. 10) referred to this campaign as the first expedition against the Arsi.

534 MOHAMMED HASSEN 1973: 40. The author kindly gave me this information from an unpublished manuscript in Addis Abäba. Cf. also CAULK 1977: 369ff.

535 This information was recorded by PAULITSCHKE (1888a: 198).

536 PAULITSCHKE 1888a: 291.

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> boundary between Acabar and Adiyd. On the 10. [inst.], he camped by the Wan3i river; then on the shore of Lake Zwdy. Then, he went to Arusi along the lake via 5 el and Dambal Maqi. Thereafter, killing and plundering started. They attacked to the right, the front, and the left, and extirpated them. They [the Arusi], too, did as much as they could. In fact, they strongly resisted, but they failed. The following places were struck and they were used as camps: there is a mighty river named Katdrd. He [Menilek] traversed it several times. To the right and left, it was full of caves, grottoes and Qd ld of the Gdlld. He destroyed them [the Gdlld]. Then, he camped at Albdso M dd. From there, he attacked as far as Šdto and the foot of Celdlo. While camping at Gdldmd M dd, the army of the NeguKwent to plunder on 18. Genbot. The Arusi horsemen and infantry fought them. The NeguKheard of it and made a forced march in the evening. The Arusi heard of the departure of the NeguK from the camp, and they raided the camp of Da3dC Wald and slaughtered men and women. The army, on the other hand, struck the pass between Kdkd and Sun Coqq . A large part of the army fell. But [the division] which went to the left circumvented the 'Enqwello Coqq and plundered the agricultural region of Sirkd and returned. On this day again, [the Arusi] attacked Da3dC Wald 's camp and killed many people. On 20. Genbot, he [Menilek] camped at Kdwo in the Albaso M dd. The Arsi attacked the camp by night and killed many people. On 21., he passed through 'Enqullo and Sirkd and camped by the Guna river. On the morrow, forayers were let loose as far as the Wdb and Siddmo. On that day, the Arusi lords submitted. Sufdld, the ruler of Celdlo, Fitdld, the ruler of Grd Arusi, and the BdldbbdtoCof Digalo submitted with tribute. After their submission, the dispatching of plunders was abandoned [...]".

This generality of the expedition's description can be completed and illustrated more precisely with other eyewitness reports and data from informants recollecting the oral traditions.

In the badly ravaged territory, King M nil k had a fortified encampment *(kätäma*) set up on Caangee hill in the northern part of Shirka which was assigned to the commando of his uncle, *ras* PT M´ M T (1827-1900), and served as headquarters for the Šäwan invasion troops during the rainy season.[537] When M nil k had returned to his royal residence on Mt. n o o, the Arsi mobilised all available warriors north of the Wabi Šäbälle and attacked the camp of *ras* Darge. However, having the advantage of firearms, the Amhara repelled the attacks of their numerically superior adversary; 6,000 Arsi are reported to have been killed.[538] After the tremendous loss of human life and of cattle as a result of the campaign of 1886,

537 This account was provided by GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (1930/31, I: 233-37). Cf. also MARCUS 1975: 89.

538 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 237. MARTIAL DE SALVIAC (1900: 333-35) estimated the number of fallen Oromo at 12,000 in fact. Cf. also MÉRAB 1921: 361.

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the power of resistance of the inhabitants of this territory was largely – although not completely – crushed. The degree of animosity and atrocity evident in the fighting on both sides was extraordinary. Apparently as revenge for the nocturnal assaults on the encampment of *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el in which 700 soldiers and female escorts were killed,[539] M nil k ordered the chopping off of the right hand of all Arsi fighters captured in the subsequent battle.[540]

The warlike actions continued sporadically into 1888. Then *ras* Darge left Arsi-land and returned to n o o entrusting two officers of Oromo-descent, *fitawrari* Danquu Mabraquu and *fitawrari* Täsämma GuŒ, with the administration of the conquered territories.[541] The military offensive was energetically resumed after M nil k ascended from the position of King of Šäwa to that of the Ethiopian Emperor in 1889.

The Arsi oral traditions have preserved only a limited amount of details on the abäša conquest. These events have been kept alive overall as reminiscences for ensuing ages as being a time of heroism and great suffering. In one of the battles, they claim to have captured the large war drum from the Amhara who had retreated in panic. This meant a considerable loss of prestige for the opponent *ras* Darge, whom the Arsi warriors therefore maligned as a laggard and coward.

The Arsi resistance north of the Wabi Šäbälle was organised primarily by six war commanders: Leenjiso Diiga from the Kolooba clan[542] in Arba-Gugu, Koofe Shamoo (Weege) in the Lake Z^{w}ay territory, Oogatoo Biinno (Adaree) in the Muneessa territory, Intalli Soole (Ataaba) in Robee/Diida'a, Goobana Robee (Heebano) in Gädäb and Gatiso Balango (Haballo) between the Kämbata Mountains and the Sidaama areas of residence. The chief negotiator, amongst others, was *shaikh* Abbaaro, the *haaxe* of the Suudee clan. After the defeat of their people, Leenjiso Diiga and *shaikh* Abbaaro submitted themselves in Injifaana, an Amharic *kätäma* near the later place Kuula (Suudee district); other Arsi went with their tribute to Caangee.

It lasted a number of years until the territory between Awaš and Wabi Šäbälle was finally under the control of the Amhara, and only in 1890 could *ras* Darge, who in the meantime had returned, begin with the conquest of the Bale area. He left the garrison in Shirka under the command of Zämämfäs and led a protracted campaign (*zamacha*) to the south-east from October 1891 to July 1892.[543] The Arsi, at this point in time already afflicted by *rinderpest* and famine, put up strong resistance and defeated the Amharic vanguard under *fitawrari* Dhufeeraa at Fugug, but were decisively beaten at Waabee Guraandaa (Gaasara district in Bale) and were no longer in a position to stop the abäša advance. At the same time, the Ethiopian troops made

539 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/1931, I: 234. This event evidently aroused a desire for revenge on the part of the Christian Ethiopians in a particular way.

540 This was reported by the Italian traveller TRAVERSI (1887: 267ff.).

541 BAIRU TAFLA 1975: 30.

542 A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA) (1987: 771) mentioned him as the Arsi commander, who later delivered the tribute to the Šäwan residence on Mt. n o o.

543 Cf. SWAYNE 1895: 230; BAIRU TAFLA 1975: 30; TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE 1971: 180.

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advances under *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n Wäldä Mika'el and *ras* L ^{c}ul Sägäd against Ogaadeen.[544] Darge had a new encampment established on Mt. Daadimoos at Gooroo but was then ordered by M nil k to undertake other duties. The *ras* therefore appointed his son Asfaw governor of the newly conquered territories. At the beginning of the rainy season in 1892, the Arsi under their war commanders Aliyyu Tolaa (Illaannii) and Shayimo Kimoo (Wolashee) laid down their weapons in eastern Bale. In Gololcha territory *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el Abba Say an waged the campaign and captured the Arsi leaders ^{c}Abdulldh dsim (Yabsaana) and Argoo Yimar (Gololcha) and accepted their surrender before he proceeded via Dabbu Jaara to Ginnir near the Shaikh usayn pilgrimage centre. The Oromo of that region, whose commander was called Abbaa Turki, mostly fled into the forests and impenetrable mountain regions without putting up resistance.

Wäldä Gäbr 'el had employed the Jaawwi man Kabir Turaa Y suf as scout who was then rewarded for his valuable services with a considerable number of cattle confiscated from the Oromo and the Somali. Everywhere in southern Ethiopia it was a declared political practice of the abäša occupiers to appoint leaders of the conquered people who willingly collaborated as liaison officers between the new government and the indigenous population. They were mostly given the title *balabbat*, chief appointed by the government.[545] One of the local Oromo leaders, who supported the conquerors, was the Bullaalla man Abbaalaatta, the father of the *balabbat* of the Ginnir region in the 1970s.

The hill of Ginnir, where the traveller Smith met the governor *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el,[546] had already in the early days of the conquest been selected as the residential site for eastern Bale because of its strategically convenient position. Asfaw Darge had quarters built there near present-day Gobba. Even after their surrender, the Arsi of Bale were not safe from the marauding abäša troops and BOTTEGO mentioned for example a raid whereby the conquerors ravaged the land in autumn 1892.[547]

Around 1920, CERULLI received a piece of information that the Arsi under *shaikh* N r usayn, a religious leader, proclaimed a "holy war" against the Amhara and went into battle with the rallying cry for perseverance "May we die if we fear Dargie!".[548] In fact, what had been attempted was to try through the 14th century

544 Campaigns of *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n Wäldä Mika'el against the eastern Arsi, Baarentuu and Ogaadeen-Somali were already on a large scale in 1890.

545 Details on the title and the institution of the *balabbat*, which originally referred to landowners among the abäša of northern Ethiopia, will be discussed later (chap. 3.7.1).

546 SMITH 1897: 75. Cf. NEUMAYER 1902: 376; BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 107, *passim*.

547 BOTTEGO 1895: 96. Around the same time of the campaign in Bale Ethiopian troops under *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n and *ras* Le^{c}ul Sägäd invaded the Ogaadeen and plundered it. As there were hardly any cattle to loot, they are said to have frequently taken people to be induced into slavery. Those captives, whom they did not want to drag with them, were said to have been killed instantly on the spot. Cf. also SWAYNE 1895: 173, 175, 197, 260; SMITH 1897: 119; GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 307.

548 CERULLI 1922: 88f., 90f. He had at that time not yet been personally in Ethiopia.

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saint N r usayn, who was allegedly imbued with magical power, to strengthen the spirit of resistance of the Muslim Arsi warriors. The patron saint was supposed, in some degree through his spiritual presence, to guarantee their victory.[549]

After the Christian Ethiopians had secured their position in Bale, they proceeded with the occupation of Sidaamaland from 1893 onwards.[550] However, it took more than three years for the Sidaama and the Gu33i-Oromo through the campaigns of *dä azma* Bašah and *ras* L ᶜul-Sägäd to be worn down to the point where they gave up resisting and acknowledged the Empire's sovereignty. In 1897, the hitherto independent peoples of the area which later became known as Sidamo-Borana Province submitted themselves largely without a fight. This year was also the date of the demarcation of boundaries between Ethiopia and the British colonies, whereas with the Italians no exact agreement was achieved.[551]

Within the Arsi territories, the war events unleashed a series of movements of people looking for refuge in other areas. About such events there is detailed information for only very few cases. For example, in 1888 the Hadiyya clan Abuure moved down from the highlands at Celalo through the region of Asälla to the lowland of the Rift Valley, and as a Muslim group they are believed to have worked towards an Islamic infiltration among the lowland Arsi of the northern Lake Region.

As highland peoples the Christian abäša consciously selected as routes for their wars of conquest in southern Ethiopia the elevated zones along the escarpments of the Rift Valley and avoided as far as possible any undertakings in the sparsely populated lowland. The one expansion path which was directed to the south led through the Arsi highland east of the Lake Region, while the second passed along the western escarpment in the Gurage Mountains and led into the territory of the Hadiyya proper. In their struggle for freedom and independence against the abäša, the Gurage had allied themselves with the Arsi under the leadership of a man from the Eaha named Bachi Shaabo.[552] However, between 1887 and 1890 they finally lost their autonomy. After that, the way was open for the subjugation of the Hadiyya peoples in central-southern Ethiopia.

In hardly any other part of southern Ethiopia is the history of the abäša conquest as little-known as just in this area.[553] The view expressed by CONTI ROSSINI

549 In my view, this has up to now not been adequately corrected, and modern authors (e.g. TRIMINGHAM 1965: 207-9; SHACK 1969: 19) uncritically accepted CERULLI's statement on the "holy war" of N r usayn. My Arsi informants did not know of a *djih d* in the name of their patron saint at the end of the 19th century so that I am inclined to interpret it as an attempt to raise his spiritual importance at a later stage in the interest of the reputation of his sanctuary. As already indicated, the majority of the Arsi-Oromo were not yet Muslims in the 1890s.

550 BOTTEGO 1895: 210. Supplementary information which I received about it from informants there was not very comprehensive.

551 For the political and diplomatic events cf. the compilation by PERHAM (1969 [1947]: 264 f.).

552 This was mentioned by CERULLI (1922: 93).

553 As far as the chronology is concerned, PANKHURST (1968a: 24) and other authors evidently accepted the dates by PERHAM (1969 (1947): 194 f.), who put the beginning of the invasion

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and CERULLI, that the Hadiyya capitulated peacefully to Emperor M nil k II and thus got special benefits[554] gravely contradicts the reality.

When the troops of the Christian Ethiopians were established in Gurageland, they faced the Libidoo in the eastern adjacent lowland territory. This Hadiyya group had successfully repulsed the invaders' first attack in 1876 (cf. p. 191). Since then, they had been considered such a strong opponent that M nil k decided to lead the campaigns against the Libidoo between 1880 and 1886 himself. Whereas the East-Gurage had submitted to abäša sovereignty without a struggle, the Libidoo put up fierce resistance under their war commander Lachchebo Ajjaachcho. However, despite their bravery, they could not withstand the three-pronged assault of the "M nil k-Amhara" from Soddo T and the Lake Z^{w}ay area, and were forced to retreat southwards. One contingent of the invading army was commanded by *ras* Gobäna, the bulk, however, were under the personal commando of the Šäwan king. Many East-Gurage and Mäsqan, hereditary enemies of the Libidoo, had joined the Ethiopian troops in the expectation of abundant booty and a possible expansion of their territories. The battles against the numerically and materially vastly superior foe in which Lachchebo and most of the Libidoo warriors are said to have lost their lives, took place between Buta3ira and Qoshe.

A number of survivors joined the then still autonomous Arsi-Oromo and Hadiyya proper, while the rest yielded and sent *wolab garaad* Miseebo Burqaamo as . TP, , , s . T. ´, T ´, ´ V TV , V., ZT T ´ ´Tg , VZT TV , , T chief, focussing on the consequent advantages for his own group, convinced the Christian Ethiopians that the resistance of the vanquished could only be broken by their physical extermination. As a consequence, many of the Libidoo captives were allegedly murdered and a part of the people deported to Kimbibit and UndotWaša in the territory of Ankobär (Šäwa).[555] Only a minority of those abducted and taken to the harsh highland area survived resettlement and forced labour, and were able to then return to their homeland in the course of the next twenty years. Hardly any other ethnic unit of southern Ethiopian had suffered such decimation in relation to its population as the Libidoo. To escape from extermination, some of their warriors under the command of Miseebo Burqaamo, who had been appointed *balabbat* by M nil k, joined the abäša troops and participated in the later campaigns against the Hadiyya groups living further south as well as against the Wälaytta and Sidaama.[556] By way of example, the interpreter of *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari on his campaigns against the Sooro, Leemo and Shaashoogo is said to have been a Libidoo captive.

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of the Kambaata region in the year 1890, approximately half a decade too late.

554 CONTI ROSSINI 1937, II: 388; CERULLI 1925: 600; cf. ERNESTA CERULLI 1956: 123.

555 These places, which were mentioned to me by Libidoo informants, could not exactly be located on the map material available to me.

556 For example, I could interview a man in Addis Ababa, whose father of Libidoo descent had been a soldier in the Christian Ethiopian conquering army and had reached as far as Sidamo-Borana. As remuneration he had received allotments of land in the region of Lake Z^{w}ay.

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In 1886, when M nil k turned eastward with the main body of his army and advanced to Arsiland, another troop contingent under *ras* Gobäna was simultaneously VT , gTV R, T and Libidoo southwards towards the territory of the Shaashoogo. This attack was evidently unexpected, as the Shaashoogo combatants had just moved out to undertake a successful campaign against the Kambaata. While looking down from the neighbouring highland, they saw the fiery glow coming from their dwellings which had been set on fire by the abäša soldiers. So they returned in haste to defend their territory (cf. chap. 3.5.7). *Ras* Gobäna's troops had been able to invade the territory almost devoid of warriors ready for action virtually undisturbed. They set up an encampment in Musaageesa on the highland slope from where they not only pillaged the territory but could also anticipate and then counter-attack returning Shaashoogo fighters from a strategically advantageous position. The Shaashoogo, a relatively small group of people, capitulated as a result of a skirmish at Shaamo where the superiority of abäša firearms left no doubt about the futility of their further resistance. They sent *abagaaz* Geedo Bashiro with a tribute of small livestock, butter and other foodstuffs – cattle herds had mostly already fallen into the hands of the Amhara – into the camp of the invaders. The oral tradition has preserved a detailed report on this event:

> When the Shaashoogo delegation came to *ras* Gobäna, he asked them: 'Why, on approaching our troops, did you not come immediately to me to pay tribute? You received news of the advance of our army and nevertheless put up resistance!' Geedo answered him truthfully that one had not correctly estimated the distance and had not believed that the Amhara coming from the . , ´ ´ , P´ T and Libidoo could possibly arrive so quickly. Gobäna believed *abagaaz* Geedo's words and dispensed with further tribute requirements. He only demanded a good horse and the extradition of Migo Ayyaano, a great warrior who had killed an Amharic officer. Geedo agreed but did not want to hand over Migo by force. In order to prevent further bloodshed among his people, Migo turned himself in voluntarily. He said to *ras* Gobäna: 'I did not act out of aggressiveness and bloodlust, but only to defend my family and my property'. Gobäna was impressed by the fearlessness of the man and let him go free. He also gave a portion of the confiscated cattle back to the Shaashoogo.
>
> (According to Nunishe Manta)

Prior to this, during the negotiations the Amharic commander is said to have asked *abagaaz* Geedo Bashiro on account of his passionate pleading for his cattle, whether he loved his cattle more than his people. The Shaashoogo leader answered him through the services of an interpreter that without his people, he had no use of cattle and therefore would agree to the tribute for the sake of no risk to the people, on whose behalf he was negotiating.

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In June 1887, about a year after the *zamacha* against the Shaashoogo, while on his travels through the Cärcär territory, BORELLI heard from the resident governor, *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el that M nil k had just then carried out a new expedition against the Kambaata, and commented on this news in the following way: "I am pleased, because this will probably open the door of Koullo [Dawro] for me. Kämbata will be a part of the region governed by Dedjazmatch Oldié and he will facilitate for me to have access there; if he recalls his obligations and his promises".[557] According to this statement, the campaigns of conquest in the Hadiyya-Kämbata region by the Christian Ethiopians, departing from their garrisons in Gurageland, must have started in the mid-1880s. At the beginning of 1888 M nil k is said to have recalled *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari from his commando in Gurage and Kämbata;[558] nevertheless, according to the oral traditions, he is supposed to have still been active as commander in this territory at the beginning of the 1890s.

During his enterprises against the Shaashoogo, Gobäna Daci did not penetrate southwards beyond Musaageesa and Lambooyya. He was content with the Shaashoogo promise to perform a regular tribute and then withdrew from the hot lowland at the Bilate and headed north. The subjugated group allegedly did not meet their obligations adequately and five years later, in March 1891, the troops of the Christian Ethiopians came again. In the place of *ras* Gobäna, who had died two years before, *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari led the campaign, henceforth directed at a systematic conquest of the territory. The Shaashoogo geared up to defend themselves to the utmost, although the experienced leader Geedo Bashiro implored them not to do so, urging a diplomatic solution. The party determined on war won through, however, the tribute was refused and the bulk of the cattle driven into hardly accessible bush areas. It was known from the experience of the Libidoo and the Arsi that the only successful fighting method was to get rid of the shields recognised as useless in the face of rifle bullets and to seek close combat as quickly as possible in between the fusillades when the enemies were reloading their guns. After battles with heavy losses on both sides, the abäša troops withdrew from the marshy, malaria-infested Shaashoogo territory in May 1891, but returned with strong contingents once more in October after the rainy season. During this campaign the Shaashoogo were finally defeated and a large part of the tribe taken captive.[559]

One year later a new expedition under *dä azma* Wäda33o, a son of *ras* Gobäna Daci, sealed the henceforth administrative integration of the Shaashoogo in the Ethiopian state. The conquerors did not, however, establish their garrisons in lowland areas, disliked by them, but set up an encampment in the neighbouring highland of Leemo, where the defeated peoples of the surrounding areas had to deliver their tributes.

557 BORELLI 1980: 244 (our translation from French).
558 This was reported by BORELLI (1890: 300).
559 My main informant Nunishe Manta reported, for example, that his mother could only return from Šäwa to her homeland nine years later.

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Gobäna in due course, once he had informed himself about the traditional socio-political organisation of the Shaashoogo, appointed Hosiso, who bore the title *abagaaz*, to *balabbat*. His office was endorsed by the subsequent abäša governors. The power struggle between Hosiso and his most important rival *abagaaz* Geedo Bashiro was thereby ended when the latter was slain during a move to deliver a tribute to the headquarters of the Christian Ethiopians. Whether this concerned a politically motivated murder or not remains unknown. In any event, the office of the government chief was passed over to Umaakko, a nephew of Hosiso, whose line still kept this position in the 1970s.

With the backing of numerous auxiliaries from Gurage, Libidoo and Shaashoogo in 1891 *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari advanced from the lowlands of the Rift Valley south-west in order to subjugate the Leemo, Sooro and Kambaata. Some years before, presumably during the great military *zamacha* of 1886, *ras* Gobäna is believed to have ravaged the northern peripheries of Leemo territory on a plundering raid and to have defeated a local defence contingent under *adil* Adaa. At the same time, Wäldä Aššagari had undertaken a foray into the Sooro territory located far south but had to hurry back when the uprising in Qabeena broke out. Around 1890, the Amhara had secured their position to such an extent that they could realise their plan to conquer the relatively strong Leemo, Sooro and Kambaata peoples.

The Leemo warriors, who had mobilised to defend their territory, and the Baadogo under *adil* Ineea, could not withstand the invasion of 1891, avoided open combat and chose to confine themselves to guerrilla operations. Before the resistance was finally quelled, the Christian Ethiopians appointed the Leemo man Hemachcho, whose leadership also the Baadogo and ndägañ acknowledged, to *balabbat*. At the command of *dä azma* Wäda33o they established fortified garrisons in Bulbuulla and Damaalla. A short time later after the *kätäma* in Bulbuulla burnt down after having been struck by lightning, the new commander *dä azma* Bäšah had the residence relocated to Anna. The Leemo, arguably under compulsion rather than freely, entered into a coalition with the abäša which was affirmed by an oath and acted as auxiliaries for further wars of conquest.

Wäldä Aššagari, during the same campaign of 1891 after bringing down the Leemo, turned against their southern neighbours, the Sooro. They too, after a realistic assessment of the technical superiority of the enemies' weapons, avoided delivering themselves in an open field campaign and largely fled into the barely accessible lowland regions at the Omo, from where they could put up resistance. This *zamacha* is said to have taken its course in a somewhat milder form compared to military campaigns in many other areas. Only the imbaaro, who were allied with the Sooro, apparently lamented a considerable loss of life.

Adil Adaayye Agaago, who had been deposed as leader of the whole of Sooro several years before and who still maintained an influential position in Donga, died during the abäša invasion. His son Annoore became one of those local dignitaries authorized to negotiate with the victors and together with five other high officials, was appointed *balabbat*. (In total, four of the government chiefs were from the Hade

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faction and one each from the Habaaro and Boosho'anna.) Under *dä azma* Wäda33o Gobäna the military campaign of 1892 was concluded, and a year later the whole territory between Gurage and Wälaytta, between the Omo and the Bilate was controlled by the Ethiopian Empire.[560]

In 1891/92, when the *rinderpest* catastrophe had reached its climax and the people were considerably weakened through lack of food, a military expedition strengthened by Gurage and Leemo auxiliaries advanced into the lowland east of the Bilate and subjugated the Allaaba. The commander of the *zamacha* was again *dä azma* Wäda33o Gobäna, whose father several years before had executed a plundering raid through this territory. The Allaaba together with neighbouring Arsi clans under the leadership of Bare Kajawa, put up resistance in part but had to sue for peace after a short time.

In 1893, the Baadawwaachcho were the only Hadiyya group left over who were not under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian Empire. Thereafter, everything pointed to their days of autonomy being numbered. *Dä azma* Wäldä's advance to the region beyond the hill of Daato had reached the northern periphery of the Baadawwaachcho's dwelling areas and made them realise the magnitude of the threat. When the news came that Ethiopian soldiers had liquidated King Dilbato and quite a number of his relatives and dignitaries on their campaign against the Kambaata,[561] it had such a shock effect on the autonomous Hadiyya, that they decided to resolve the sworn enmity with the Wälaytta and beseeched an alliance with this powerful southern neighbour.

3.6.3 Years of Catastrophe: *Rinderpest*, Cholera and Smallpox (1887-93)

The military triumph of the Christian Ethiopians from 1889 on in the south of the country was decisively fostered by two facts which led to a catastrophe with serious consequences for the peoples of this region: a *rinderpest* (*Pestis bovina*) and shortly afterwards a smallpox epidemic (*Variola haemmorrhagica*) which established itself. The resultant starvation and loss of human life weakened the defence strength of some ethnic entities to such a long-term degree, that they were barely in a position to organise resistance, thus allowing the invaders to have an easy job of it.[562]

South-eastern Ethiopia is a favourable region predominantly for cattle breeding as it is situated outside the compact area of tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans* and *Glossina pallidipes*) occurrence transmitting *trypanosomiasis*.[563] Except for sporadic

560 According to COPPET (GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 503., fn. 10) the conquest of "Kämbata", a geographical term which also referred to territories of the Hadiyya proper, ended in 1893. This dating can be substantiated by my material.

561 For further details concerning these events cf, BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 84-86.

562 The inhabitants of northern Ethiopia were certainly also affected by the catastrophe. Their plundering raids arose partly out of an eagerness to alleviate their own distress. Cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1975: 80f.

563 REIN 1918/20, III: 206; SCHINKEL 1970: 257.

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incidences in Ogaadeen and the littoral zones of the Wabi Šäbälle and the Ganaale/Juba rivers, this area has largely been spared from this livestock disease. Up to the present, complaint of a regular loss of cattle in those territories with endemic instances of *trypanosomiasis* hardly crop up.[564] Nevertheless, there was no safeguard against the sudden spreading of "*rinderpest*" epidemics which could result in the wiping out of a large proportion of the stocks and lead to severe convulsions among groups whose livelihood depended wholly or partially on cattle breeding. In 1876, the Oromo in Šäwa were, for example, affected by such a catastrophe,[565] and very probably it concerned only one of many incidences of this nature over time, which was fortuitously documented.

The origin of the *rinderpest* which spread from north-eastern Africa over almost the whole of the continent at the end of the 19th century has never exactly been detected.[566] The version that it was introduced by the Italian colonial power in Eritrea is contrary to the other version that the pathogen of the epidemic had reached Sudan by means of Russian cattle from the Black Sea region that had been bought as provisions for the Anglo-Egyptian troops during their expedition to Khartoum (1884).[567] A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 803-806) stated that the *rinderpest* started by Italian cattle imports via the Eritrean port of Massawa.Within a few years, *rinderpest* advanced as far as West Africa where it ravaged the land from 1887 to 1891[568] and, according to FORD's (1971: 296) comparative investigations, overran the southern part of the continent from 1889 to 1896. Immense numbers of cattle fell victim to the epidemic so that starvation, interethnic conflicts and the transition of many people from a nomadic way of life to sedentary agriculture were the inevitable consequences.

In southern Ethiopia, *rinderpest* apparently first appeared in 1887, as documented by BOTTEGO in a note from the Ogaadeen region of Bale province.[569] Within the two following years, the epidemic which the Arsi-Oromo called *woraan domse,* had spread throughout the whole country.[570] Numerous reports by European travellers, mostly from the northern highlands and the Harär plateau, paint a distressing

564 For the neighbouring areas in Kenya see e.g. MCKAY 1957: 272; cf. FORD 1971: 466 ff.

565 HABERLAND (1963a:530) found out that among the Gullallee, for example, from the 191 head of cattle belonging to the father of one of his informants, only one single animal survived and that only the Abbuu and Gombichchu subgroups were less affected by the cattle disease. Whether and how extensively this epidemic had an impact on central-southern Ethiopia was not able to be determined.

566 A new analysis with regard to the *rinderpest* in Africa at the end of the 19th century has been done by LOIMEIER 2011: 83-114.

567 For this information see FORD 1971: 394.

568 For northern Nigeria see, for example, STCROIX 1945: 12ff.

569 BOTTEGO 1895: 392. It also annihilated the wild buffalo population, valued as hunting prey (HOYOS 1895: 187). Cf. also POWELL-COTTON 1902: 114 f.; SKINNER 1906: 195.

570 The period of the epidemic is also called *barrahama,* something like "year of terror" in the Arsi traditions.

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picture of the scale of the catastrophe.[571] Simultaneously in this year the failure of the harvest was also bemoaned which left the available plant food to soar to four times the normal price.[572] Additionally, a locust plague ravaged the already meagre fields in several territories,[573] so that the people were almost utterly deprived of their nutritional resources. The French missionary and Oromo researcher MARTIAL DE SALVIAC (1900: 85) estimated the loss of population in some territories east of the Omo at three-quarters or even nineteen twentieths, whereby some of the victims succumbed to the smallpox epidemic (see below).

The western Arsi were primarily mobile pastoralists in those days so that they were particularly affected in the long-term by the loss of cattle. In order to survive, they had to resort to hunting and the gathering of wild fruits which meant increasingly moving out of the higher-lying areas east of the Rift Valley to the more sparsely populated *Q*^{w}*älla* regions, as the highlands were poor in game resources and edible plants. Also in other territories of south-eastern Ethiopia, hunting gained in importance. The Addoona at the Wabi Šäbälle, for example, were nourished extensively from hippopotami meat after they had lost their cattle.[574] Similarly, the eastern Arsi, who practiced an agropastoralist mixed economy, vehemently lamented the consequences of the *rinderpest* and famine. Leenjiso Diiga, who a few years before had been the outstanding commander of the resistance against the Amhara, is said to have headed a delegation to Emperor M nil k to call his attention to the extreme plight of his people which was exacerbated by the harshness and despotism of the Ethiopian occupiers.

Admittedly, after the surrender of the southern peoples, the plundering that was prevalent in the period of conquest stopped, although random incursions by abäša soldiers against indigenous inhabitants were still not an uncommon event over the years. However, the fewer the resources became for the occupiers themselves, the more they tried to compensate for the damage by raising tribute demands from those they had conquered. The remaining cattle not wiped out by the *rinderpest* were not safe from seizure by the garrisons, and according to statements from informants, could only be kept hidden in remote areas.[575] The more the hardship intensified in

571 See for example SOLEILLET 1886: 266; PAULITSCHKE 1893:326 (this author basically relies on the information by Traversi); WURTZ 1898: 493; WYLDE 1901: 334, 339; SKINNER 1906: 196; KELLER 1918: 89f.; REIN 1918/20, II: 55; GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 258, 296; HABERLAND 1963a: 530. Compilations about this are to be found in PANKHURST (1961b: 90 ff.) and BRAUKÄMPER (1975a: 79 ff.).

572 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 326; PANKHURST 1961b: 95.

573 KELLER 1918: 89; HABERLAND 1963a: 530.

574 This was observed and reported by SWAYNE (1895: 268).

575 Raids also took place against the neighbouring Baarentuu and Somali which is said to have generated the enormous total of 18,000 head of cattle (PAULITSCHKE 1893: 258). To make the revival of cattle breeding possible in Šäwa, in 1892 *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n Wäldä Mika'el, the governor of Harär, ordered his troops to capture 5,000 steers and cows each in Ogaadeen and then drive them to the imperial residence in Ankobär. GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 322; KELLER 1918: 71.

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the territories of the Christian Ethiopians, Amhara, T gray and Tuulama-Oromo, the bigger the tendency and the desire to seek survival in the conquered territories at the expense of the autochthones. There was a wide-spread notion in northern Ethiopia that those people affected by famine[576] who had enough strength and initiative could secure their survival best by emigrating the land of the "Galla".

That there were hardly any cattle, which in normal times were the most desired and common objects of tribute, meant that small livestock not affected by the *rinderpest*, were particularly resorted to. After the loss of the cattle among the Arsi in the highlands, sheep acquired such a high status for nutritional purposes, that it also became extremely difficult to pay the tribute in small animals. The milk and meat from sheep, and to a lesser extent from goats, which had before been considered inferior and frequently rejected by adult men, were now essential for the supply of protein, also serving as goods of exchange for needed plant food traded with the peasant populations. After the epidemic had subsided, sheep became a virtual unit of currency making it possible to buy cattle from other territories to start breeding anew. The south-western Arsi in Gädäb were able to offer twenty sheep for a young cow from the regions of Wälaytta and Gamu where *rinderpest* had exerted a less destructive impact.

Like all the other groups practising plough agriculture also the Arsi from Shirka and Bale were beset with difficulties because the plough oxen had fallen victim to the pest and the basic works of farming could no longer be carried out in the usual way. In order to plough one was forced to use horses which, as a rule, were only for war or hunting or at best kept for transport purposes. Even though this cannot be considered a highly dramatic technical disadvantage in relation to the work, this fact inherently reflected an abnormal dilemma in the perceived world of the Ethiopian peasants.[577] As far as the adjustment from oxen to horses worked, the decline of agricultural production was contained to a certain extent. Because the Arsi-Oromo (as well as many other ethnic groups) were so unused to working with digging sticks and hoes that apparently without ploughing their means of surviving would have been even more precarious.

The Arsi definitely possessed larger herds than the Hadiyya west of the Rift Valley where comparatively smaller pasturelands were at their disposal. Baadawwaachcho informants could only remember one case before the *rinderpest* outbreak for example where a livestock owner could celebrate a feast for the possession of 1,000 head of cattle (*kumaam dikaas kifinna* = the sprinkling of honey beer for thousand),[578] whereas among the Arsi such an event is supposed to have happened repeatedly. 200 to 300 head of cattle were seen as an exceptional wealth, and

576 The contemporary historian A MA GIYORGIS (BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 813) left no doubt that that also the inhabitants of northern Ethiopia severely suffered from the natural catastrophes.

577 The Šäwa-Oromo and the Amhara were confronted with the same problem. The traditional type of plough in Ethiopia is in fact not very suitable to be drawn by horses.

578 Feasts or the possession of 100 head of cattle (*woganimma*) were occasionally still performed at the beginning of the 21st century. BRAUKÄMPER 2002: 714f.

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many herders owned no more than 20 to 30 head of livestock which, according to the then existing economic conditions, was considered as the minimum level of subsistence for an ordinary nomadic family.[579]

In the traditions of the Shaashoogo, Baadawwaachcho, Leemo and Sooro the *rinderpest* was kept alive under the designation *bicunga*, "the time when the herders' crooks were thrown away". The Hadiyya are said to have differentiated between two symptoms of the disease, the combinations of which they were not sure of: *sombe* was a kind of lung disease, probably the actual *rinderpest*, and *dambe* a kind of foot and mouth disease. They must have had a time correlation, since there is no mention of two different epidemics in the contemporary documentation on the *rinderpest*. The Allaaba also differentiated two phases of the *rinderpest*, naming the first *sombe* and the second *kataba*.[580]

Hardly any other event in the history of the Hadiyya peoples was perceived as so destructive for the core of their culture as the epidemic of *rinderpest*, and one can only grasp the consequences of the events at all if one considers that for these people livestock not only represented an economic means of existence, but it was linked to a sophisticated code of value concepts. Even after they had long since become settled agriculturalists, such an attitude continued existing subliminally. Cultivation became imperative in order to survive, but in the economic value ranking, the possession of cattle preserved a top position.

Among the nomadic and semi-nomadic Hadiyya, it had always been a common practice to bewail the death of cows or bulls which had been considered as "favourite beasts" of certain individuals. This type of lamentation largely matched that performed for people. In view of the mass death of the cattle, the expression of grief had to be generalised. Cuts and mutilations which the mourners inflicted on their bodies, particularly their ears, lost their individual meaning in this situation. The despair and cultural disorientation which beset many herders when they saw their animals dying could be vividly portrayed by informants quoting their fathers' reports. For example, the reaction of Eree Kafichcho, a Sooro-Hadiyya, was vividly depicted. In full regalia signifying him as a war hero and killer of human enemies and dangerous animals, he rode around the country expressing his pain over the lost cattle with the following song of lament:

> My cattle [*I laro*], why have you gone from me? Earth, I have never ploughed you or done you any harm. My cattle have soaked you with their urine and given you their dung for fertility. You are witness that I have never dealt unjustly! Yet now because of people's behaviour disaster has come up-

579 Comparative data can be acquired, for example, from the Boorana-Oromo, who had preserved their nomadic way of life until the second half of the 20th century. According to estimates by HABERLAND (1963a: 60), each family possessed about 30 head of cattle.

580 I was not able to obtain information which permit exact conclusions to be made about veterinary medical details from the oral traditions.

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> on us. imbaaro, you traders, Dubamo, you peasants, hear! My cattle have passed away.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso)

Occasionally suicide was even committed by persons who were too desperate about the loss of their beloved cattle and others are said to have died because of grief. This allegedly happened with a Shaashoogo man Jare, whose son Guute thereafter nearly went mad. With the cry "*la'lanni beedukko*, *la'anni lehukko*" (the owner of the cattle is annihilated, the owner of the cattle is dead) he roamed about aimlessly and could only be prevented from committing suicide with difficulty.[581]

Just like with the Arsi, hunting and the gathering of fruit became more important west of the Rift Valley. The Hadiyya, who were terrified to lose the rest of their livestock already ravaged by the disease, swapped their cattle with the Kambaata for horses, which were useful for hunting and war. The stocks of hippopotami at Lake Booyo were a welcome supply of meat for the Shaashoogo. The Libidoo intensified elephant hunting in their settlement area which was renowned for its abundance of game.[582] The distressed existence caused the people to often transgress the unwritten laws of mutual obligations to help. After a hunt, the bagged animals were not divided up within the kinship groups but secretly consumed by the immediate family. Intermittently, one no longer rejected the ritual of animals accepted as unclean like, for example birds, smaller antelope species, horses, donkeys as well as cattle which had died without the obligatory slit throat, even though one saw this as a serious violation of the crucial commandments of the religion which one contravened with the utmost scruples. At that time, one began to eat chickens which were predominantly kept for religious reasons, because the cock-crow signalised the end of the partaking of nightly nourishment permitted during the fasting month. During this devastating time, many of the conservative and tradition-conscious men, so one said, preferred however, to go hungry rather than eat unclean meat.[583]

In regions with little wood where cattle dung was largely used for fire-making as in north-eastern Gädäb and in Shaashoogo, the acute shortage of fuel was difficult to overcome.

For the cattle-breeding Hadiyya, after the loss of their herds, the possibility to exchange products for supplementary vegetable food with the neighbouring peasant populations was also gone and therefore their staple supply became even more precarious. As they did not produce handcrafted articles like other agricultural populations – such as the Wälaytta or Zay with their weaving – no commercial products were at their disposal as an additional means to overcome the shortage of food items, at least partially, by trade with other territories.

581 This tradition was reported to me by Nunishe Manta.
582 Traditions in regard to this were confirmed by TRAVERSI (1887: 286) and BARBINI (1887).
583 Problems of this kind were mainly stated for the Baadawwaachcho by Namana Dilliso and for the Shaashoogo by Nunishe Manta.

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The peasants in the highland suffered from *rinderpest* to a lesser extent, because the epidemic was not as destructive among the small and immobile stocks as among the big concentrations of herds in the lowland areas. However, as the people in the *Wäyna Däga* and *Däga* regions owned too few cattle to ensure self-sufficiency in animal products even in normal times, they remained dependent on an economic symbiosis with the cattle-breeding tribes for their protein supply. The fact that the customary exchange between both groups of different economic orientation largely came to a standstill, meant that the peasants, although the quantity of their foodstuff was usually sufficient, were faced with the problem of a one-sided nutrition. This was especially the case in the territories with nsät cultivation where a deficiency disease (designated *kuffe'e* by the Hadiyya) spread causing the body to bloat, particularly the stomach, the limbs and testicles. Gurageland and Kämbata were particularly affected by it. A remedy for it was discovered in the form of a specific type of cabbage (*danqale'e*). In such extreme times of suffering, a small number of these plants ultimately had the equivalent value of a sheep.

The *rinderpest* resulted in a far-reaching cultural transition and brought about a complete breakthrough in what was in parts already emerging among some Hadiyya groups, namely a changeover to agricultural cultivation. For many, the cultivation of plant foods was simply an essential necessity in order to alleviate starvation and merely survive. It was relatively easy adoptable for the Qabeena, Leemo and Sooro who had already before, notwithstanding to a relatively modest extent, cultivated grains, nsät and different types of vegetables. For the Libidoo, Shaashoogo, Baadawwaachcho and Arsi of the lowland, who were hardly familiar with the methods of farming production, the change was much more difficult, however. Moreover, the ecological conditions of the *Q^{w}älla* were generally less suitable for agriculture.

The Libidoo learnt to cultivate barley, ef, maize, horse beans and peas through several of the returning kinsmen who had been prisoners-of-war in Šäwa. The Shaashoogo exclusively cultivated sorghum and cabbage three years in a row and then henceforth adopted maize as their most important crop (around 1894). From the outset, maize introduced from Wälaytta was for the Baadawwaachcho and Allaaba their staple food which was then gradually supplemented by sorghum, pulses and cabbage.

During the *rinderpest*, the formerly common practice of transporting loads by means of pack oxen was abandoned and even after the regeneration of the cattle stocks, was not reintroduced. During the period of famine, when there was hardly any milk available, the Baadawwaachcho started adopting the fabrication of viscous millet beer (Hadiyya: *aydaara*) from the Wälaytta. Containers for milk and butter made of grass were suspected of having been possible virus-carriers during the time of the *rinderpest*. Because of this suspicion, they were largely burnt and since then increasingly replaced by clay vessels, which in turn favoured a more sedentary way of life together with the spread of potters in areas where they had not yet been established before.

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In 1891/92, when the epidemic abated, only a fraction of the cattle population of south-eastern Ethiopia had survived the catastrophe. As with the majority of people in this region, the Hadiyya were left facing the problem as to whether they should attempt to restart cattle-breeding on the basis of the negligible number they had remaining, or to procure cattle through trade or raid them from other territories. The possibility of capturing cattle heightened the readiness of the northern Hadiyya to join the abäša campaigns of conquest against the southern tribal kinsmen as well as against the peoples of the (later) provinces of Sidamo-Borana and Gamu-Gofa, especially as the pest had not ravaged these territories so severely. The Shaashoogo auxiliaries obtained a number of cattle from the booty of the Wälaytta campaigns (see below), for example, which meant an important enrichment of the extremely meagre breeding potential. Along the boundaries between the Arsi and the Somali, the raiding of livestock is said to have become almost a question of survival. In 1892, the Arsi pillaged ten small villages of the Reer Amadeen-Somali in one night.[584]

The ordinary way to acquire cattle from the south-western highlands was through trading, whereby, as already mentioned, the sheep had become a valuable object of exchange. However, the quantity of small livestock also became decimated due to intensified slaughtering because of famine and through the enormous tribute payments to the abäša conquerors, so that their numbers were insufficient to satisfy the demands of exchange. One of the consequences was to look for an adequate substitute by marketing the human being as a commodity so that kidnapping of people and trade in slaves obviously gained in intensity unknown of up to then.[585] In the societies of the livestock-breeders, there were hardly any slaves who could have been traded against cattle because it was more common to kill opponents rather than to capture them and exploit them for work. Evidently, in the respective socio-economic system, not much need existed for this. But under the now prevailing conditions of utmost emergency, the economic as well as the moral standards underwent a dramatic change. Regarding people, children and women were preferred captives so one began increasingly to raid the farmsteads of neighbouring groups at night, to kidnap shepherd boys and market-goers and to operate as middlemen, so that an atmosphere of insecurity and mistrust developed in many areas of central-southern Ethiopia. Formerly, it was only from Gurageland that such a situation was reported about (cf. chap. 3.5.3), where especially the Qabeena and the Semitic-speaking Vgg e, W lbaräg and other groups, were notorious for these practices. From this time on, the Allaaba and Baadawwaachcho, particularly the clan of the Haballo-Ankatmanna, also emerged as slave traders. Qolito became the main market from where the slaves mostly from Gurageland were bargained for further in

584 SWAYNE 1895: 230. This is one of the few examples to have been incidentally documented.

585 A similar practice, abducting slaves who were exchanged for cattle in the highland territories of Bauchi and Adamawa, was also reported on among the nomadic Fulbe-Bororo in Nigeria and Cameroon after 1890. DOMINIK 1901: 282; GOLDSTEIN 1908: 376.

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Wälaytta and Gamu. How one assessed their worth was no longer exactly known. In the first decade of the 20th century, one obtained a heifer in exchange for a ten year old child.[586] However, during the time of the *rinderpest* and immediately after it, the price for cattle was considerably higher. The slave trade that increased during the time of extreme misery in the region of the middle Bilate was then continued in those territories into the 1940s. From the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was largely carried out in the reverse direction, i.e., from Wälaytta, Gamu-Gofa and Käfa towards the north.

Through the hybridisation of animals from the Gamu-Gofa highland, primarily short-horned breeds with a small intermixture of zebu (*Bos indicus*) elements, the cattle species in central-southern Ethiopia became to some extent transformed after 1890. For long-horned cattle the environmental conditions were apparently less favourable so that such breeds seem to have been rare. The Hadiyya proper, for example, claim that formerly their cattle resembled the "Boorana type". It must thus have concerned a species of relatively short-horned zebus. The cattle stock has meanwhile become relatively heterogeneous in its breeding through different crossings, but short-horned zebus still predominated in the second half of the 20th century.[587] It took almost ten years for the cattle stocks to more or less regenerate after the *rinderpest* epidemic. However, after the change to sedentary agriculture, because of the increasing shrinkage of the pasture grounds and the ongoing tributes and taxes to the government, they presumably never regained their previous size.

The *rinderpest* was not yet over when a new calamity descended upon the people already weakened by war and starvation: cholera (*Cholera asiatica*) and smallpox (*Variola haemorrhagica*). The Hadiyya called the disease which afflicted them just when the *rinderpest* had transcended its climax (1891), *birree*, and meant thereby the smallpox. At the beginning of the 1890s in north-eastern Africa, there were apparently several centres of the epidemic from which different pathogenic agents spread. Already in 1889 cholera broke out in Eritrea due to it being imported by Mecca pilgrims[588] which was also determined a year later in the territory at the Setit river.[589] Ethiopian troops returning from Ogaadeen in 1890 also brought the disease with[590], and it reached such a dimension in the Harär Plateau in 1891/92 that all connections to the coast and to the central highlands were temporarily discontinued.[591] According to the information gathered by the American traveller SMITH, the cholera had also broken out in Bale:

586 This was reported by informants in Baadawwaachcho and Allaaba as an example.
587 In other parts of East Africa after the widespread *rinderpest*, the short-horned zebu is said to have displaced other breeds because of its specific suitability for the hard living conditions in the semi-arid territories. This was already stated by CURSON and THORNTON (1936: 657, 662, *passim*).
588 DE LAURIBAR 1898: 193 f.; cf. also VANDERHEYM 1896: 59.
589 See PANKHURST (1961b: 99) as a secondary source.
590 This fact was mentioned in ROSENFELD's (1976:141) chronology.
591 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 327.

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> "About ten years ago there was a great epidemic of cholera at Sheikh Husein, which had swept away four-fifths of the inhabitants, leaving only five hundred permanent dwellers. The poor natives knew so little about sanitary conditions that they buried their dead around the edge of the pond from which they drank".[592]

In semi-arid territories where the water reservoirs in the dry season were confined to very few spots, the danger of infection was naturally considerably heightened.

It is not quite certain which kind of disease the epidemic referred to as cholera was at that time in accordance with a scientific medical classification.[593] One of the epidemics named *dukkubna hidaari* ("disease of November") by the Šäwa-Oromo which, recorded by HABERLAND (1963a: 530) raged in 1890/91, is similarly not clearly identifiable.

Whereas the pathogenic germ for the cholera was imported as a rule from South Asia to North-East Africa, the smallpox is an endemic disease which continuously scourged Ethiopia until the end of the 20th century.[594] Shortly before 1870, a smallpox epidemic exerted such a destructive effect on the Boorana-Oromo that the Darood-Somali, whom they had dominated before, from now on gained military superiority in that region.[595] According to the informants' descriptions in connection with the disease termed *birree* by the Hadiyya, it can only also refer to the *Variola* strain. Evidently, the smallpox spread from south to north. Among the Arsi in Bale it emerged somewhat earlier than among the Hadiyya west of the Rift Valley. It had presumably reached Arba-Gugu in 1892 where the Arsi leader Leenjiso Diiga, amongst others, fell victim to it. A healer among his people is said to have tried to develop a medicine against the epidemic, but it was not effective.

The people of south-eastern Ethiopia were unanimously convinced that the Amhara had brought the smallpox with them and had spread it – virtually as a biological weapon – to undermine the resistance of the tribes that they could not conquer solely by armed force.[596] One was in the habit of saying: "The smallpox came upon us through the stink of the Amhara". It is, however, without doubt that the northern conquerors were themselves severely affected by the epidemic. The decimation and

592 SMITH 1897: 61. In 1970/71, for example, there was again such a disastrous outbreak of cholera particularly in the region of Shaikh usayn that this year was retained in the memory of the local inhabitants as "the time when the *garibas* [pilgrims] died". 3000 people are said to have passed in Anaajiina alone (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 141).

593 The occurrence of cholera is mentioned for the southern Somali and Oromo territories in 1832 (PAULITSCHKE 1896: 245) and in 1866 in northern Ethiopia (SCHALLER/KULS 1972: 40). PANKHURST (1968a: 623, 625) dated the smallpox epidemic in Ethiopia at 1889-90 and the cholera at 1890-92.

594 Even though the *Variola* was almost completely stemmed in 1980 thanks to the employment of the "Smallpox Eradication Service" subsidized by the *World Health Organisation* (W.H.O). However, according to information from Dr. K. H. Weithaler, the supervisor of this programme, there were still local outbreaks in the 1970s, as for example 1973 in Bale.

595 PAULITSCHKE 1893: 254. Cf. LEWIS 1960: 226.

596 This view was expressed by, e.g., Namana Dilliso and several Arsi informants.

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physical debilitation of people in southern Ethiopia, as well as the prevailing lethargy at that time in view of the natural disasters definitely benefited the rapid penetration of the Amhara to a notable extent. Famine was also a contributory cause to the epidemics having such a devastating impact, diminishing at the same time the people's resistance to the disease's germs.

The population losses within that decade when war, starvation and smallpox plagued Hadiyyaland must indeed have been considerable. Quantitative data reaching beyond rough estimates are hardly able to be determined. According to LE ROUX (1905: 68), the inhabitants of the Lake Z^{w}ay islands, a territory with an easily assessable population, were decimated from approximately 15,000 to 4,000 or 5,000. It can, however, not be excluded that the losses due to emigration may not have been taken into consideration. From among the Libidoo who were not deported to Šäwa, apparently hardly more than a dozen small scattered groups remained. They were said to have been so debilitated that they could hardly stand up to the increasingly prevalent wild animals. Overall in Arsi and Hadiyya territory, whole areas were depopulated. During the smallpox epidemic, the survivors resorted to draconian measures in order to prevent the spread of the disease. It became a customary practice to set fire to the houses of infected persons. Thereby whole settlements were destroyed and burnt in order to eradicate the germs of the disease, irrespective of the residents who largely perished thereby.[597]

In 1892, the epidemic abated. From the Wälaytta campaign carried out by Emperor M nil k in 1894, alarming depictions about the health conditions of the locals as well as the abäša troops are lacking.

3.6.4 The Wälaytta Campaign (1894)

When the year 1894 dawned, and the position of the people of central-southern Ethiopia had slowly started to normalise in the aftermath of the preceding catastrophes – the yoke of Christian Ethiopian sovereignty determined that the demographic and economic recovery period proceeded haltingly – the Baadawwaachcho were still the only autonomous Hadiyya. They had already experienced warlike clashes a few times with the soldiers from northern Ethiopia, and the killing of their *anjaanchcho* Kabiisso contributed to their decision to seek an alliance with the Wälaytta.

In a realistic assessment of abäša superiority, King Gobe had started negotiations with M nil k[598] in order to possibly attain a similar status like that of Sultan Abbaa 5 ifaar II of 5 imma, who in 1883 had voluntarily submitted to the control of the Ethiopian Empire and was left with extensive official authority in his realm.

597 For the same reason the Somali were said to have often given up their settlements and left the disease behind there so that they were then at the mercy of starvation and wild animals. Still at the beginning of the 1930s, it was reported that they were accustomed to single out the diseased and to burn their houses and their and possessions. Detailed information of this kind was composed by SCHALLER and KULS (1972: 49).

598 TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE 1975: 43. This information is evidently based on oral traditions.

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Gobe's successor, Xona (ona), initially continued this policy but then decided to refuse the tribute and thereafter lead the struggle for independence.

Occasional abäša forays in preceding years had not been successful and the Wälaytta, overconfident of their military strength, were therefore eager to defy them with a renewed attack. In 1891, *dä azma* Täsämma is believed to have advanced with a campaign into their territory, but was defeated and could only beat a retreat through imbaaro with great difficulty. Another advance led by Wäda33o Gobäna, the commander residing in Leemo, similarly ended in defeat. The Emperor then ordered *ras* Mängäša, the governor of Arsi, to resolve the situation. But he was involved in a civil war of the Kambaata, in the course of which King Dilbato and his family were killed by the abäša soldiers (cf. p. 271), and could thus not proceed effectively against the Baadawwaachcho and the Wälaytta. When he eventually marched through the district of Qoto towards the south, his army was ambushed and so severely beaten at Gofara that the abäša troop ´VT . . s . so enraged that he is said to have ordered the putting of a donkey skin on Mängäša in order to degrade and ridicule him.[599] In 1893, *fitawrari* Täklu had established a *kätäma* on Qata hill in the north of Baadawwaachcho as a base camp for the deployment of troops, which was to play an important role for the conquest of the adjacent territories in the south.

The reason why Emperor M nil k eventually decided to lead the campaign himself was explained by VANDERHEYM, a trading agent who accompanied the *zamacha*, as follows: to take revenge for the preceding defeats, expectation of particularly rich booty and to eliminate once and for all the threat to the Ethiopian border positions by the Wälaytta.[600] This last point cannot, however, hide the fact that the Hadiyya and Wälaytta, like all peoples of the south, were not the actual attackers, but only tried to defend their territories and their freedom against aggressors from outside.[601]

On the 15th November 1894, M nil k set out with his troops on the march southward from the headquarters in Šäwa.[602] The imperial army apparently followed the old trading route which led along the western slope of the Rift Valley, reached the Libidoo plain via Geja (Gurage-Soddo), advanced from there south-west through T .V Z P and camped in Kämbata at a place with hot springs.[603] From there the main body of the abäša troops marched via Shonee to Qorga in the Bilate

599 This information was orally reported by the Baadawwaachcho. It is, however, highly uncertain whether the degradation took place in the way portrayed.

600 VANDERHEYM 1896: 139. He obviously argued very much in favour of the imperial Ethiopian position.

601 The interpretation by MARCUS (1969: 449) has to be rejected here. "Wollamo Galla raiding into the empire was threatening to become more serious because several punitive expeditions had failed."

602 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 361.

603 VANDERHEYM 1896: 153, 157f. The Bilate, which the Hadiyya call Waaraa, is designated in the report by Quéro. The hot springs mentioned in Kambaata are situated at Mt. Daato.

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lowland where at this time of the year there was an acute shortage of water.[604] Erosion gullies which had been partly widened to ditch-type depressions (*chabbaxa*) hampered the advance of the Ethiopian troops.[605]

The Baadawwaachcho had almost completely evacuated their territory and withdrawn behind the fortification walls of the Wälaytta, but did not, however, restrict themselves to a rigid position of merely awaiting the opponent's assault. Rather, they repeatedly attacked from the dense bush areas around Qorga. Three Hadiyya military commanders fought with their warriors on the side of the Wälaytta: Gatiso Balango (Haballo and south-western Arsi), Sandaabo Bijaamo (Daawwe) and Fagiisso Goddee (Waageshmanna). King Xona was commander-in-chief, and the Wälaytta had a considerably bigger contingent of fighters than the allied Hadiyya. However, the Baadawwaachcho claimed to have been the more aggressive element and to have invariably fought on the foremost frontlines.

An estimation of the number of warrior opponents, most likely exaggerated for propaganda purposes by the Christian Ethiopians, was put at 20,000 horsemen and 10,000 foot combatants.[606] This would have forecast a population of nearly 200,000 people which for that time cannot be seen as a realistic figure, particularly as the Wälaytta territory had not been spared from the preceding catastrophes. However large the contingent may have been, VANDERHEYM (1896: 168) assumed that the Ethiopian army, in which considerable contingents of Gurage, Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and other ethnic groups participated as combatants, had a many times over numerically superior force at their command. Alone the advance guard, which was lead by *ägn* Mika'el ᶜAli, the governor of Wällo, was said to have comprised 10,000 men.[607] Added to that, was the tremendous advantage the attackers had from their firearms.

The oral traditions of the Baadawwaachcho have retained some details of the course of the campaign which supplement the information from the other side's written sources. King Xona took a stand with his main body of fighters at Gasseena near today's town Boditte, while groups of Baadawwaachcho warriors, whose knowledge of the territory provided them with an advantage, enabled them to delay the enemy's advance by drawing the Christian Ethiopians into smaller-scale skirmishes. The first attack that was carried out by the "Galla" auxiliaries was repulsed, and this section of the Ethiopian forces had to retreat northward with heavy losses to Goshgolla.[608] Thereafter, M nil k personally led the decisive campaign taking his main body of troops out of the Shonee area towards the Wälaytta position of defence in Gasseena. West and east of the main army, smaller contingents of soldiers advanced from Ilgiira on the southern edge of the Kämbata Mountains and from the

604 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 361.
605 VANDERHEYM 1896: 159; cf. WELLBY 1901: 121.
606 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 362.
607 VANDERHEYM 1896: 139. His data appear to be astonishingly precise.
608 Oral information mainly received from Namana Dilliso. Cf. also GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 363.

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Duquna range against the enemy. Simultaneously, Ethiopian troops invaded the Wälaytta territory from across the Omo River and began to raid the enemy at the rear.[609] The Wälaytta and Baadawwaachcho could not withstand the cumulative force; after putting up valiant resistance, their fighting force was utterly crushed. The chronicler GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ depicted the magnitude of the victory, certainly with exaggeration:

> "On this day, the number of Galla who died or were taken prisoner increased, without counting the women, to 118,987. The soldiers, after they had pillaged the country during two or three days, returned to their camp. It was impossible to count the number of looted cattle because the soldiers slaughtered a large portion. Those which remained amounted to 36,000".[610]

VANDERHEYM estimated the figures – certainly rightly so – substantially lower, and put the number of the enemies killed or captured by the Christian Ethiopian soldiers at no more than 20,000, and the sum of cattle seized at 18,000.[611]

The victor became obviously involved in such a killing spree that an appalling massacre was perpetrated. Emperor M nil k could also not prevent his soldiers carrying out numerous castrations on the slain enemies.[612]

The decisive battle ensued after ruthless pillaging (*zärafa*) and the enslavement of a large part of the vanquished. Mika'el, the governor of Wällo, was known as Ethiopia's most notorious slave trader. One can only speculate on the figures of those kidnapped from their homeland after the conquest of Wälaytta. VANDERHEYM (1896: 176), for instance, frankly indicated that he received five prisoners as a present. At the beginning of the 20th century, of the estimated total population of 65,000 people in Addis Abäba, the "Wallamos" constituting 5,000 made up the fourth largest group.[613] These were to a large extent people enslaved during the Wälaytta campaign who were not only taken to the capital but also to other places.

King Xona fled to the neighbouring Borodda and shortly after, in December 1894,[614] was taken prisoner by soldiers of the enemy. The Wälaytta accepted their defeat and new situation relatively quickly, as after the first wave of pillaging, M nil k ordered their territory to be spared, and thereafter the land came to be known as "Imperial Territory", i.e., conquered by M nil k himself. It thus enjoyed a

609 Already in July 1894 in the rainy season, *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis is said to have set out from Dawro and penetrated Wälaytta on a raid (ROSENFELD 1976: 116).

610 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 363 (our translation from French).

611 VANDERHEYM 1896: 172, 184. It was confirmed by the results of our own field research that the indigenous informants were inclined to occasionally give figures in excess.

612 VANDERHEYM 1896: 71, 175. The custom to take genital trophies was officially discouraged in the Christian Ethiopian army as a barbaric custom, but nevertheless practised not only by the auxiliaries from the southern parts of the country.

613 PANKHURST (1965: 71) took this information from MÉRAB (1921).

614 Information provided by Eike HABERLAND, who collected a remarkable amount of historical details about the Wälaytta which, as already indicated, he was not able to publish.

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better status compared to those provinces in the *Dar agär* occupied by the Emperor's military commanders.

The situation was much worse for the allies of the Wälaytta, the Baadawwaachcho, who wanted to return to their dwelling places located in the north. Gatiso Balango is believed for a short time to have carried out a type of guerilla warfare against the Christian Ethiopians right up to his death (c. 1895). Most of his tribal kinsmen, however, were convinced of the futility of further resistance. Even before M nil k returned northward from his camp at Mt. Daamoota, they sent a delegation to him, presenting him with two selected steers. By this act they announced their subjugation under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian state. The Emperor allowed them to inform him about the history of their area. He then decided to allocate it preferentially to the Weexo-giira clans, as he had found out that among the Baadawwaachcho they were the oldest residents of the territory.[615] Finally, also the Baadeooso and Urusso factions were permitted to return to their former dwelling-areas between Wälaytta and Kämbata. In December 1894, M nil k set off homeward to Šäwa through imbaaro, Allaaba and Gurage with a part of his expedition army.[616]

3.7 The Period from abäša Conquest to the Italian Invasion (1894-1935)

With the subjugation of the Baadawwaachcho in 1894, the conquest of the Hadiyya territories was concluded, and with the establishment of the abäša administrative apparatus a new chapter began in the history of the southern peoples which transformed their socio-economic foundations more profoundly than ever before. What was up to this point glorified as the unification achievement of the abäša by historians, who were largely apologists for Christian imperial politics,[617] was in reality a colonialist act. As such, it lived on very clearly in the consciousness of the autochthonous groups in the conquered territories of the south, the so-called *Dar agär*. From the perspective of the Hadiyya, the Christian Ethiopians became an imperial power – in the 20th century the only indigenous colonialists on African soil – who, for them, clearly constituted foreign rule.

615 It is worth mentioning for the truth of this information that is was reported by Namana Dilliso, who was not a member of the Weexo-giira, but of the Urusso clan Waageshmanna.

616 It was mentioned by GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (1930/31, I: 365) that the Emperor killed an elephant in Allaaba.

617 For example, such a view was decidedly pointed out by BARTNICKI and MANTEL-NIEI KO (1978). ZITELMANN (1994: 39, 47-50, *passim*), on the other hand, has clearly focused the role of the colonialist expansion and attitude of the Christian Empire particularly with regard to the Oromo. This view has also been advocated by GASCON (1995: 81ff.).

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3.7.1 Colonialism of the Christian Empire and Establischment of the *Gäbbar* System

The abäša administration frequently surpassed the European imperialists in northeast Africa in their exploitation of the subjugated peoples and their despotism. How little the conquerors were interested in equality for the peoples living in their territories after "unification", is made clear in an allegorical portrayal of the social and ethnic hierarchy drawn by the artist Alyak Hadis. Therein, the country itself appears in the figure of a woman carrying a basket, enthroned above by Emperor M nil k II in the form of a lion surrounded by the nobility represented by smaller lions and the peasants in the form of cattle. At the very bottom are the subjugated peoples, symbolised by pigs, animals which were despised and viewed as unclean. The text alongside comments: "This country is our Ethiopia and the mother of M nil k. She nourishes everyone with the gifts of joy and carries the fare of joy".[618]

This attitude grew out of a magnified, almost ideologically cultivated contempt which most of the abäša have shown towards the peoples of the south until the 20th century.[619] The subjugated were not considered free citizens, but rather as *gäbbar*, serfs of the state who were not admitted full rights of citizenship.

The legitimation of this status was derived from the system of justice of the Christian Empire rooted in practices which are commonly signified as "feudalistic", even though it is still debatable how far this term, coined for Western European societies of the Middle Ages, is applicable to the specific Ethiopian situation.[620] In North Ethiopia right up into the 20th century, no hereditary nobility had been established to be in a position to wrest the inherent power and legal authority from the monarchs.[621] A noteworthy fact struck European researchers in the 17th century, like TELLEZ (1710: 52) and LOBO (1735: 263), namely that the whole country was primarily considered the property of the Emperor. A legal entitlement of hereditary "feudal tenure", as established in Western Europe in the 11th century, accordingly had not been developed.

The sacralisation of monarchical sovereignty with the notion of the sole legitimate dynasty of Solomonic origin was recorded in the codex *i ä* .[622]

At the end of the 19th century, the conquered territories of the south were awarded to soldiers and personally chosen men of merit as a type of fief, the so-called *naf äññä* (soldier-settlers armed with rifles). It was bound largely with right of usu-

618 The corresponding illustration and the translation of the text in German can be found in OLDEROGGE/POTECHIN (1961, II, Illustr. 79).

619 See, e.g., BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 137. I could confirm this fact in many instances during my field research. WEISSLEDER (1965: 322 ff.; in the chapter "A Verstehende Soziologie of Amhara Domination"), and LEVINE (1972: 1 ff., *passim*) have touched on this from a sociopsychological point of view.

620 GOODY (1963) also left this question unanswered as far as the situation in Ethiopia is concerned.

621 An analysis in this field was provided by PERHAM 1969: 76.

622 See GUIDI (1889) and Lincoln DE CASTRO (1912) in connection with this.

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fruct in the sense of the early medieval "*beneficium*". But similar to the rule implemented in European feudalism, it became more and more common that the respective territories stayed with the descendants of the usufruct holder. In this way, a new class society developed, at the top of which were the *mälkäñña* (landlords)[623] who had administrative and judicial power at their disposal. The *mälkäñña* endowed institution, which was originally not hereditary but rather implied a delegated ruling authority for a stipulated period, was barely known in the old Amhara settlement areas, but had become a characteristic occurrence in areas of central Šäwa conquered from the Oromo since the 18th century.[624] In the southern provinces the administrative pattern was different from the very beginning after their occupation by M nil k. Because a considerable effort was required for landlord control, the Ethiopian state awarded extensive rights of usufruct to the *mälkäñña* over the territories granted to them as well as over the inhabitants (*gäbbar*) living on the respective land.[625]

For the Amhara, the meaning of the word *gäbbar* is originally analogous to "taxpayer", that means one had to pay the customary land tax (*g b r*).[626] The term only became a synonym for exploitation and oppression after colonial rule in southern Ethiopia,[627] where henceforth the subjugated were generally declared serfs of the state which surrendered them to the *mälkäñña*, on whose land they lived for usufruct. Indeed, some groups and individuals were spared this fate (see below), but the status of the large majority was lowered to a type of bondage, however. Judicially, a certain differentiation existed between the "Emperor's territory" where M nil k himself had led the campaign of conquest – in the Hadiyya territory Libidoo – and those territories conquered by his generals. This will be discussed later on.

In order to effectively secure military and political control over the annexed territories with their diverse ethnic groups, it was a necessity to establish administrative districts and to set up strategically convenient garrisons where the local inhabitants were to hand in their taxes. It took many years after the conquest for these administrative areas to overcome a provisional arrangement and to establish definite contours. With the division into provinces and sub-provinces, it was largely favoured to orientate towards the already existing demarcation and designation of

623 There is no agreement over the origin of the term *mälkäñña*. See e.g. BAIRU TAFLA 1975: 6, Fn. 20. In the spelling *malaganha* it was already mentioned by ALVARES at the beginning of the 16th century. According to BECKINGHAM/HUNTINGFORD (1961: 557) this title described "an officer sent to supervise the *gar d* (chief) of the adyd".

624 This perception is based on the research of STITZ (1974: 244).

625 STITZ named in connection with this terms like "estate ownership" and "*Hintersassen*". The application of Central European terms to Ethiopia is, however, problematic. I am aware that these remarks about the *mälkäñña* system are very general and rudimentary and that a great number of variations exist. (cf. also MORENO 1937: 1501 ff.). Even here in the region dealt with, no homogenous type predominated.

626 HOBEN 1973: 77; cf. PERHAM 1969: 278.

627 In such a sense *gäbbar* appears among European authors only after the conquest of Gurageland. (e.g., LANDE 1878: 893). Cf. also BAIRU TAFLA 1987: 915.

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ethnic and political entities which were encountered, i.e., tribal territories, linguistic groups or kingships were declared administrative districts. However, because knowledge of the historical and cultural circumstances was inadequate – the research that M nil k and his generals carried out in this regard was mostly rather superficial – the arrangement remained sketchy, and from the beginning a potential source of friction and rivalry was created here which continued to have an effect until the 1970s (cf. chap. 3.8.3). Not least, it depended on the adroitness of the respective chief negotiators of the conquered peoples in what way the boundaries were to be delineated and which names the administrative entities would be given. The position of some ethnic groups was disproportionately strengthened as opposed to others, which inevitably led to animosities. As long as the abäša system of exploitation encumbered every party more or less equally, this source of inter-ethnic friction was of little account, although the people were always conscious of it.

In the years after the conquest Gurageland established an administrative entity together with Soddo, presided over by *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari between 1886 and 1889. In the adjacent territories to the south, the names of the subjugated Hadiyya tribes, like the Leemo and Shaashoogo, appeared in the district nomenclature. However, from 1893 onwards the Kambaata through the skill of Mooliso, the grandson of the last king Dilbato, who in contrast to the rest of his family had come to an arrangement with the abäša in good time, procured an advantage for their group. The whole territory between the Gurage Mountains in the north, the Omo (Gibe) in the west, Wälaytta in the south and the boundary between Allaaba and Arsi to the east was from then on designated Kämbata Province. Wäldä Aššagari, who did not have a permanent residence set up there but withdrew each time after a conquest campaign to his headquarters near Wäliso, is considered to be the first governor according to the lists recorded from the traditions of the *näf äñña* and the indigenous Hadiyya.[628] Thereafter, *dä azma* Wäda33o Gobäna came for about three years (c. 1891-94) initially setting up his encampments in Balbula and Damaalla, and after the destruction of the latter through a bolt of lightning, relocated his *kätäma* to Anna. All three places are situated in Leemo territory in a mid-level highland zone between 2,000 and 2,300 metres, which was climatically particularly favoured by the conquerors from northern Ethiopia. Additionally, they were only a few days' march away from the garrison in Gurage so that in the event of rebellious activities, reinforcements could be quickly deployed.

A grandson of the Šäwa w . P M´ M T . V , . , Rs . *dä azma* Bäšah Abboyye, took over from Wäda33o. He had commanded the western contingent of the Ethiopian army in the 1894 Wälaytta campaign. The fact that Bäšah

628 The governorship duration before the period of Italian occupation can only be basically reconstructed by means of oral traditions. The dates given are therefore just approximations, because, as a rule, the duration of the respective periods in office could not always be determined consistently in the different interviews. Occasionally, there are indications from eye witnesses which help to a certain extent to establish an exact chronology, which can sometimes additionally be backed by references in written sources.

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relocated the headquarters from Anna to Mt. Ambarichcho after one year was evidently connected with the continued southward expansion. For a short time, *dä azma* Täsämma Darge resided there (presumably 1895), but gave up the *kätäma* on the summit of the mountain because of the danger to it of lightning and had a new administrative centre built at the foot of the massif in the district of Angaca. Thereafter, the fifth governor was *dä azma* (later *ras*) Abbatä B^{w}ayaläw who had fought in 1896 during the first Italian war in the T gray province, and after the victory at ^{c}Adwa was appointed to administer Kämbata Province. He held this office between 1896 and 1911 and his name has remained widely known by the inhabitants of this territory. He was a bon viveur whose drinking propensity was proverbial, but who had also made a name for himself as an intrepid soldier. After many years in Angaca,[629] he had a new residence built in Sheesduuna (Hadiyya: bee hill) within the district Waachchamo in the south of Leemo territory, which from then on under the name Hossäyna (Hossa^{c} na) has remained the administrative centre for the Hadiyya proper. The *tabot* of Maryam, the altar tablet of St. Mary's Church, which Amharic priests initially brought up to Mt. Ambarichcho and then to Angaca, was conveyed to the new *kätäma* where it has been located ever since.

Besides Hossäyna, there were other smaller garrisons: e.g. in Hanqaachcha (from the time of Täsämma Darge) and Allaaba, where in 1902 the deputy-governor *qäññazma* Badlu gave a warm reception to the French expedition under the leadership of Pierre du BOURG DE BOZAS.[630] Abbatä B^{w}ayaläw was also intermittently the commissioned administrator in the province of Tigre (T gray),[631] but was relieved of his post after a quarrel with Empress aytu who was temporarily carrying out government affairs on behalf of M nil k who had seriously fallen ill. From July 1910 until September 1911 he once again governed Kämbata. Thereafter, Abbatä was arrested in the course of a punitive expedition executed by the minister of war, *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, and then imprisoned by the Wällo King Mika'el ^{c}Ali in the imperial fortress Mäqdäla until 1916. He had been accused of insurgency and a breach of the peace as he had, amongst other things, permitted pillaging in Wälaytta, or is said to have even carried out the raids himself.[632]

The domain of *ras* Abatä had intermittently gone beyond the Kämbata province and encompassed a territory as far as Siree, north-east of Mt. Celalo.[633] He is believed to be the founder of the Asälla, the later capital of Arsi Province.

During the suspension period of *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw (1909-10), *dä azma* Ayale, about whose short term of office there was nothing to report,[634] was the ap-

629 As mentioned by the Austrian adventurer JANNASCH (1930: 40), the residence was still traceable in Angaca in 1903.

630 BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 232.

631 ROSSETTI 1910, map. Cf. also the map "Ethiopie. Carte politique en 1909" of DE MONFREID 1954.

632 STEFFANSON/STARRETT 1976: 67; cf. MARCUS 1975: 242 f., 252 ff.; BAIRU TAFLA 1968: 126.

633 This was mentioned by CITERNI (1913: 67).

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pointed administrative authority in Kämbata Province. For two and a half years (1911-14) the territory was then under the authority of *ras* L ᶜul Sägäd Atnaf Sägäd, who was then relieved of his post because of the accusation against him that the territory entrusted to him had not been administered according to the rules – now already under M nil k's successor, *Le* Iyasu.[635] Indeed, his rule was so despised that a number of Arsi during his prior governorship in Arussi province, chose to settle in Sidamo, the territory of *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo (Abba Näfso), who was considered a good administrator.[636]

In the Arsi territory east of the Rift Valley, *ras* PTM´ M T after a short stopover in Sadda in 1896, had his first *kätäma* set up in Caangee situated roughly 2,500 metre high at the Robee T T , Rá , After diverse interim administrations by Dänqu Mäbräqu, Täsämma GuCCi and Gäbrä Wäld, *ras* L ᶜul Sägäd, who had led the subjugation campaign against the Sidaama and Gu33i-Oromo, was appointed governor of Arussi. Apparently, he never overcame the disappointment that the Sidamo Province, which was considered wealthier, had not been entrusted to him but to *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo instead. When the BOURG DE BOZAS expedition moved through southern Ethiopia,[637] L ᶜul Sägäd was still in office. The establishment of several *kätäma* traced back to his initiative, for example in Gadamso in the Gado area of Robee/Diida'a. In contrast, those market places on the ancient salt route like Adaba, Dodola and Kofale in Gädäb were already settlements which the Amhara only needed to expand. L ᶜul Sägäd's successors in Arussi, each one for a few years, were *dä azma* Abbäbä, *dä azma* Huube who was particularly hated by the autochthones inhabitants for his despotism and brutality, and *dä azma* Y lma, who preferred Heexosa as his place of residence.[638] The term of office of *ras* w ZZ V ´, ´ V ´T T , R V . , . , TV , á , (apparently in 1911), and who went with a troop contingent to Šäwa to participate in the Ethiopian civil war of 1916, can be dated at approximately 1911-16.

In the aftermath of the campaign in Bale which *ras* Darge Mäḥlä M T had commanded from October 1891 to July 1892, his son Asfaw initially assumed administrative authority. As already mentioned, the foundation of a *kätäma* near the present-day town of Gobba is said to trace back to him. After approximately five years in office, *dä azma* Asfaw Darge was recalled from his post and given another one in Salaale/Šäwa.[639]

634 ROSENFELD (1976: 251) mentioned that he was the commander of the Empress aytu's bodyguards.

635 See MARCUS (1975: 268) in this connection as a secondary source.

636 BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 243.

637 See the report by BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 243, *passim*.

638 As with the Kämbata province, also here the dates given by the informants for the respective periods of governorship contain some inconsistencies and contradictions, so that no exact chronology can be compiled.

639 As a result of incurring the disapproval of the Emperor after 1901, he was detained in the Mäqdäla fortress in which he died five years later. BAIRU TAFLA 1975: 36 f.; GUÈBRÈ

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In 1894, the explorer SMITH (1897: 75) came upon *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el in Ginnir, who at the turn of the century encountered further research expeditions there.[640] As administrator of the province Wabi Šäbälle, he was subject to the control of supreme commander *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n Wäldä Mika'el in Harär. For several years, *ras* L ^{c}ul Sägäd, who was also responsible for the fate of Bale Province, carried out devastating "punitive expeditions" far into the Somali territories of the Ogaadeen. After the death of *ras* Mäk^{w}änn n, the father of thT T T, g T *dä azma* BalCa M4fo (1907) obtained together with Hararge the largest part of Bale, but after two years was recalled to his former province Sidamo.[641] In 1909 *ras* Nädaw Abba Bah r acceded to office in a territory which extended from the Wäyb River to the border of Italian Somaliland. His period of administration ended with his moving off to the battle of Sägäle in 1916. He was described by the traveller CITERNI (1913: 73; cf. 78f.) as an intelligent man who treated the subjugated Arsi with more clemency than other abäša governors. Especially the vicinity of the Bale capital Gobba was notorious for the drastic exploitation of man and nature.

In 1908, an administrative reform was implemented which divided Ethiopia into six large regions. As a result, additional administrative boundaries were created between the settlement areas of the peoples of Hadiyya descent. Next to East-Šäwa and Hararge, also Bale, Sidamo, Kämbata and Leemo belonged to the fifth region. Gurageland and Maräqo (Libidoo) were, however, allocated to the sixth region which embraced the whole of south-western Ethiopia.[642] The situation of the governors in the south-east at this point in time was constituted as follows: the administrative ambit of M nil k himself extended from Šäwa over parts of Arsi and the northern Lake Region. *Fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis controlled western Gurageland where his delegate *balambaras* Täfärra resided in Gooroo near Wälqite, as well as Gamu, Konso, Borana. *Ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw administered Kämbata, which included most areas of the Hadiyya proper. Wolamo (Wälaytta) was administered by Azaž Badek, Sidamo and northern Gu33i by *dä azma* Täfäri Mäk^{w}änn n, the later Em- T, g M T , and the southern Gu33iland by *dä azma* Nädaw Abba Bah r, central Bale by *dä azma* Wube and eastern Arsi and eastern Bale, including the land masses of Hararge and Ogaadeen, by *dä azma* BalCa M4fo.[643]

The chronicler Guèbrè Sellassié provides some information about the military balance of power which existed at the beginning of the 20th century regarding the abäša and the governors in the conquered areas of south-eastern Ethiopia. In 1903, on the seventh commemoration day of the victory of ^{c}Adwa against the Italians (2nd

SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 492.

640 For example those of NEUMANN (1902: 376) and BOURG DE BOZAS (1906: 107f.).

641 This dating was established by BAIRU TAFLA (1969: 17) and TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE (1971: 183 f.). The oral traditions which I recorded also estimated the period of rule of BalCa M4fo to be two years.

642 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 533.

643 See also ROSSETTI's map "Situazione politica dell' Africa Orientale". Cf. DE MONFREID 1954, map.

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March 1896), *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis, whose administrative district included Gurageland together with Qabeena, sent 30,000 riflemen to a parade in Addis Abäba, *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo of Sidamo deployed the same number, *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw sent 20,000 soldiers from Leemo, Kämbata and Shaashoogo, and *ras* L ^{c}ul Sägäd in Arsi summoned up 12,000 soldiers equipped with firearms.[644] At the end of his period in office, Abatä is said to have been able to supply even 60,000 men. However, from about 1910 onwards, the governors only took smaller accompanying armies with to Addis Abäba in contrast to previous years owing to the drastically diminished resources of firewood and grazing in the vicinity of the capital.[645]

The fact that Abatä B^{w}ayaläw could muster a substantially bigger contingent than L ^{c}ul Sägäd, even though his governorship was territorially very much smaller, is explicable through the higher population density. Not only the abäša garrisons, which anyway were only partially withdrawn for security reasons, but also contingents of indigenous *balabbat* were mobilised to a considerable degree for the parade. In Kämbata, M nil k employed an Austrian officer, Hans Jannasch, as instructor for the regiment of local marksmen. According to his account, during the celebration of *Mäsqäl* (Exaltation of the Cross) on the 21st September 1903 in Angaca, where the commando was led by *grazma* Astanget as a substitute for Abatä, who was held up in Addis Abäba, it came to a violent conflict between the units of the "Galla" (Hadiyya and Kambaata) and the abäša soldiers.[646] This was obviously triggered off by the arrogance of the Christian Ethiopians, and is a documented instance of the fraught atmosphere prevailing between both ethnic clusters. This permanent tension undoubtedly had a negative impact on the administrative organisation of these territories.

The situation was anyway additionally frequently strained through the internal quarrels of the abäša governors. Already in 1886 *ras* Darge and *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el could not agree upon the fixing of their province boundaries between eastern Arsi . V . V´ V , , . s . , TV T[647] When in the year 1900 the rivalries between the commanders of Arussi and Sidamo, *ras* L ^{c}ul Sägäd and *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo, threatened to erupt into an open conflict, only a messenger from the Emperor could avert the dispute at the last minute.[648] According to a widespread conviction of Hadiyya informants, M nil k was supposed to have been in the habit of constantly monitoring the activities of the governors through spies disguised as monks, traders and travellers who had been sent on various missions.

The qualifications for the duties entrusted to the abäša administrators were insufficient in many cases. They evidently played a subordinate role in their being

644 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 503. These numbers seem exaggerated.
645 This was reported by REIN 1918/20, III: 40, 255.
646 JANNASCH 1930: 40.
647 According to investigations of Bairu Tafla (personal communication), also *ras* Täsämma and *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis disputed the boundaries of their territories.
648 BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 243.

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chosen as opposed to political considerations, military merits to the Ethiopian state and loyalty to the throne. As already mentioned, the administrative strategy in the south was not orientated towards integration and equal development within the Empire, but towards exploitation for the benefit of the conquerors. When the King of Kings (*N än i ä*) in the first decades of the 20th century entrusted provinces to his relatives, members of the nobility or other deserving people, the enfeoffment was supposedly done with the following words: "I give you this province to eat".[649] Obviously, some of the appointed governors took this wording too literally.

The transformation brought about by the abäša conquest of southern Ethiopia from the beginning did not confine itself to the political elite but also had far-reaching consequences for the ethnic situation. The administrators and soldiers became pioneers of a colonisation which at first occurred on a small scale numerically speaking. Because of the heavy losses of population many regions had suffered from due to natural catastrophes and the wars of conquest at the end of the 19th century, the influx of settlers from the north soon gained considerable importance demographically, however. The favourable agricultural conditions of the conquered territories were an incentive for the inhabitants largely living in eroded, inhospitable and overused parts of northern Ethiopia. This led not only to a settlement of occupying troops as in the case of the *Šäwa* military colonists before the 17th century, who were joined by their families, but also induced civilian immigrants to seek their good fortune in the south. Among the Amhara and Christian Oromo peasants in Šäwa "go to 5 imma" (in order to settle there) remained a common saying prevalent up to the late 20th century. 5 imma in this context is a representative term used by people in northern Ethiopia for all the fertile arable territories in the south of the country.

From the beginning of the 20th century, the original type of encampments with fortified garrisons, the *kätäma,* which were established in enemy territory, became a new type of settlement in an environment in which, apart from a few exceptions such as Konso, no towns or anything resembling towns had been known. The criterion for the size is not relevant for this term. To the Ethiopians *kätäma* relates to Addis Abäba just like to a settlement with an open-air market and a few hundred inhabitants. Concerning the conquered territories at the beginning of the 20th century, when the military aspect was still highly important, the definition given by BORELLI can be regarded as appropriate:

> "One calls 'katama' the ensemble of habitations which is usually surrounded by palisades. In the conquered or tributary land it is occupied by an Amhara chief with his soldiers and his servants."[650]

The *kätäma* settlements were located according to climatic preferences of abäša settlers, particularly the Amhara, in their area of origin. They were mostly estab-

649 HUYN/KALMER 1935: 93; DARLEY 1935: 29.
650 This text was quoted by DEHÉRAIN 1914: 225 (our translation from French).

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lished in the *Wäyna Däga* and the lower areas of the *Däga,* approximately at an altitude between 2,200 and 3,000 metres ALS. For the choice of the location, strategic considerations frequently played an important part. Preferred were isolated hilltops and plateaus from which the surrounding land could be easily observed.[651]

A *kätäma* controlling the Qabeena and Gurage territories developed near the present-day town of Wäliso (Gihon) and another one was established at Nuuranna in East-Gurage. The early *kätäma* already mentioned for the Leemo-Kämbata district in Balbula, Anna, Angaca, Hanqaachcha and Hossäyna are all situated about 2,200 and 2,300m above sea level. The towns lying in the lowland areas like Buta3ira, Qolito/Allaaba or Šašämäne in comparison only hesitatingly became characterised as abäša dominated settlements during the course of the next decades. In the highlands of Arsi, in the early phase the *kätäma* were predominantly set up east of the Celalo-Wärra-Luukko range: in Caangee, Siree TIj , . Vá , . In 1901, BOURG DE BOZAS (1906: 187) estimated the number of houses of the *kätäma* area of Caangee – next to them there were many dilapidated dwellings – at 250. Asälla began to develop only from around 1910 onward, and the market towns in Gädäb, Kofale, Albaaso, Dodola and Adaba also started attracting settlers from Christian areas of Ethiopia. The trading sites Robee and Ginnir in Bale date back, as already mentioned (cf. chap. 3.5.9 and map 18), to the time before the conquest, whereas Gobba and Jaafaro were newly founded. Lago, on the Gädäb side of the Urgooma massif, where the Bourg de Bozas expedition was received by the sub-governor Wäldä-M T . T T ZT ZIP . , , T , . T ´ T[652] Occasionally, the administration of the Christian Empire stimulated the construction of outdoor markets in territories where up to then no such facilities had existed. Some of them later developed to become the nucleus of a new *kätäma*. This occurred at the instigation of *ras* Abatä in Do'ishsha, in the territory of the Shaashoogo-Hadiyya, for instance.

The *kätäma* settlements as a stereo-typed characteristic of abäša colonial culture in southern Ethiopia were as a rule established around a rectangular marketplace or as a street village. The dominant point of interest was at any rate the market (*gäbäya*) and if it concerned a place of administration, its headquarters (*g bbi*) was mostly set up at a distance with a palisade fence around it.[653] Even though the Amhara in the rural areas of their key territories – like almost all peoples of the south – lived in a traditional way in a round-house, the *kätäma* is characterised by its rectangular houses. They were uniformly ground level constructions whose walls were

651 Foreign travellers in Ethiopia, e.g., AUBRY (1887: 472f.), KOETTLITZ (1901: 337) and DEHÉRAIN (1914: 225, 239f.), shortly before and after the turn from the 19th to the 20th century emphasised the strategic character of the *kätäma.*

652 This can be concluded from the report of BOURG DE BOZAS (1906: 176).

653 "Also Addis Abeba, which was set up a little earlier as the first katama-settlement in the Lake Region, developed around the Emperor's gebbi and the related facilities of his army commanders and other dignitaries; this can be well identified in the layout of the capital city". (KULS 1958: 159; our translation from German).

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built with wooden poles and cladded with a combination of mud, dung and straw (Amharic: *dḳqa*). Instead of today's customary use of the eucalyptus which began to be substantially planted only in the 1930s, cedar wood was used as a preferential building material as it was abundant in most areas. The roofs were mostly covered with grass; the corrugated iron found today was first introduced into the remote rural areas decades later. Nevertheless, even though the traditional round-houses were barely distinguishable from the rectangular *kätäma* houses regarding quality and material, the latter were considered an expression of higher prestige and, for a number of years after the conquest, remained reserved for the Christian northerners as the ruling ethnic cluster. Up to the Italian occupation, it was prohibited for the indigenous people – if not approved by official law but however through the sanctions of the residents of abäša descent – to build rectangular houses in the *kätamä* settlements.[654]

The new towns and villages were only agriculturally orientated local communities to a limited extent, as from the beginning a tertiary economic sector emerged as a vital means of existence, namely trade and taverns. Because the Amhara did not show a particular propensity towards trade, in the early days the shops were frequently run by Yemenites. In Bale, for example, traders from Yemen arrived at the end of the 19th century, while their main immigration started around 1910.[655] People in southern Ethiopia were in the habit of partially referring to them inclusively as "*Arab bet*" or "*suk*" up to the 1950s.[656] Primarily, members of the Muslim ethnic groups such as Gurage and Somali played a leading role in trade by gaining the responsibility for organising the transport of the goods and becoming leaders of the caravans (*nägädi*). As a characteristic of every *kätäma* taverns (Amharic: *bunna bet* = "coffee house") which mainly offered alcoholic drinks and were to a large extent run by unmarried or divorced women.

Before the abäša conquest, the fabrication of alcohol was hardly practiced by the Hadiyya. They were familiar with the millet beer (*borde*) of the neighbouring Wälaytta, but the fermentation of honey water with the aid of *gešo*, the leaves of *Rhamnus prinoides*, was unusual. So the production of distilled spirits (Amh.: *katikala* or *aräqi*), beer made from grain (Amh.: *älla*) and honey-wine (Amh.: *ä*) remained for a long time the domain of the colonists from northern Ethiopia.[657] In order to maintain the livelihood of the producers, it was at any rate indispensable that there was a larger urban catchment area and an outlet for the locals in the surrounding area who visited the weekly market-days of the *kätäma*.

654 JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 67. This was confirmed to me by Hadiyya informants.

655 ØSTEBØ 2012: 139f. The majority oft he Yemeni traders left Ethiopia in the late 20th century.

656 KULS 1970:22. At the beginning of the 70s one heard these expressions only very seldom, especially because Yemenite merchants had largely abandoned their economic activities in southern Ethiopia whereas they were still frequent in Hararge.

657 For this reason it was quite common to use the Amharic names, although for most of the drinks also names in the various languages of the area of our concern exist.

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The secondary economic sector, handcraft, was only represented sporadically in the *kätäma* settlements. Up to the late 20th century, the potters, tanners and blacksmiths chose to settle some distance from the *kätäma* and transport their products on market days there. This was not only done because of the discrimination they encountered, but also due to the unaffordable local rates demanded of them.

For the local population, the newly-established administrative and market towns were new places of orientation and commercial centres facilitating a trans-regional trade in goods on a scale not experienced before. In this sphere the "*Pax Aethiopica*", which arose after the conquest, generally had a positive impact on economic development. At the same time, the *kätäma* signified, however, a considerable intrusion in the traditional cultural patterns of the southern peoples through the impact of negative circumstances: alcoholism was promoted in a disastrous way and through the prostitution common in the *bunna bet* syphilis spread.

As the Christian Ethiopians themselves did not have any tradition at all in urban settlement forms, and the *kätäma* were still conceived as a basically mobile encampment over a period of time, the attachment to the soil was generally weak. During the first decade after the conquest, it was virtually the rule for a governor to give up the residence of his predecessor and to have a new one built. With the relocation of the *g bbi,* the commercial settlement accompanied it. The former residence, provided that it was not completely abandoned, faded to an insignificant market town. Between 1890 and 1905 this occurred five times in the Kämbata Province without motive for resettlement evident in all cases. For the local population the mobility meant an additional strain as the new *g bbi* was constructed by forced labour. Old informants of the Leemo-Hadiyya, for example, remembered the time when *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw had the residence established in Hossäyna and their fathers was forced to obtain great quantities of cedar logs in order to construct the buildings and the palisades.

Sometime after the conquest, abäša peasant colonies were occasionally created which for security reasons spread out from the *kätäma* with their garrisons and police offices. The administrative and market centres accordingly guaranteed a lifestyle to a settler sub-culture; and inasmuch as it was affordable, the rural colonists kept a second house in the *kätäma* where they spent a large part of their time when they were not busy with agricultural work. The Šäwa-Amhara, with the emerging population increase at the beginning of the 20th century, instead of colonizing the cold *Däga* territories of Salaale and Šäwa-Meda, largely preferred to develop new useful agricultural areas in the climatically favourable conquered territories.[658] In central-southern Ethiopia the Celalo and Cärcär regions especially lent themselves to this purpose, as the lands of origin of the colonists were relatively close. A number of abäša peasant colonies were also established in Sidaama territory[659] and in the territory of Gumaida between the Saga River and the highland of Gidole, which was

658 Cf. STITZ 1974: 233.
659 SIMONI 1939: 4, STRAUBE n.d. a: 5.

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almost uninhabited before that time.[660] Colonisation was, however, not always accomplished in areas of largely undeveloped land reserves without the expulsion of autochthones or major resettlement actions. Already in 1889 in the plain of Afat between the upper Gibe and the Qabeena territory, a territory which provided excellent conditions for ploughing, had been taken from the Eaha-Gurage.[661] At the end of the 19th century, the Leemo and Baadogo-Hadiyya had to evacuate several districts, for example Bonochchora and Qaca, for abäša colonists. These settlers, however, had to surrender their lands during the turmoil of the Italo-Ethiopian War in 1936/37. Occasionally, there was a state organised resettlement campaign which was initiated by the highest authority. When the capital Addis Abäba was established at Finfinnee from 1886 onwards, M nil k II compensated the Gullallee-Oromo, whose dwelling places were taken away, with a territory in Muneessa, east of Lake Langano.

As for their legal status in regard to taxation, the colonists from the north were definitely more privileged than the indigenous population. In general, the abäša settlers in central-southern Ethiopia who carried out agricultural works were clearly in the minority as opposed to the largely parasitic stratum of *näf äñña* endowed with *gäbbar* landholdings. Also the peasant colonists tried to keep their workload as reduced as possible through land leasing and slavery. However, the services of the indigenous were not available to them as a rule.

In the beginning phase, i.e., up to the 1920s approximately, where no land estimates or more specifically land surveying had taken place, officers and soldiers, who had taken part in the campaigns of conquest, were allocated a certain number of families from the subjugated peoples who had to contribute to their livelihood. The number of *gäbbar* depended at first on the rank of the respective *näf äñña*, but it also varied according to the settlement density and agrarian productivity of a territory as well as to the respective concentration of the troops of occupation. An ordinary soldier had as a rule two to ten peasant households who were subject to his control as *gäbbar*, whereas an officer with the rank of a *balambaras*, *grazma* or *qäññazma* had fifteen or twenty. These average figures established from western Ethiopia[662] also apply to the Hadiyya territories. The Baadawwaachcho for example, stated the number as five, the Leemo up to ten *gäbbar* for each *näf äñña*.

These *näf äñña* lived as a regulatory power on standby in the *kätäma* settlements for the purpose of control and security of the territory, to where tributes and services were to be delivered. Inasmuch as no guerdon was paid, the lot of the family members allocated to the ordinary soldiers would be the hardest in every respect, because the less *gäbbar* people allotted to a master, the more duties he sought to squeeze out

660 This was observed and documented by KULS (1958: 157).

661 SHACK 1969: 41. This fact was confirmed to me by Qabeena informants.

662 MARCUS 1974: 636. PERHAM (1969: 296) stated 2-5 *gäbbar* for an ordinary soldier, 7-10 for an officer and 30-80 for a dictrict chief. GIACCARDI (1939: 188) estimated the number of *gäbbar* for a *dä azma* at 1000, for a *fitawrari* 300 and for a *qäññazma* 150 and for an ordinary soldier 10-20.

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of them as a rule and the greater the demand on their individual services. The higher-ranking *näftäññña* are said to have been more moderate in their exploitation practices as a view prevailed that excessive regarding their *gäbbar* demands would ultimately bring disadvantages to the beneficiaries of the system.[663]

The Libidoo living in "Emperor's territory" had to bring their taxes directly to the court in Addis Abäba. The relatively modest payments of the severely decimated group were collected by Sandaako Luubbo, a man appointed by the abäša authority as *wänna* (tax collector) in A3irra Giyorgis, a town no longer existing south of today's Buta3ira. The taxes were measured in *dirim*, a means of payment apparently made of copper[664] which were to be paid per kraal unit. As the country began to recover slightly after the Wälaytta campaign of 1894, the *dirim* tax was substituted by a payment in honey, which was designated *gundo-mar*. Once a year so much of honey had to be transported to the imperial *g bbi* that a 1.5 m high wooden container (*gundo*) could be filled, and besides twenty *kunna* of red pepper also had to be delivered.[665]

The earnings of the Empress g ´, Ts . T , . g , R TV from these payments, were specified as 154,880 Maria Theresa thalers in 1902, 219,918 in 1903 and 253,626 in 1904.[666] Compulsory labour did not as a rule have to be performed by *gäbbar* who were directly subordinate to the Emperor.

All other Hadiyya groups were obliged to pay tributes to the *näf äññña*. The quantity and composition of taxes to be paid in kind or in Maria Theresa thalers did indeed vary from territory to territory, but certain average values could be ascertained. Statements obtained by MARCUS (1974: 636ff.) for example from informants from the Kämbata Province, whereby every *gäbbar* had to bring five *kunna* grain, one *kunna Rhamnus prinoides* needed for the production of alcohol and a certain measurement in e c of firewood in addition to different services, mostly concurred with our records. Among the Baadawwaachcho, the dues per year amounted to three *kunna* ef, three *kunna* maize, one *kunna Rhamnus prinoides*, firewood and timber for building and four Maria Theresa thalers. In Sidamo the *gäbbar*, apart from the payment in kind, had to bring five and half thalers[667] and in Leemo actually twelve thalers annually.[668] Moreover, there was an obligation everywhere to cut grass for the riding animals of the *näf äññña* and to maintain their houses.

663 This view was expressed by informants in Leemo and Baadawwaachcho. In principle, the *gäbbar* tributes were in fact legally specified. However, the *näf äññña* had, as a rule, leeway to enforce arbitrary demands.

664 I was not able to specify this means of currency more exactly.

665 Here it had to do with a cubic measurement that contained 5-7 litres. A weight estimate for grain 3-4 is kilogrammes (PANKHURST 1969: 128 f.) and for coffee 3-4 pounds (REIN 1918/20: III: XXII). In Hossäyna at the beginning of the 1970s an average *kunna* was a wattled barrel with a 32 cm diameter and depth of 12 cm.

666 These details were determined by PANKHURST (1968b: 109).

667 GIACCARDI 1937: 1563.

668 This information does not appear exaggerated to me when one considers that in Hararge the g b r tax to be given to the *näf äññña* per head of family is said initially to have amounted to

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With the payment in kind there was a grading of commodities which could be varied according to the agricultural products of each territory. The Qabeena – representative of the Gurage and other groups in central-southern Ethiopia – specified three categories which were designated by Amharic words as follows: 1. *tni h d* good grain (mainly barley, ef and wheat as well as flax, lentils and the oleiferous plant nug, i. e., *Guizotia abyssinica*); 2. *t i t* , plant food mostly in the form of beans and peas which were seen as less valuable in relation to category 1 and were to be paid accordingly in bigger quantities; and 3. *adaf* (double), types of grains like *a a* grain, sorghum and finger millet (*Eleusine coracan)* which could not be kept for a long time and therefore had to be provided in double quantities.

The nomads in the lowlands of Arsi territories, similarly in Boorana and Ogaadeen, mostly escaped from the fate of becoming personal *gäbbar* to abäša soldiers. Their economic system needed vast areas for their incessant nomadic movements, and this meant that for such mobile groups, unlike the settled peasants, a direct control could hardly be realised efficiently. Therefore bigger nomadic clusters were ascribed to particular military and administrative strongholds to which the pastoralists had to deliver tributes of cattle, money, butter and honey at prescribed points in time. The commandants then took care of the further distribution of the incoming taxes. As a special service, the nomads had to look after the livestock of their masters.[669]

For the Allaaba, the western Arsi and the Baadawwaachcho who were then primarily mobile pastoralists, special tax commissioners (*kara*) representing the governor of Kämbata were appointed. They positioned agents on the regularly frequented salt troughs, for example in Harto and at Lake Shaala, in order to undertake estimates of the size of the herds and accordingly determine a tax amount in Maria Theresa thalers. The assessment ceilings were regionally different and amounted to one tenth of a thaler or up to one quarter, per fully-grown head of cattle.[670]

Next to the officially established *g b r* amount, the *näf äñña* considered it a customary right to collect extra duties on the occasions of major Orthodox Church feasts like *Mäsqäl*, Easter and Christmas. These largely consisted of a goat or a sheep for slaughter and a receptacle of butter for the wife of the respective *näf äñña*.[671]

One part of the tributes, particularly honey, cattle and ivory were conveyed by the governors to the imperial court as taxes from their provinces. On the north-south trade route running in the Sidamo direction the Bourg de Bozas expedition in March

even 40 Maria Theresa thalers, and only after the drastic impoverishment and resentment of the population was reduced to 22 thalers (BROOKE 1956: 176 f.).

669 This description, which in principle applied to all nomads, was given to HABERLAND (1963a: 27) for the Boorana-Oromo. Cf. also GIACCARDI 1937: 1563.

670 According to GIACCARDI (1939: 190) the cattle kraals in Sidaama were taxed with two and a half thalers, and the Boorana had to pay 25 thalers for100 head of cattle.

671 This duty was similarly confirmed by informants of different Hadiyya groups.

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1902 came across a caravan from Hadiyya territory near the Awaš which was on its way to Addis Abäba with tributes.

> "The territory was naturally sparsely inhabited; but the route was very much frequented. During these two days the Viscount who hunted along the flanks of the column did not stop to answer to the "Touma" (How do you do) of numerous Gallas who were trekking towards the capital city. Tall and cupreous they had the beauty of antique bronzes and the few rags which cloaked their misery did not succeed to disfigure them. They were mostly the bondsmen of the big chiefs of the south who were transporting to Addis Ababa the ivory collected by their masters or the taxes which they owed to the négous." [672]

During the first decades of abäša rule, hunting was free all over the country. However, the Emperor was entitled each time to a tusk from a bagged elephant. That this rule was complied with was confirmed by the British traveller WELLBY, shortly before the turn of the 20th century:

> "If they kill an elephant, one tusk is sent to Menilek, and the other they sell to men from Addis Ababa for forty to fifty dollars […] Menilek in return for every tusk gives them a ring to be worn in the lobe of the ear". [673]

According to information collected by MARCUS (1974: 637) the *näf äñña* had extensive legal leverage to enforce the requirements from those subordinates allocated to them:

> "If a gabbar refused a request or did not fulfil a requirement, the neftenya could demand that the local headman, or ballabat, almost always a native-born in habitant, threw the man in chains. The sub-official would dispatch his assistant, the chikashum or korro to perform police functions. In no case did a neftenya ever act directly against the gabbar".

This description which MARCUS received from a *näf äñña* informant applies to the concept in theory, but in practice, according to reports by Hadiyya elders, everyday *gäbbar* life often looked different. Arbitrary penalties and maltreatment on the part of the masters was commonplace without the latter undergoing punishment by the authorities. For example, a Leemo man reported that his grandfather in Hossäyna, on receiving a bloody beating by means of a thorn branch while building a fence for his master, thereafter moved to another district.[674] This event illustrates the fact that for the *gäbbar* people no rigid obligation to the soil existed. They were principally free

672 BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 225 f. (our translation from French). "Tumma" is not the greeting in the Oromo language but rather that of the Libidoo, Shaashoogo, Leemo, Sooro and Baadawwaachcho.

673 WELLBY 1901: 136. Cf. REIN 1918/20, II: 121. Three grades of tusks were differentiated according to their weight.

674 This report by Sullaamo Lonseeqqo in 1972 certainly did not refer to a singular case.

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to become subordinate to another master so that the *näf äññа*, in the interest of their own profit-making, mostly tried hard to curb brutality towards their bondsmen.

The family members of subjugated peoples were also not permitted, with the exception of certain *balabbat* and dignitaries, to ride mules as these were considered special status-symbols reserved for the abäša elite. Whoever dared to do this as *gäbbar* and whoever loaded good products on his pack animals or wore good clothing, had to reckon with his possessions being confiscated by the *näf äññа* with the saying "Ba M nil k" (it is done in the name of M nil k). Legal uncertainty and fear of indiscriminate dispossession is said to have even led to a period of stagnation in cattle husbandry. To characterise this state of affairs, Hadiyya informants stated by way of exaggeration, "One could only keep chickens". The subjugated were only permitted to sell goods to foreign traders and travellers with the formal authorization of the abäša.[675] Government representatives furthermore collected market taxes.[676] In principle, the Emperor reserved the right to impose the death penalty, but particularly as the capital city was far away and the infra-structure and the means of communication were poorly developed, the provincial governors had a certain degree of latitude.[677]

The Hadiyya belonged to the peoples of southern Ethiopia who resisted most of all the new political circumstances to which they were subjected. At the end of the 19th century, when the cattle stocks had not yet recovered from the decimation, in an eye witness report by WELLBY (1901: 139) it was said about the Kämbata province:

> "The natives of Kambata are extremely badly off, as they scarcely cultivate at all and possess no cattle. Their miserable condition is due to their own bad behaviour. As they are always on the qui vive to cut the throats of solitary Abyssinians who may cross their path, they cannot expect to receive the same consideration from the Abyssinians as their well-disposed neighbours".

In the event of a murder of a abäša, it was common practice to intern the whole population of the district or region, in which the crime took place, in a detention camp. By this draconic measure the government attempted to break the solidarity of the whole group towards the guilty party and to force the latter to be handed over.[678] However, compulsory measures of this and other kinds could not undermine the pride of the Hadiyya and their hostile attitude towards the new masters. The following story was told by way of example about Gimboo, a Sooro tribesman, who bore the title *daddaachcho*:

675 This rule was pointed out by BOURG DE BOZAS (1906: 90).

676 This was reported by WELLBY (1901: 142) also from the Wälaytta territory.

677 According to reports of informants, e.g., *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw and *ras* L ^{c}ul Sägäd are said to have immediately executed Hadiyya found guilty of murder.

678 HODSON 1927: 26. This practice is said to have also been common in the abäša territories of northern Ethiopia.

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> *Daddaach* Gimboo was requested to deliver an ox to *ras* Abatä as a tribute. When the animal did not arrive at the stipulated time in Hossäyna, the Amhara soldiers were sent to fetch the requested tribute. Gimboo offered them food. However, they preferred to slaughter chickens from his homestead. To this Gimboo said: 'I will never give an ox voluntarily to people who eat birds'. Thereupon, he was forcibly brought to Hossäyna. There, undeterred, he repeated his sentence to *ras* Abatä. The governor asked him who had given him the title *dä azma* [erroneous equalisation with *daddaachcho*]. Gimboo answered: 'Nobody. My father and grandfather already had this title and now I have it.' Abatä was impressed by the boldness of this Hadiyya man and made friends with him.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

Evidently, as noticed by WELLBY (1901: 137), the East-Gurage had willingly acquiesced to the conquerors as he mentioned the remarkably cooperative attitude on their part towards abäša dominion:

> "The Guragues (Gallas) over whom this [W lbaräg] shum ruled were evidently contented with their lot; they were fat and cheery, and looked very different to the poor Waiyu and Arussi Gallas".

Among the Arsi, rebellions against the abäša conquerors in the early phase of the occupation were frequent. At the beginning of 1900, eastern parts of their territory were in revolt so that the respective areas were closed to foreign travellers.[679] In the sphere of religion the Christian Ethiopians consciously avoided compromising the autochthones and treated the people of the Islamic Shaikh usayn pilgrimage centre with great consideration, for example.[680] Evidently, the will of resistance among the great number of Hadiyya peoples induced the abäša to back away from forced resettlement as was a frequent occurrence in south-western Ethiopia. West of the Omo River, where the conquest by the Christian Empire caused a more far-reaching collapse of the old-established socio-political structures than in the south-east, the higher state officials considered it their right when being transferred to another province to force as many of their subordinate peasants as possible to go with them.[681] At the beginning of the century, *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis transplanted Gumuz people,

679 This was reported, for example, by NEUMANN 1902: 8.

680 NEUMANN 1902: 12. The same author (NEUMANN 1902: 14) mentioned the case which he found near Siree (in the north of what later became Arussi province) of an Islamic shrine converted into a Christian church. But this was obviously an exceptional case.

681 In 1923, the British colonial official DARLEY (1935: 131) working as a liaison with the Ethiopian government observed near 5 imma the caravan of a relocating governor which he estimated at 12,000 people. Maltreatment, exhaustion and malnutrition claimed a number of human lives by such actions how many of which one can only surmise. According to personal communication by Eike HABERLAND such forced resettlements – like that of the Käfa people to Y rga ᶜAläm, the capital of Sidamo Province – still occurred up to 1935.

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T, Tg TV .(, from north-western Ethiopia to the neighbourhood of Qabeena in the Upper Gibe valley. They maintained themselves in this region as a relatively homogeneous group until the late 20th century.

In the territories between the Omo and the border of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, incessant slave-raids led to such an enormous loss of life that some areas were largely depopulated in the 1920s. Such actions were not only tolerated but sometimes openly legitimised by the abäša administration, so that by the middle of the 20th century the population density in many of those regions was considerably lower than before the conquest by the Christian Empire.[682] As King of Šäwa, M nil k had indeed attempted at first to restrict the slave trade through decrees,[683] but up until the end of his reign he did not take any strong measures to effectively constrain the transport of the "human merchandise" from the interior to the coast.[684]

That abäša administration officials arbitrarily sold people to slavery to enrich themselves is not known of in the Hadiyya territories. In central-southern Ethiopia, despite all the brutality which was inherent in the *gäbbar* system as an exploitation mechanism, there was largely a paternalistic feeling on the part of the *näf äññä* towards the subordinate autochthonous population, who, moreover, racially did not differ substantially from them. As a rule, the master tried, not without personal interest of course, to defend his *gäbbar* in contentious issues, let them participate in certain festivities and tried to make them familiar with crops and agricultural techniques from northern Ethiopia. In the case of their officially becoming Christian, he frequently acted as their godparent. The *näftäññä* often entered into marriage relationships with local people of noble stock, and sometimes they established special types of friendship with certain *gäbbar* people. The practice was that through a symbolic act of suckling the nipple of a higher-positioned or influential man, this particular person became his *ut-l* (Amh.: breast-fed baby). The higher-ranking man was henceforth obliged to accord protection and the protected subject in turn had to give unconditional allegiance.

For a better understanding of the situation in the Hadiyya territories it appears necessary to start with some general remarks on property rights in Ethiopia as a whole. In the initial phase, a definite number of peasants were the means of livelihood for each *näf äññä* without thereby being bound to an exact fixed claim of land tenure. At the time of the abäša conquest, for the Hadiyya the concept of private land ownership was non-existent; all the land was considered common property of a community such as a clan or lineage. By way of contrast, the traditional legal concept of the Christian Ethiopians specified two different principles of land-ownership:

682 This could be established by HABERLAND, e.g., in Dime (1959: 237) and particularly in Dizi (1993: 13), where the population is estimated to have diminished from c. 100,000 to 10,000 between 1898 and 1936.

683 He reported, for example, on the 11th October 1881 in a letter to the Italian King on his activities in this regard (ROSSETTI 1910: 18). Cf. also SMIDT 2010: 680f.

684 See, for example, BIANCHI 1884: 262 f.; WALDMEIER 1886: 141; MARTIAL DE SALVIAC 1900: 402; REIN 1918/20, III: 251; DARLEY 1935: 129; PANKHURST 1968a: 105, 107.

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g^{w} *lt* and *r st*. In a minimalist definition, *g*^{w} *lt* is conceived as a type of "imperial land" which was surrendered to certain officials for their utilization or exploitation respectively, and simultaneously for the administration of the crown. It could be rescinded by the Emperor at any time. This type of land holding corresponded in some respects with the "*beneficium*" in medieval western and central Europe. The designated term *r st* referred to land belonging to family groups or individuals[685], as was common until the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974.

This concept of land titles was introduced into central-southern Ethiopia in the first decade of the 20th century by the governors Abatä and L ᶜul Sägäd. It was combined with a rough measurement of land in units called *gaša*, a term which in Amharaland originally meant as much as "land from which a family can live". It was later standardised to approximately 40 hectares, but frequently went far beyond this.

The system of allocating *gäbbar* to *näf äññа* was from then on combined with the allotment of *gaša*. In the south *r st* and *g*^{w} *lt* were adopted as an indissoluble amalgamation and as *r st-g*^{w} *lt* became a characteristic mixed form.[686] As a rule, the rights of possession were declared hereditary once an inheritance tax had been paid to the state. This possibility created the foundation of *mälkäññа* land holding.

The great donations to the church were largely assigned as *sämon*, a special form of *g*^{w} *lt* which guaranteed freedom of tax to the state.[687] Whether *gäbbar*-peasants lived on church land or that of secular landlords did not signify any great difference in their tribute obligations. Church tax lists (*sämon mäsgat*) are just as little known from the early occupation period as are secular ones. Of the 54 churches that existed in the Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* in the early 1970s, most were founded between 1890 and 1913 and provided with *sämon* rights of thousands of hectares. As an example, the property of the Maryam Church in Hossäyna amounted to 5,000 hectares. Parts of the church land were acquired by clerics as private property in the course of time.

Estates only were acknowledged as *r st*, on which the autochthones were able to pay the estimated property tax per *gaša*-unit. This fact was based on the Ethiopian legal understanding that only the one who is then liable and able to pay the fixed tax to the state will be acknowledged the real owner of the land. For groups who only utilized extensive areas for grazing, like in the lowlands of the Rift Valley, such a rule was not feasible. These areas largely became declared state land over which the government could dispose of as desired. *R st* land holdings could therefore to a larger extent only emerge in the *Wäyna Däga* zones, where a relatively dense habitation and an intensive agriculture enabled peasants with a high agricultural yield to pay the property tax.

685 See HOBEN (1973: 5) for the Amharic heartlands in Go33am.

686 Cf. LAMBTON 1971: 224; STITZ 1974: 244. CRUMMEY 2007: 496-99.

687 In Šäwa one differentiated three ranks of churches (personal communication by Wolfgang WEISSLEDER): 1. *gädam* (= foundation), 2. *däbr* (= mainline church through royal donations), 3. *gä är* (= normal churches). In the conquered territories these differences existed, but they were not familiar to the local people.

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After the rudimentary division of the land in *gaša,* the *näf äññа* started a process of converting *g*^{w} *lt* rights into *r st-g*^{w} *lt*-holdings, which continued up to the time of the Italian occupation and partially still up to the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. Thenceforth, one differentiated among the local peasants firstly those who lived on *r st*, i. e., on their own property, but who were obliged up to 1936 to pay as *gäbbar* tributes to the *näf äññа*, and secondly those residing on the holdings of abäša landlords or indigenous *balabbat* awarded with *r st-g*^{w} *lt* or *siso-g*^{w} *lt* (see below) as private property. As long as the focus was directed at the exploitation of human labour, there was for the locals practically no difference between these two categories in regard to financial duties and soccage. These ownership laws, full of contradictions and disaccords, became increasingly topical after the so-called Ethiopian Restoration in 1941.

In the western Arsi highlands, as a rule, soldiers received four *g sa* and the lower ranked officers five *gaša* combined with the services of the *gäbbar* living on that particular land.[688] The number of the peasants was the major criterion for the process of allocating land holdings, but the settlement density was not uniform. That is why divergent values with regard to the size of *gaša* came about. In the Hadiyya territory west of the Bilate, the *gaša* units were divided into four sections for each of which a *wänna* was appointed. This official had to hand in a lump sum of taxes imposed in his district three times a year to a *Ku -šum*, who was appointed by the government.

MARKAKIS (1974: 130) heard of a special case in the territory of the Sooro-Hadiyya concerning an allocation of land, which can to some extent be seen as representative:

> "A high-ranking officer of Shoa Galla origin, Kenyazmatch Arado, was allotted forty gasha for himself and distributed the rest among his lieutenants and soldiers. One of these, a man from Gojjam named Ayele who was later promoted to Grazmatch, was given two gasha in Sage and two more in a neighbouring area called Wabo. The native people who found themselves on the land granted to Ayele became his gabbars. All the families in each gasha were ordered to choose one elder to act as their representative (called teteri) with the landholder. Four teteri were selected to represent the families settled on the four gasha received by Ayele. These four represented a total of about forty gabbar families".

In the Oromo districts of Šäwa in 1879, M nil k had the land classified into three categories according to its fertility: 1. *läm* (the most fertile land); 2. *läm äf* (mediocre land); 3. *äf* (poor land, wasteland). For the first category ten *quintal* of grain was to be handed in per *gaša* to the state, for the second five and for the third two.[689]

688 CERULLI 1932: 139.

689 MAHTEME SELASSIE WOLDE MASKAL 1957: 29 ff.; WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM 1970: 42; MARKAKIS 1974: 109; GIRMA TOLOSSA 1975: 164-6. For land surveying and land registration a 133 cubit-long rope (66.5 m) called *qallad* was used to measure four sides of the individual *gaša* land plots. Depending on the quality of the soil a different quantity of *qallad*

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This system was also introduced into the occupied south, but it was modified to some extent. After the turn of the century, twelve Maria Theresa thalers per *gaša* had to be paid annually (every June) for the first category of usable agricultural land and fifteen *kunna* of grain at the end of every month, for the second category eight thalers and ten *kunna* and for the third six thalers and seven and a half *kunna*. Late delivery was punished by the authorities with imprisonment, corporal punishment and seizure of mobile property. Tax debts could not as a rule become settled by means of additional labour for the landlords.

These decrees were not enforced everywhere, and in accordance with all the information available, one has to agree with the remark made by REIN (1918/20, II: 229), a geographer living in Ethiopia around 1910:

> "A fixed tax for the different types of taxation does not appear to exist. A limit seems to come about where the problem begins of keeping the peasants in a position to be able to pay tax to some degree".[690]

The observation by this author also applies to the fact that through the "exorbitant taxation" of the population, they lost the desire to work and there can no longer be "talk of a utilitarian cultivation of the arable land".[691]

In the Hadiyya territories, the circumstances developed in such a way that from the earnings of each *gaša* the owner had to hand one tenth over to the state. This system that M nil k introduced in Šäwa[692] was officially called *asrat* (derived from the Amharic word *aser* = ten) and in Hadiyyisa *xumkunna matguna*. The tithe, especially when it concerned grain and legumes, was collected directly from the peasants by an agent of the *mälkäññña* and the products in question were not allowed to be put into storage in the granaries before the *asrat* quantity had been handed over. From the remaining nine-tenths, the tributes had to be submitted to the landlords.

From the beginning, the indigenous high officials who had been appointed to *balabbat* by the abäša administrative system since the wars of conquest were not only spared the *gäbbar* existence but they were also considered to be *mälkäññña*. In the Amharic territories, like in Go33am and Šäwa, *balabbat* only denoted a man who owned land which was classified in the "land tenure system" prevalent at that time under the rubric *siso*.[693] In the conquered territories of southern Ethiopia, the *balabbat* received another meaning as the bearer of this title. He not only had the right of ownership over a particular quantity of land, but additionally acted as a an intermediary between the local population and the abäša colonial authority in an area defined as his *balabbatnet* ("chieftaincy"). In the "quasi-feudalist" structure the

squares related to a *gaša* of 66.5 x 66.5 m² = 4.422 m². As already mentioned, in the second part of the 20th century a *gaša* equated approximately to 40 hectares.

690 REIN 1918/20, II: 229 (our translation from German).

691 REIN 1918/20, II: 226ff. (our translation from German).

692 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, I: 324 f. According to personal communications from Bairu Tafla this regulation was evidently only legally fixed in 1901.

693 For the explanation of this term see BERHANOU ABBEBE 1971: 78 ff.

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balabbat was expected to act as a loyal agent for the abäša administration and was often confronted with the dilemma to become more or less alienated from his own ethnic group. The original principle of the *siso* (= a third), whereby approximately one third of the land in the district of a *balabbat* was allotted to him as his private property, became a very disastrous arrangement for the autochthonous inhabitants in central-southern Ethiopia. As a rule, the state had in this way over three quarters of the land at its disposal and loaned the last quarter to the local *balabbat*, who in turn kept the lion's share for himself.[694] The lands possessed by the government chiefs were partially known as *maxxora* in the territories of the Hadiyya proper.[695]

In Qabeena, asan n3amo's son Shiffa, who had been jointly declared responsible with his father for the "holy wars" against the Christian Empire and had been detained by M nil k for a while, was appointed *balabbat*. Shiffa's son, *im m* Hyar, later came into conflict with a powerful abäša *mälkäññä* named dkim BalaCCo and had to relinquish a part of his *balabbatnet* to him. This case had still not been finally settled in the Ethiopian High Court in the 1970s. The then *balabbat*, *im m* Abraar, held office only for the territories east of Gurage-Wabi River. For the Qabeena exclave south of Abälti, which was subordinate to the Sultan of 5 imma, M nil k appointed a government chief of its own.

Balabbat were similarly appointed in East-Gurage, nnäqor and Libidoo. One of the most influential men in the area of the Azärnät and Bärbäre descended from the line of Imerkiisso, the son of *im m* , R , . T *ras* KaKa aylu, who descended from this group on the maternal side, officiated as *balabbat*. It has already been mentioned that during the wars of conquest *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari appointed Geedo, a Shaashoogo man, as *balabbat* for the Shaashoogo, Leemo and Sooro. However, when he was killed by Hadiyya tribesmen owing to an internal dispute, the abäša decided to appoint separate government chiefs for all these groups. As a result, an ongoing power struggle, sometimes lasting over years, was unleashed because local dignitaries vied for this official appointment. As the abäša governors lacked the insight into the true circumstances of the socio-political organisations they encountered – and they often did not make an effort to understand them – a bribe aided the decision when in doubt. Among the three *balabbat* appointed for the Baadawwaachcho, the *anjaanchcho* from the Baadeooso group was tellingly not one of them. For the Leemo, two government chiefs were allotted and for the Sooro six. In Shaashoogo *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw eventually decided on one of the contesting persons. Among the Allaaba, the family of the *im m* Nuunade through the use of clever tactics understood how to strengthen its own position and that of its group as opposed to its neighbours. In the vast dwelling areas of the Arsi-Oromo the number of *balabbat* were estimated at several hundred; for example, in the administrative

694 BROTTO 1939: 92-96; HABERLAND 1963a: 420.

695 This term is derived from the Amharic *ma orya maret* (pension lands) which were given by the state to the *balabbat* holders amongst others (BERHANOU ABBEBE 1971: 10, 14).

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district of Muneessa there were eleven government chiefs in 1973.[696] People who were not members of the *abbaa gadaa* family but belonged to Hadiyya clans, frequently understood how to assert themselves among the abäša and to be appointed *balabbat* by them, such as "*fitawrari*" Nabbi Buuda in the territory between Asälla and Lake Z^{w}ay or the *balambaras* Waasho Garo in Nagallee-Arsi.[697]

Next to the government chiefs, there were also occasionally people with the title *dañña* (Amh.: judge, magistrate)[698] invested with land holdings. In Hadiyyisa this Amharic title was transformed into *daanna* (pl. *daannuwwa*). Among the holders of this title there were reportedly elected clan leaders from the pre- abäša period among some Hadiyya groups, e.g. the Shaashoogo, who were entrusted with certain judicial functions.

The abäša rule to appoint certain men of the subjugated groups as *balabbat* signified a serious interference in the egalitarian tribal organisation and fostered the forming of a new land-owning elite class which could only partially rely on a continuity of traditional leadership. In their lack of knowledge of the socio-political conditions, the conquerors often appointed men as government chiefs who had been elected war commanders or councillors, who had led the subjugation negotiations. Such men, however, were commonly not the top members of the "traditional leadership" (in the view of Max WEBER), which was rather represented by spiritual leaders less active in the spheres of politics and warfare. Such dignitaries were, for example, the *anjaanchcho* or the *abbaa gadaa* whose importance for the respective groups henceforth diminished thus entailing far-reaching changes in the socio-political structure of the respective groups.

At the same time, through the new type of chieftaincy created by the abäša administration, a state of latent tension between the "traditional" dignitaries and newly established *balabbat*. In many cases, the importance of the latter soon surpassed that of the representatives of the traditional leadership in public life. The area of tension often caused a duality within the ethnic groups between a government-compliant faction, the adherents of the *balabbat*, and a traditionalist faction, the supporters of the *anjaanchcho*, *abbaa gadaa* or other high officials of the pre- abäša social organization.[699]

The government chief was in fact placed in a decision-making dilemma between the interests of the Christian Ethiopian administration to which he felt bound because he owed his position, his privileges, honorary titles and land-holdings to it. On

696 It was outside my capacity and also my research interest to try to determine an exact number of government chiefs for the whole Arsi area.

697 HABERLAND (1963a: 419) came across him during his research in the 1950s.

698 It existed among the Amhara in the sense of "judge" for minor civil and criminal cases (ULLENDORFF 1967: 186). Obviously, it was introduced to the south with the early phase of the Christian Ethiopian colonisation wave and stayed there among the Gurage and Kambaata in the vicinity of Hadiyya groups.

699 For the more recent period SHACK (1968: 457) exemplified this problem aptly among the western Gurage, particularly the Eaha.

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the other hand, he more or less explicitly preserved an awareness of solidarity with his tribesmen, which, by too great an involvement, threatened his sinecure of prosperity and power. A number of examples – particularly blatant among the Sooro-Hadiyya – reveal that the *balabbat* in regard to their exploitation practices among their own group hardly differed from those of the *mälkäññä* of abäša origin. Vertical social mobility by conforming to the ruling class could go so far that the government chief and his family were the only people within a completely Islamic environment who had converted to Orthodox Christianity.[700] In general, it can be said that through the new political "class" of *balabbat*, the inequality of land tenure in southern Ethiopia intensified, and in a disastrous way a minority within the respective society developed elitist attitudes and behaviour.

Just as the new administration through interventions into the socio-political organisation exacerbated rather than alleviated inherent conflicts, the "*Pax Aethiopica*" was not in a position to effectively curb the inter-ethnic rivalries. For the abäša masters it was mainly a question of preventing violent conflicts, not, however, of removing their causes and historically developed backgrounds at the root, as the old tried and true motto "divide and rule" applied to them just in the same way as to the European colonial powers. Inherent inter-ethnic animosities generally favoured the control over the subjugated people in this "endo-colonialist" system.[701] Moreover, provincial governors could exploit the hereditary hostility of the autochthonous ethnic units for their own benefit in their internal power struggles. When in 1900 the rivalry between *ras* L ᶜul Sägäd from Arussi Province and *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo from Sidamo Province threatened to spark off an open conflict, both ethnic groups sided with their respective governors against the traditional enemies.[702] BalCa understood how to extend the boundaries of his province towards Ar(us)si so that in the northern and north-eastern border areas of Sidaamaland a number of Oromo-speaking groups were subjected to his control.

As far as the relationship with the abäša administration went, those ethnic groups with a predominantly livestock-breeding economic basis were in a worse position in every respect compared to the peasant farmers. As a rule, the conquerors tended to favour the less warlike and better controllable settled peoples.[703] By the order of M nil k the East-Gurage achieved the establishment of the boundary between them and the Libidoo along the old caravan route running from Šäwa to Wälaytta through Buta3ira. The Emperor also sanctioned the territorial expansion of

700 In 1973 I encountered such an example among the clan Haballoosa of the Arsi-Oromo south of Lake Zʷay.

701 The term "endo-colonialism" in Africa (and elsewhere) refers to a type of colonization which is not carried out by imperialist powers from other continents but by political forces of the same continent. A comprehensive and convincing analysis in the field of internal abäša colonialism was provided by GASCON (1995: 81-108).

702 BOURG DE BOZAS 1906: 243.

703 This phenomenon can be observed in the policy of almost all colonial powers with regard to mobile pastoralists until the present. Cf. BRAUKÄMPER 1993: 100, 141, *passim*.

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´T T at the expense of the Libidoo in the territory of Daaloochcha which had started in that area after the *rinderpest* in 1893.[704]

Also between the Baadawwaachcho on the one hand and the Kambaata on the other, a conflict arose over the expansion of their tribal boundaries as well as the borders of the *balabbat* districts. Initially, at the beginning of the 19th century *dä azma* Täsämma Darge and *dä azma* Bäšah Abboyye had marked out the boundaries. Mooliso and Bargano, grandson and great-grandson of the last Kambaata King Dilbato understood, however, by bribing *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw how to achieve an extension of their chieftaincy by acquiring a number of districts (Qacabiira amongst others) situated between Mt. Ambarichcho and the Wälaytta boundary, and towards the west they obtained a tract of Sooro land up to the Maarduunsho and Saanna rivers.

The former King Xona, who was appointed *balabbat* of Wälaytta – as reported in the oral traditions[705] – paid a hundred male slaves and a hundred females to *ras* Abatä so that a boundary to Baadawwaachcho became established in the way it is today.

Like the East-Gurage, the Zay, the inhabitants of the Lake Z^{w}ay islands practicing a type of intensive agriculture, were favoured and supported by the abäša authority which induced them to expand their settlement areas into the pasturelands of the semi-nomadic Arsi. They obtained from M nil k 25 *gaša* of land of the Weege clan on the western shore of the lake and received a number of oxen for ploughing as a gift to start up.

3.7.2 Cultural Changes Following abäša Colonisation

The subjugation by the Ethiopian Empire not only signified for the Hadiyya people the end of their autonomy, but also brought with it as a consequence far-reaching cultural changes in all spheres of life. Next to the socio-political structure, also the economic, technological, religious and psychological conditions were, to a greater or lesser extent, altered by the changeover of power.

The significance of the establishment of the *kätäma* settlements in this process has already been gone into in detail. The founding of administrative centres accompanied by markets of sometimes supra-regional importance resulted in a considerably increased exchange of goods in territories hitherto barely developed commercially. The establishment of "*Pax Aethiopica*" favoured trans-regional trading relations. Muslim traders starting out from Addis Abäba began to frequent the trade routes via the territories of the Gurage and the Hadiyya towards the south. The quantity of goods exchanged between the metropolis and southern Ethiopia multiplied rapidly since coffee had been discovered as an export article in the provinces of Kämbata, Arussi, Wolamo and Sidamo.[706] The trade along the east-west traffic

704 For further details see the data documented by BUSTORF (2011: 288ff.).
705 It was recorded, for example, by HABERLAND (personal communication 1970).
706 Already in 1890 *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis Abboyye and *dä azma* Täsämma Nädaw established

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axis running from the Lake Region to Bale also profited, where Ginnir could develop its significance as a trans-shipment centre. As return cargo the salt caravans also started taking coffee which was then traded further to Harär.[707] A large proportion of the export products of central-southern Ethiopia, especially ivory, went via Lugh located at the middle Wabi Šäbälle to the Somali Coast.[708] The eastern Arsi remembered the first decades after abäša conquest as a "time of iron tools" as the coveted metal devices from Šäwa and the Harär territory were more easily available than ever before.

Regarding the infrastructure, initially nothing changed fundamentally. The old mule tracks were still used as laid out caravan routes. However, under *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw communication was modernised through a telegraph line which went from Addis Abäba through the Kämbata Province in the direction of Wälaytta (Wolamo).[709]

The seven-day market week and the abäša calendar increasingly replaced the old market cycle consisting of four or eight days. The Maria Theresa thaler gained acceptance as the trans-regional monetary unit. Simultaneously, however, the autochthonous monetary units like the *mar o* iron money or cotton clothes still kept their use and validity for a rather long time.

Also in regard to technology a change loomed which exerted an impact upon the primary production sector, namely agriculture. Even though the *näf äññä* went to no great trouble to instruct the local people how to use the plough, as they were in principle indifferent to the method of cultivation by which the natural products demanded from them were obtained, yet this rational agrarian instrument nevertheless became increasingly established in the first decades of abäša occupation. In the lowland zones during the transition from semi-nomadic livestock-rearing to agricultural cultivation, the plough became the predominant instrument, whereas in the *Wäyna Däga* and *Däga* areas between the Omo and the Bilate the digging-stick retained its place of importance until the late 20th century. Throughout the Hadiyya territories even the Amharic name for plough, *maräša*, was adopted for the device. The manufacture of the plough-tree, plough handle and oxen yoke required hardly any specialised skills and the iron plough shares were mostly imported from 5 imma where iron technology was highly advanced and the devices fabricated there were considered superior to those produced in northern Ethiopia.[710]

The introduction of the plough was a fundamental innovation but also the only significant one in sphere of agriculture. Most of the other items of equipment were retained either unchanged or constructed using local means to eventually meet the

monopolies for the export of coffee from south-western Ethiopia, particularly 5 imma (ROSENFELD 1976: 158).

707 CITERNI 1913: 81.

708 REIN (1918/20, II: 10) estimated the trade volume between Ginnir and Lugh in 1911 at 36,000 Mark in exports and 140,000 Mark in imports. Cf. also PANKHURST 1964/65, II: 40ff.

709 DE CASTRO 1908: 8; REIN 1918/20, II: 246.

710 This was concordantly asserted by Hadiyya, Kambaata and Arsi informants.

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changing needs. The predominantly livestock-breeding Hadiyya, like the Baadawwaachcho for example, had prior to the abäša period stored the traded grain in sacks made out of the skin of goats or calves. For the larger harvested quantities that arose after the transition to agriculture, the repositories (*gootara*) were either made out of sorghum stalks or voluminous baskets were used, as was customary among the peasant groups. The north Ethiopian settlers for their part adopted a lot of the equipment already in use by the autochthones.

As for the household effects, like stools, benches, coffeepots and equipment for alcohol preparation, the abäša influence on the subjugated people in the field of material culture was extensive. Next to coffee and alcoholic drinks (cf. below) the same was also true of certain foodstuffs and cooking methods: the Hadiyya began to bake flat bread (*n ära*) and to eat chicken, eggs and raw meat, as customarily done by the Amhara and other ethnic groups of northern Ethiopia.

More important for economic life was the introduction of hitherto unknown or at least uncultivated crops which in part were stimulated by the tribute demands of the *näf äññä*. As ef (*Eragrostis tef*), a short variety of millet, was the one most valued out of all the grain-sorts, pressure was exerted on the inhabitants of the *Dar agär* to adopt the cultivation of it. ef cultivation started at first in Gurage and Leemo and spread from there southward throughout the Hadiyya territories as far as Sidamo and Gamu-Gofa. Up to the 1920s only the variety of red tef, called *kashara xafe'e* by the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho and *bisha xafa* by the Qabeena, was introduced from which *n ära* or flat bread loaves (*qorosho'o*) and porridge (*mooqqa*; Amh. gänfo) was prepared. Nearly all the legumes, e.g. the horse bean, designated with the Amharic name *bäqälä*, and a small type of pea (Amh. *c t*) trace back to the conquerors. Also encouraged was the cultivation of the oil plant *nug* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) and flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) whose Amharic name *älba* was adopted in all Hadiyya languages and from which the seeds were used as an ingredient for the fabrication of a drink and as a pain-relieving remedy. Whereas the onion together with its Amharic name *ent* was adopted quickly, the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), known in Hadiyyisa under the name *gojja'm dinnichcho,* only spread slowly and was not yet found in all territories in the 1970s. Among those plants which trace back to abäša colonisation, *gešo* (*Rhamnus prinoides*), needed for alcohol preparation, and red pepper[711] have gained a particular importance. *Qat* was planted among the non-Islamic groups (as is the case still today) only in small amounts mostly for sale to the Muslims, to whom the consumption of this stimulant has almost become a ritual practice. Its cultivation did not trace directly back to the Amhara but was stimulated by the intensified contacts between East-Gurage and the Cärcär territory. The cultivation of cotton was introduced to a limited extent by the Qabeena in some lowland areas of the upper Gibe. Simultaneously, the processing of the raw material for clothes was adopted. Before this time, solely woven fabrics had

711 Usually, the Amharic name *berbere* is used all over Ethiopia. Other languages have sometimes created slightly different versions such as *barbaro'o* in Hadiyyisa.

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been purchased from 5 imma and Wälaytta. Among the local high officials within a short time the traditional costume of the Šäwa-Amhara began to spread.[712] Shortly after 1900, during the rule of *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw, afforestation of eucalyptus, a species of trees which had just been imported from Australia to Addis Abäba, was started in Kämbata Province. Initially, the groves were confined to the proximity of the abäša inhabited *kätäma* settlements. As a result of an increasing population density and of deforestation of the natural vegetation, the rapidly-growing trees then became prevalent in most areas inhabited by Hadiyya.

Only in exceptional cases, as with ef and the horse bean, the naturalisation of these newly introduced plants was accomplished within a time period of a few years provided the territory was suited for their cultivation. Frequently, the process took decades for the respective cultivated plant to become firmly established in the agriculture of southern Ethiopian peoples.[713]

Cattle-breeding largely stagnated as the arbitrariness of the abäša conquerors had made the indigenous people feel insecure in this economic sector, and after the large-scale *rinderpest*, smaller epidemics occasionally troubled some of the lowland territories.[714] Mules were kept by the Hadiyya peoples to a larger extent but only after the occupation by the Ethiopian Empire. However, around 1910 they were twice as expensive as horses and, as already mentioned earlier, they were usually reserved as mounts of high prestige (until the 1950s) for the "Abyssinians" and some local *balabbat*.[715]

Less far-reaching than in the economic sphere yet visible in its consequences was the change that took place in the religious sphere. It was in the nature of things that the Orthodox Christian Church of Ethiopia did not over time remain limited only to the conquerors from the north. As a cultural system *par excellence* it not only exerted a deep impact upon the life of its followers but because of its status as an institution closely connected with the power of the state, endowed with considerable property rights and fascinating due to the glamour of its ritual practices, it also became highly attractive to the autochthonous population. It thus more or less automatically acted as a medium for the dissemination of Christian Ethiopian culture. Although the Orthodox Church thus became one of the mainstays of abäša colonisation in southern Ethiopia, it hardly accomplished any organised mission campaign up to the time of the "Ethiopian Restoration" after the Italian occupation. The psychological reason for this fact must be sought in the Christian conquerors'

712 In this field PANKHURST (1968a: 263ff.) has provided a comprehensive analysis.

713 This was the case, for example, with the Irish potato. On the other hand, as I could observe in Hadiyya *Zone* in the 1990s, a considerable number of vegetable and fruit species had been introduced in central-southern Ethiopia which hardly existed there before, such as different types of cabbage, cauliflower, mangoes, papayas, avocados.

714 PANKHURST (1968a: 220) pointed to an eye-witness report of such an event by MAYDON dated 1925 which was not available to me.

715 REIN 1918/20, II: 330, 331 f., 340. In Addis Abäba, the price for a mule amounted to around 50-60 Mark in those days.

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understanding of themselves as a chosen privileged people who saw their religion as an instrument of power with regard to the subjugated. As HABERLAND assumed, in the epoch of medieval colonisation the missionary endeavour of the Christian Empire had evidently been much more fervent than in the period of modern imperialism:

> "A decisive impulse for this immense physical effort was the Ethiopians' aspiration to be the regulatory power over that part of the earth assigned to them by God, and faithfully according to the word of the gospel carry the light of Christianity into the darkness of paganism".[716]

Now, when the political and cultural conditions were different, a conversion of the indigenous people was of no basic interest to the abäša whose leadership role could best be safeguarded when their position of power also monopolised the religious-spiritual sphere. Consequently, they were reluctant to let the subjugated groups have access to Christianity as a possible means of vertical social mobility. When, however, the number of Christians rose steadily – sometimes only religious emblems like the Christian cord (*matäb*) around the throat was copied by the indigenous people [717] – it was due to the desire on the part of the subjugated themselves to convert to the new religion for the sake of improving their socio-economic position. It seemed natural that those people of the south who were reduced to the status of bondsmen, despite the hatred which they felt towards their masters, sought in the latter's religion a key to a culturally new orientation and to social advancement. Although the abäša were not eager to favour this process, they could not work in favour of a complete denial of Christian missionary ideals. Thus, a deliberate conversion policy was not the goal; rather Christianity encouraged emulation and the subjugated population's own initiative to adopt the new faith.[718] Christian priests in the Asälla area indeed reported a Christianising campaign which the Orthodox metropolitan (*abunä*) is said to have already carried out in the early period of *ras* Darge's occupation of Arsiland. However, in central-southern Ethiopia it was hardly a representative action, and moreover was a failure.[719]

Wherever a major *kätäma* was founded in the conquered territory a church was built in the characteristic rotunda form as is customary for the Ethiopian Orthodox churches still today. It was preferred to construct them in prominent places like

716 HABERLAND 1964b: 116 (our translation from German).

717 This was emphasised in various ways by informants. For the meaning and importance of the *matäb* see REIN 1918/20, I: 409f.

718 A similar phenomenon can be cited of the Islamzation of Adamawa in the 19th century whereby the Fulbe appeared as a diffusion medium. I have dealt with this in another study (BRAUKÄMPER 1970).

719 During a new missionary campaign in the 1950s which was executed by the *abunä* Bas lyos (cf. BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 159 f., 163), the Christian Ethiopians are supposed to have blamed the poor steadfastness of the Arsi to Christianity. For them the name "Arussi" became synonymous with "less steadfast".

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hilltops, occasionally also in localities which had a spiritual importance for the autochthones or where, according to historical traditions and findings, a church of the medieval phase of Christian expansion had been. The latter, for example, was said to have been the case at Mt. Ambarichcho in Kämbata and Tulluu Kichchi near Asälla. In both places churches of Holy Mary (Maryam) were reported to have existed before the 17th century. The altar tablets *(tabot*) of the newly founded churches in the south were mostly brought from Šäwa and also most of the priests and deacons originated from there. The first church in the territory of the later Kämbata Province during the modern period of colonization is said to have been founded in 1891 by *dä azma* Wäda33o Gobäna in the area of Mt. Ambarichcho. The *tabot Maryam* from the Mänz region obtained a new site in Hossäyna after *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw had relocated the seat of administration there (cf. p. 289).

According to information provided by the church administration of Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* in the early 1970s, 18 churches were established there between 1891 and 1909, 16 others were founded up to 1941 and 20 after that date.[720] The relatively large number of 54 reflects the fact that the Orthodox Christianity between the rivers Omo and Bilate was comparatively advanced. However, most of its adherents were of *näf äñña* origin.

The conversion of the indigenous people to Christianity began with the socio-political elite, i.e., with the *balabbat*. These officials appointed by the abäša administration to liaise with the indigenous population believed from the beginning that it was the best way to conform to the ruling ethnic class by adopting their religion. This was similar to the Hadiyya who had fought on the side of the Christian Ethiopians against other peoples of the south and who were then themselves endowed with *näf äñña* property rights and holdings. In contrast to the settlement areas of the Arsi, a considerable proportion of the population in Kämbata Province converted to Orthodox Christianity, although the actual breakthrough ensued only from the 1930s onwards.[721] The difference can be explained in effect by the diverse ecological and cultural conditions. After 1900, the transition to an intensive agriculture in the densely populated highland zones west of the Rift Valley proceeded rapidly and vegetarian food therefore predominated significantly over foodstuff derived from animals. Among the Arsi west of the Urgooma and Wärrä Lukko ranges, animal husbandry remained, however, paramount. The religious dietary laws of the Orthodox Church relate to the consumption of meat, milk, blood and eggs and thus chiefly converge with the way of life of livestock-keepers. More drastic than in most other regions, the fasting and abstinence command of Ethiopian Christianity represented a heavy burden for the provision of dietary protein. Due to a religious interdict for about 150 days in the year prohibiting the consumption of every kind of

720 I obtained these facts from the church registry in Hossäyna (Waachchamo). Relevant information about the number and the foundation dates of Orthodox churches in different parts Ethiopia were provided by STITZ (1975: 12 ff.) and HAMMERSCHMIDT (1967: 125).

721 This can be derived from the oral traditions as well as from the analysis of genealogical materials.

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non-vegetarian sustenance, this confession was virtually unacceptable for a people whose economy is based on livestock-breeding.[722]

Also the cultural traditions and the agents and conditions of diffusion and mutual influences differed from region to region. The Hadiyya west of the Bilate lived in the vicinity of formerly Christian ethnic groups like the Kambaata, ndägañ-Gurage and Boša, who had preserved strong relics of the old religion. The eastern Arsi-Oromo had been subject to the ongoing Islamic influence from the Harär-Somali region, and among their western tribesmen the *gadaa* system proved to be an exceptionally strong and persistent force. In Arsiland, Orthodox Christianity has therefore never been able to establish itself on a grand scale, whereas Islamization achieved a breakthrough since the 1930s.

From the late 1920s onwards European missions began their activities in central-southern Ethiopia (cf. chap. 3.7.4). Roman-Catholic missionaries, who had already established themselves in Cärcär region at the end of the 19th century, had not been very effective even though Emperor M nil k had valued and promoted the occidental missions as a modernisation factor in the conquered territories.[723]

The loss of political independence and the cultural change caused by abäša occupation also did not leave the mentality and the ethic concepts of the subjugated people untouched. The Hadiyya, who were mostly used to egalitarian societal conditions, had a new markedly hierarchic system imposed on them. This demanded absolute subservience to the new masters and created obligations of obedience to authority which had not been known before. The former attitude of striving for individual freedom and status through personal achievement and "meritorious" deeds, which had been highly valued among the Hadiyya, is said to have made way for an increasingly submissive bearing. In the place of moral courage and warlike bravery – as mentioned by many informants wistfully – a sense of conformity and hypocrisy gained ground. A consistent latent hatred prevailed against the new masters and hardly less against the indigenous officials commissioned by them. Revealingly, in Hadiyyisa the *dk̓qa-šum*, village and district chiefs were designated as *murichcho* (pl. *muranna*) which meant something like "divider" or "trouble-maker", a term related to their presumed and actual spying activities in the service of the abäša authorities.

In a summarised assessment of Christian Ethiopian colonialism under M nil k II, it must be stated that the destructive factors, the shattering of the old social order and the establishment of a class society based on ethnic belonging and a system of economic inequality and exploitation dominated. Positive factors may, however, not

722 This is apparent among the Arsi and Boorana (BRAUKÄMPER 1975: 98 f.; 2004: 177f.), whereas among the agricultural Sidaama, according to our observations, Orthodox Christianity gained ground considerably. I have dealt with the relevance of dietary rules for religion also in other contexts (BRAUKÄMPER 1984: 429ff.; 2004: 162f.).

723 See, for example, MARTIAL DE SALVIAC 1900: 66. Although the ban on Roman-Catholic missions in Cärcär (cf. chap. 3.6.2) was only a temporary measure, they have obviously never gained a noteworthy importance.

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be neglected. Through the enforced "*Pax Aethiopica*" tribal conflicts and killing raids were notably reduced, which fostered a considerable increase in the population.[724] The conquest of the south by the Christian Empire in some respects worked towards a development in terms of a dynamic cultural change. The abäša facilitated integration into a greater political entity, namely the Ethiopian state. They introduced economic and technical innovations, although not decidedly conscious or by intentional strategies, and enabled an increasing number of people to utilise these benefits. In terms of this blanket assessment, the character of colonialism of the Christian Ethiopian Empire did not differentiate intrinsically from that of the European one in Africa.

3.7.3 Civil War Turmoil in the Time of Iyasu Mika'el (1913-17)

In 1908 the state of Emperor M nil k's health after a stroke had deteriorated to such an extent that he could no longer fully execute government duties. He appointed (Prince) Iyasu, the son of his daughter Šäwarägga and the Wällo Governor *än* Mika'el ᶜAli, as his successor and entrusted *ras* Täsämma Nädaw with guardianship of the under-aged Prince.[725] M nil k, from 1910 up to his death on December 12th 1913, was no longer capable of controlling the authority of the state which resulted in a weakening of centralisation in favour of the governors in the provinces. After the weak regency of Täsämma (1908-11), the rivalries between the supporters and the opponents of M nil k's designated successor Iyasu provoked them into an open power struggle in 1912/13,[726] which led to a civil war with heavy losses.

Iyasu Mika'el was suspected, not without good reason, of blatantly sympathising with Islam[727] leaving a large proportion of the Christian Ethiopians to face him with grave misgivings. The leaders of the opposition were the governors and commanders of the southern provinces with *ras* Täfäri Mäkʷänn n, the later Emper- , g M T ´T´T V . , VT , , . , V T´ , , . .V , lence the evident opposition, Iyasu had deposed the Sidamo-Governor *dä azmma* BalCa Mfo from his position and, probably in 1914,[728] *ras* L ᶜul Sägäd was replaced by *dä azmma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el in Kämbata.[729] The downfall of the young monarch Iyasu was, however, unstoppable, and in October 1916 his opponents sought a mili-

724 An estimation, the value of which is not to be considered highly, however, put the number of Oromo-speaking groups in 1910 at 4-5 million and the "Gurage", who were to a large extent of Hadiyya descent, at 350,000 (MÉRAB 1921: 333f.).

725 MARCUS 1970: 571 ff., 589; MARCUS 1975: 241; HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 5, *passim*.

726 For an analysis in secondary literature see MARCUS 1975: 254ff.

727 STEFFANSON/STARRETT 1976: 113. Iyasu obviously showed sympathy for the Turks and the Germans in World War I.

728 This is able to be classified on account of the approximate dates given by the informants on governors' periods in office. Regarding BalCa Mfo, see BAIRU TAFLA 1969: 17f.

729 MARCUS 1975: 268. It was not possible for this author to determine the exact dates in years from the documents.

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tary decision. On the 27th October his supporters, mainly recruited from the troops of Wällo province led by *än* Mika'el ᶜAli, were decisively defeated by the superior army of the rebels in the district of Sägäle, about 20 kilometres south of Däbrä B rhan in Šäwa.[730] The imprisonment of Iyasu and the enthronement of M nil k's daughter Zäwditu in the course of the year 1916/17 put an end to this turbulent chapter of Ethiopian history.

Although the civil war which mainly took place on Šäwan territory did not directly affect the peoples of the south, its collateral consequences were nevertheless considerable. As a result of the southern governors' moving to Šäwa with a great proportion of the troops stationed in the provinces of the *Dar agär*, they had temporarily left behind a military vacuum. According to GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ, around 8,000 men from Kämbata under the then governor *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el and the same number of soldiers from Bale had taken part in the decisive battle of Sägäle.[731] As stated in the reports of different informants, they were reinforced by contingents led to Šäwa by *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis from Qabeena and Gurage, by *fitawrari* Fayissa, a brother of *dä azma* BalCa, from Sidamo, by *ras* Käbbädä from Arussi and by *dä azma* V M TR, ´T T , g . ´T VT, R ´T g opponents, approximately 20,000 men are said to have fallen in battle.[732]

Many of the indigenous ethnic groups in the southern provinces seized the opportunity to revolt against their oppressors and to undertake raids into neighbouring territories of hereditary enemies. Arnold HODSON, who travelled through southern Ethiopia in 1916, reported on the insurgent behaviour of the Arsi north of the upper Wabi Šäbälle and spoke of a general insecurity of the trade routes.[733] In the middle of the same year, he met *dä azma* Nädaw who by then still resided as governor in Ginnir, the capital of Bale.[734] According to the oral traditions he left immediately afterwards with his troops in the direction of the Awaš river.[735] After the withdrawal of the majority of the troops from Bale, an insurrection broke out in the province which was directed against the *näf äññä* who had remained behind. In the oral traditions it was remembered under the name Shibrii Magalloo, the "turmoil of Magalloo". The abäša are said to have succeeded with contingents of troops from Gololcha under *fitawrari* Täklä and from Gobba under *fitawrari* Tä3änna to crush

730 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ (1930/31, II: 630) named the 27.10.1916 as the date. Cf. also HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 55; DE MONFREID 1936: 171-80. The year of the battle of Sägäle proved to be a very valuable chronological support for dating events reported by the informants in southern Ethiopia.

731 GUÈBRÈ SELLASSIÉ 1930/31, II: 630. In 1915, according to HODSON (1927: 26), *dä gazma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el was still in Kämbata.

732 STEFFANSON/STARRETT 1976: 118.

733 HODSON 1927: 91, 100. The same author (HODSON 1927: 216, 244, 262) used the Arsi name "Kasse" for the Hadiyya territories at the Bilate River.

734 HODSON 1927: 93.

735 HODSON (1927: 132) met him later in Addis Abäba.

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the rebellion. Northern Arsiland, where *ras* w ZZ V T VIV P, T., . á , , and the Somali territory were also convulsed by revolts.[736]

Even more far-reaching was the conflagration of the old inter-ethnic conflicts which had been painstakingly suppressed by Ethiopian sovereignty. In the north, the Arsi feuded with the Jiille and in the south with their arch-enemies, the Sidaama. The Oromo, led by Buttaa Teesee (Woshermina) and other *abbaa dulaa,* could chalk up successes at the beginning but then had to give up their old boundary at Marsagadabbe south of Lake Awasa and leave a bigger territory extending right up to the northern shore of the lake to the Sidaama.[737]

In the territory west of Lake Z[w]ay, tensions arose between the Arsi and the neighbouring Libidoo, which were settled quickly, however, because at the same T ´T T invaded the land of the Libidoo, under whose *balabbat* Miseebo Burqaamo they had hitherto been partly answerable to. Moreover, warriors of the Gogot Federation of the East-Gurage started penetrating far towards Arsi and pillaged several homesteads. According to the Libidoo, *ras* KaKa aylu was ordered to arbitrate the dispute, but openly came in on the side of the East-Gurage to whom he felt ´TV RT , . á´T , P, RP´ T . g T TV R, T Z P and Mäsqan are said to have occupied expansive tracts of land of the eastward retreating Libidoo with the backing of the abäša administration. KaKa, himself as *balabbat* . T ´, ´ V T . ce called Goto, was awarded extensive landholdings on which members of this tribe could henceforth settle as his *gäbbar*. For a second time within a quarter of a century, the ethnic-territorial situation of this area changed to the disadvantage of the Libidoo.

The Allaaba did not belong to the Gogot Federation but were associated in a friendly way and pursued a similar objective: the expansion of their dwelling-areas into the sparsely populated lowlands of the Lake Region to the east. These territories had hitherto almost exclusively been utilised as pasture ground, but they were also suitable for cultivation. Evidently, the Allaaba were the ones who triggered off the hostilities. Their *balabbat*, *fitawrari* Bushira Ali Hindi, ordered cattle to be confiscated at Makdoola south of Qolito which had been driven to the Bilate river in accordance with the old customary law of watering the animals. The Arsi, who incurred the damage, seized their weapons in order to win back their possessions. However, the Allaaba had secured the support of abäša *näf äñña* and pushed their opponents back up to Aashe in the east. Even though the Arsi had received reinforcements from their kinsmen from the highlands east of the Rift Valley – the *abbaa dulaa* Tukee Mamaa (Adaree), Jiillo Dabbakaa (Adaree) and Biceessa Jiillo (Liyyee) took action and led contingents from Muneessa, Gädäb and Shirka into the area of conflict – the Allaaba succeeded in advancing into the Lake Z[w]ay territory and in capturing a large quantity of livestock. To arbitrate the conflict the *i än*

736 E.g., the Somali of Boluburti are said to have been instigated to revolt through partisans of *Le* Iyasu (BARAVELLI 1936: 36).

737 Orally recorded information related by Arsi and Sidaama informants in 1973 and 1974.

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Aragay was despatched as the delegate of the Ethiopian government. He ordered the contesting parties to come to Daaloochcha in present-V g T T , g . V T. - forced a cessation of hostilities. An officer named Mäk^{w}änn n from Šäwa was appointed temporarily in Libidoo and later continued his campaign of pacification in Arsiland.[738]

In 1917, after the final defeat of Iyasu, the troops that had been called out from the south returned to their garrisons so that the abäša could resume effective military control. The conclusion of peace favoured apart from the Gurage above all the Allaaba who obtained the right of ownership of the districts Kobo, Dabaasso, Kuluqo, Barao, Iato, Toorra and Wonte which had been evacuated by the Arsi and thus could extend their dwelling-areas up to Lake Shaala. The Shaashoogo had successfully repelled the Allaaba attacks and could hold their territory undiminished. Mutual raids between the two groups continued for years.

While the Allaaba were victorious in the east, they had to accept defeats and territorial losses in the south-west. According to the oral traditions of the Baadawwaachcho, the Allaaba were the aggressor whose leader Boor had provoked them by raids. They then led a counterattack and within a short time expelled the Allaaba living west of the Bilate who were forced to seek refuge among their eastern kinsmen. Although the Baadawwaachcho did not apparently cross the river, the Allaaba felt so threatened in the area around Qolito that they retreated in the direction of Saankura. Only three years later when the area was long since subject to abäša control, they tentatively risked going back to Keranso, one of the districts west of Bilate which they had formerly lived in.[739]

That the Baadawwaachcho did not initiate the hostilities on the Allaaba boundary appears plausible as after the withdrawal of the Christian Ethiopian garrisons a war against their powerful arch-enemy in the south, the Wälaytta, broke out. The Hadiyya are said to have advanced as far as the territory of Boditte and the inhabitants there are supposed to have fled southwards to the region of Mt. Daamoota. In a counterattack the Wälaytta pushed their opponents back and occupied Qorga in the Bilate valley.

At the beginning of 1917, the unrest, uprisings and tribal wars had reached such a huge dimension in the southern Lake Region that *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde, Minister of War of the Ethiopian Empire, was induced to personally intervene.[740] There were indications of a difference in the treatment of the autochthones depending on their attitude to the abäša authority: the groups friendly to the government who had mostly collaborated with the *näf äñña* in the civil war included the Gurage, Allaaba and Wälaytta whereas the Arsi, Baadawwaachcho and Sidaama

738 Information provided by ᶜUthmdn Sixamo, Faaqiro Farde and Ochorro Xubbe.

739 Information provided by Namana Dilliso, ᶜUthmdn Sixamo and Ibrdhim Affuuso.

740 This originates from the manuscript "*Journal de la Station de S^{te} Thérèse de l'Enfant Jésus au Kambata*" (n.d.: 31a). Dr. Aleme Eshete in Addis Abäba courteously granted me permission to look at this document. In 1917, also *dä azma* BalCa Mfo went through the territories of Hadiyya groups on the way to Sidamo (HODSON 1927: 120).

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were considered to be stubborn and irreconcilable opponents of Ethiopian state power.

In principle, the imperial Ethiopian administration endeavoured to restore the territorial *status quo* as it had been before the outbreak of the conflicts. That is why, for example, the Wälaytta had to evacuate the conquered Qorga territory, and the Baadawwaachcho the districts snatched from the Allaaba, who reoccupied them only to a small extent, however. Territorial gains, not only in the case of the East-Gurage and Allaaba but also by the Sidaama, were basically accepted as an accomplished fact. The actions of the Ethiopian State to restore order in this part of the country were protracted up until 1919. The draconian measures Habtä Giyorgis, who is said to have resided for some time in Shonee, employed to enforce peace and subservience are illustrated in a Baadawwaachcho tradition of that period.

> The government chiefs of the Baadawwaachcho, *qäññazma* Dikammo [Haballo] and *qäññazma* Hirbooro [Sha'amanna] were arrested as ringleaders of the revolts. They were brought in chains to Addis Abäba where they were incarcerated for a time. In every homestead five or ten abäša soldiers were accommodated for whose board the owners were responsible. They had orders to spare the cattle but to take advantage of the small livestock. The Baadawwaachcho had to exasperatingly witness how their property was disposed of. To hinder raids and highway robbery, Habtä Giyorgis ordered the dense bush around the Bilate crossover at Qolito to be cleared. Shortly before his arrival, the Baadawwaachcho had killed an Arab trader and three Amhara. In case they broke the peace and raided their neighbours, they were threatened with a fine of a thousand head of cattle and a Maria Theresa thaler per family. In addition, by defying this order every household head had to pay one-fifth of a thaler per week.
>
> (According to Namana Dilliso).

The camps in which the population of a district were detained in the event of a murder or manslaughter in order to force people to specify the perpetrator were instituted more often than ever before at this time.[741] Around 1920 any open resistance whatsoever was quelled, but such measures understandably did not create a sense of confidence and loyalty towards the authority of the state.

Cultural and administrative transformations during the period of government of Iyasu largely took a back seat compared to the politico-military events. The Arsi in the Muneessa region reported that they began practicing agriculture, especially the cultivation of wheat, shortly after the battle of Sägäle (October 1916). In Albaaso, Islam won an increasing number of adherents.[742] Around this time, through

741 Observations regarding such a camp by HODSON (1927: 26) dated in the year 1916. Hadiyya informants confirmed that such measures were regularly practiced by Ethiopian authorities.

742 HODSON 1927: 91. This was likewise confirmed by the oral traditions and the genealogies documented in that region.

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the mediation of the Leemo or Wälaytta respectively, the Baadawwaachcho and Allaaba adopted the plough. They were accustomed to importing the iron parts from 5 imma-Oromo blacksmiths up until the 1940s when the Amharic type of plough became accepted. Around 1915, blacksmiths originally from Aymälläl (Soddo-Gurage) settled in Gädäb, and Arsi informants could remember the name of the first craftsman who took up residence among the Weege clan in Dare. Also the export of horses, for which parts of Arsiland have been renowned even as far as Šäwa, is said to have begun at this time. In those days, up to fifty Maria Theresa thalers were paid for good riding horses. The salt caravans from Bale and their still brisk activities were explicitly referred to. According to information that can be derived from oral traditions, the prices had remained largely stable from the end of the 19th century. For a horse-load of salt four to six woven capes (*buluko*) were paid in exchange; a *buluko* corresponded to the equivalent of four pieces of iron money (*mar a*).[743]

Some notes about land ownership in the Kämbata Province were put down in a registry for the year 1914/15 which gives at least an approximate insight into the demographic situation.[744] Accordingly, 3,442 *gaša* were in the possession of *näf äññä*, 1,156 were allocated to the local *balabbat* and 273 to the Orthodox Church. Larger tracts of land were also acquired by the Emperor and some of his close friends. Altogether 13,820 *gäbbar* were registered. This number does of course not differentiate according to ethnic criteria, but it includes people of Hadiyya descent as well as Kambaata and Gurage. If one assumes that every *gäbbar* family consisted of six persons, the number of people in the province – to the exclusion of the undocumented nomads – may amount to roughly 83,000.[745] As approximate as these figures may have been estimated, one can conclude that already in those days a relatively high population density existed in the territories encompassed in the province between the Omo and the Lake Region. The human losses during the civil war epoch were with some certainty not very great, and the period of peace, which was established at the beginning of the 1920s, favoured a considerable increase in the population.

3.7.4 From the End of the Ethiopian Civil War to the Italian Invasion (1917-35)

The turmoil of the civil war ended in some parts of central-southern Ethiopia admittedly only around 1920, but the situation began to consolidate steadily after the , , . , . , Rs . V P´ T E V . ´ gT T CC , . of *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw, was appointed Governor of Kämbata Province which he administered until his promotion as Minister of the Interior of the Ethiopian Empire in

743 Information from oral traditions in the respective areas.

744 The register was from *näggadras* Gäbr yy s (pp. 147 ff.). I owe thanks to Haile Bubbamo Arficio for information concerning that historical register.

745 I doubt, however, that all residents were included in the census, so that conclusions about the overall demographic situation must be accepted with great reservation.

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1926.[746] His successor was Mäšäša Wäldä, father-in-law of B rru, the son of Wäldä Gäbr 'el.[747] Evidently Mäšäša preferred to stay most of the time in Addis Abäba[748] which was certainly not very conducive to the efficiency of his administration. The Kämbata Province was still considered a particularly notorious land due to the hostile and rebellious attitude of its inhabitants.[749] The military presence of the abäša government was thus considerable. The Italian traveller CIRAVEGNA (n.d.: 137) observed, for example, around 1927 an army platoon of about 5-6,000 Ethiopian soldiers who were moving through the plains of Kämbata – according to the description, this area can most probably be identified as the territory of Allaaba and Baadawwaachcho – and these men had to be provided with meals prepared by the local women.

The Arsi Province was under the control of *dä azma* V V(, . the 1920s, whose representative *fitawrari* Täsämma accompanied the Italian expedition of Savoia-Aosta/Cerulli (1928) up to the Wabi Šäbälle, the river boundary to Bale.[750] The sub-governor, *fitawrari* Wäldä Mika'el, resided in Kofale, a place reinforced with a palisade, where Aza s (AZAÏS/CHAMBARD 1931: 215) met him in 1926. Dodola, situated south of the Wabi Šäbälle in the part of Gädäb land that belonged to Bale Province, was primarily a *kätäma* inhabited soldiers of the Christian Empire.[751]

The Bale administrator *ras* Nädaw received a new governorship in Illubabor after the battle of Sägäle. The terms of office of governors who came after him can be dated approximately based on information which I was able to collect from various *näf äññä* in the region of Gobba. This list is as follows: *ligaba* Bäyyänä Abba Säbsäbe (c. 1916-18), *fitawrari* Wäldä Gäbr 'el (c. 1918-20), *dä azma* aylä M T ' -32), whose delegate received the expedition of Savoia-Aosta and Cerulli in 1928,[752] *dä azma* Näsibu (c. 1932-33) and *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d (c. 1933-36), who led the troops of his province against the Italian invaders.

Obviously, nothing substantial changed in the administrative divisions in southern Ethiopia in the 1920s and the first half of the 1930s. After the coronation of g M T (1930), certain efforts were made to standardize the heterogeneous

746 Personal communication from BAIRU TAFLA. The father of *ras* GetaCäw, *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw, died in 1917. Around this time *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis Dinagde was recalled from his long-standing governorship and served henceforth as adviser to the Empress Zäwditu (BAIRU TAFLA 1968: 127).

747 SAN MARZANO (1935:216), who travelled in central-southern Ethiopia in 1929, mentioned him as Governor of Kämbata Province, which was confirmed by the reports of missionaries travelling in that region 1928/29 (DAVIS 1972: 28, 30; JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE S^{TE} THÉRÈSE n.d.: 5a). He was still in office when the Italian invasion began in 1935.

748 CIRAVEGNA n.d.: 128. The information by this author is based on a journey 1926-28.

749 CIRAVEGNA n.d.: 127f.

750 SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932: 34.

751 SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932: 56.

752 SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932: 39. *Dä azma* g M T T. , . TV Zg HODSON (1927: 259) as governor of Bale in 1921.

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tax system of the country,[753] which did not have an evident influence on the situation of the *gäbbar* people in the conquered territories. The internal Ethiopian customs facilities were answerable to the Ministry of Trade in Addis Abäba. The facilities in T gray, Lasta and, for example also the estates of *ras* KaKa aylu, which amounted , . T . T . V u Z V, , to over 120 *gaša*, were left under the control of the respective governors and landlords, however.[754]

During the period of rule of Empress Zäwditu from 1917 until her death in 1930, the *gäbbar* system was reinforced and expansive tracts of land were again awarded by the crown to high officials who then often extended their domains through intrigue and force at the cost of the indigenous people. Because the administrators were frequently transferred and sales and changes of properties occurred frequently, the land of several owners was sometimes scattered over different provinces. So already then the phenomenon was apparent that was later paraphrased as "the absentee landlords" (cf. p. 364). During their expedition of 1934, JENSEN and WOHLENBERG (1936: 278) came across a certain *dä azma* Bäyyänä who had an administrative post in southern Gamu and also had substantial property in Libidoo. At the upper Maqii north of Lake Z^{w}ay, some landowners started establishing agriculture with artificial irrigation so that the level of water in the lower course of the river had sunk considerably and the Oromo livestock-keepers, who were thus badly affected, attempted to avenge their losses by stealing cattle from the *mälkäñña* of the region.[755]

GetaCCäw Abatä, who had administered Kämbata Province for almost a decade, was believed to be one of the richest men in the whole of Ethiopia. He had inherited vast tracts of land in Baadawwaachcho estimated at several hundred *gaša* from his adopted father *ras* Dam äw who had founded a *kätäma* on the Shonee hill which was later relocated to Bulgiitta at the boundary to Wälaytta. The new administrative centre which he had built in Shonee and which remained there was known by the residents of this territory as "*Ras* GetaCCäw Kätäma". In the Hadiyya territory west of Donga it was especially Kambaata peasants who settled there as leaseholders at the invitation of the *mälkäñña*. In the face of the dense population of their tribal territory, these people searched for new land for cultivation and as skilled farmers they promised more security and more profit to the abäša landowners than the rebellious Baadawwaachcho who were less familiar with tillage farming. The tribute of the *gäbbar* no longer had to be transported to Hossäyna as in the M nil k era but to the *kätäma* of the respective sub-provinces established in Kämbata Province. Similar attempts at a structural reform of the administrative sector in order to overcome the pioneer phase of abäša rule in southern Ethiopia were also implemented in the territories inhabited by Arsi-Oromo.

753 For general background information see PANKHURST (1968b: 38).

754 This was pointed out by ZERVOS (1936: 152).

755 JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 278. It is a well-known fact that the rivalries over access to water resources have dramatically increased since then.

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At provincial level, the territorial subdivisions established in the M nil k era remained basically unaltered. Up to the Italian occupation, the peoples of Hadiyya descent were scattered throughout the provinces of Gurage, Kämbata, Arussi, Bale and Sidamo.[756]

Between 1919 and 1935, the Ethiopian government promulgated a number of new laws which included a ban on slavery and the slave-trade.[757] However, as numerous examples show, up to the middle of the 1930s[758] these practices could not be effectively stemmed, because quite a number of the higher administration officials enriched themselves from it and organised armed bands to undertake raids right up to Sudanese and Kenyan territory.[759] Around 1926, the slave trade in Gondär could develop unimpeded to such an extent that the prices for the "human merchandise" were telegraphed every week to Asmära along with the prices of other market commodities.[760] Around 1936 in North Ethiopia approximately 10-50 English pounds were paid for men and 60-100 English pounds for women, and despite increased controls and patrol boats the number of slaves who were supplied to Arabia annually via the Red Sea was estimated at around 1,000 to 10,000.[761] The proclamation of the Ethiopian government that there would be two judges appointed in each province to specifically deal with questions regarding slavery,[762] remained largely unrealized.

The southern territories were the favoured reservoir of human trafficking in Ethiopia so that every measure aimed at the abolition of it had to have all the more of an impact there. As has already been shown, for the Hadiyya with a primarily livestock-keeping economic background, slavery in the period before the occupation by the Christian Empire was insignificant. The Qabeena and East-Gurage, from the second half of the 19th century as traders in "human merchandise" had gained a notorious key position. However, in their societies compared to states with kingships and sophisticated hierarchies, like, for example, among the Wälaytta or Kambaata, the percentage of slaves remained relatively modest.[763] A considerable increase in hu-

756 See the map "*Ethiopia, Provinces in 1935*" compiled by PERHAM (1969).

757 The first edict concerning this matter was proclaimed in 1919. PERHAM 1969: 224 f.; HUYN/KALMER 1935: 102f. After prolonged submittals and assurances to ban slavery, Ethiopia was accepted as a member of the *League of Nations* in 1923. PERHAM 1969: 225 ff.; PANKHURST 1968a: 121f.; HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 81. Cf. also the overview on the abolition of slavery in Ethiopia by SMIDT (2010: 680f.).

758 Details about this are to be found in REIN 1918/20, III: 251; FORBES 1925: 43; DARLEY 1935: II; HUYN/KALMER 1935: 109; BARAVELLI 1936: 24; PERHAM 1969: 229-31. SCHRENZEL (1928: 251ff.) rightly stated that the European powers saw in the consistency of slavery a welcome pretext for intervention in Ethiopia.

759 Examples are mentioned by DARLEY (1935: II) and STEFFANSON/STARRETT (1976: 182f.).

760 NORDEN (n.d.: 192). Slaves, who were sold for 30 Maria Theresa thalers forty years before, were in the 1920s traded for 400 thalers in the Gondär region.

761 This information was obtained by HUYN/KALMER (1935: 105).

762 PERHAM 1969: 25-27; HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 81; PANKHURST 1968a: 121f.

763 Among egalitarian groups where (semi)nomadic livestock-keeping represented the major economic foundation, slavery was less important due to the special socio-economic circumstances. In the kingdom of Wälaytta, on the other hand, HABERLAND (personal

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man kidnapping and trafficking among the southern Hadiyya arose after abäša occupation, the *rinderpest* disaster and the transition to sedentary agriculture (cf. chap. 3.6.3). This was certainly the reason why the territories between Gurage and Wälaytta were regarded among the foreign travellers at the beginning of the 20th century as one of the unsafest regions in southern Ethiopia.[764] Particularly among the Baadawwaachcho in the 1920s, organised bands of robbers were formed to attack farmsteads of the Wälaytta at night, preferentially intruding into the house by means of tunnelling under the walls,[765] slaying the adult inhabitants and selling the children as slaves. Whereas women who frequented markets were formerly seen as inviolable, it now became more common for them to be attacked and sold even though the enslavement of free Hadiyya (*wolaaba*), according to the prevailing legal concepts, was deemed a disgraceful deed. A case, for example, was reported to me of a Shaashoogo woman who was kidnapped on her way to the market and sold to Donga in the 1920s. In 1973, the Shaashoogo sent a delegation there to reveal to the descendants of this woman their origin from a *wolaabichcho* mother and to establish a relationship between the family groups in the two different places.[766]

The traders are said to have preferred people with a darker complexion and therefore often blackened the light-skinned people with plant colorants as the sale of such persons was viewed as less offensive.[767] Among the abäša as well as among the people belonging to the "Ethiopic race" in southern Ethiopia, the collective and ´ P´ g T, T. T .(was used for people of a dark complexion. It was more or less also referring as a synonym for "slave". Unlike in Arabia, in north-eastern Africa the dark-skinned slaves mostly reached a higher price than the light-skinned ones as they were considered harder-working and more submissive.

As already in the 19th century the slave-traders were mostly Muslims, East-Gurage, Allaaba, Arsi and Somali who had anyway got themselves more intensively involved in the commercial sector. Occasionally, also members of other ethnic groups and religions, e.g. the Baadawwaachcho and imbaaro, participated in short-distance trade. The Arsi in Arba-Gugu reported that the Amhara, particularly the Muslim minority called 5 äbärti, had a considerable stake in the slave trade from Šäwa to Harär and are obviously to be charged with the most extensive deportations of humans from south-western Ethiopia in this period.

The slaves of the Hadiyya were largely integrated into the family and were well treated as a rule. Sexual relations of *wolaaba* people occurred frequently with female slaves, but, on the other hand, a male slave who got involved with the wife of a freeborn man was threatened with the death penalty. When the mother was a free

communication) estimated the proportion of people of slave status to be about 20-30 percent. With regard to the situation in the Kambaata kingdom see BRAUKÄMPER (1983: 183).

764 Even more feared were the regions of western Arsi (AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 208).

765 DAVIS (1972: 45) also mentioned this fact which was reported by my informants as well.

766 My major informant for this event was Nunishe Manta.

767 Such a practice does not seem to be verifiable, however.

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person and the father not, the offspring had a slave status, whereas with a relationship the other way around, he or she was formally considered free, but in a society mindful of an "inferior" origin, he or she was treated with a certain amount of disrespect.

In practice, the *Edict* of 1923 proclaimed by *ras* GetaCCäw Abatä in Kämbata Province and associated with his name, did not lead to any noticeable containment of illegal human trafficking. To avoid possible controls from then on the traders got into the habit of marching with their victims at night and hiding them and locking them up in houses located on the caravan route during the day. The sale was also increasingly undertaken in the houses. In Qabeena and Allaaba, however, it is said to have still partly ensued at open markets until the arrival of the Italians. The slave trade mostly involved children where the height, measured in hands, was the main criteria for the price. A Baadawwaachcho informant stated that he had repeatedly traded in children to Arsiland via Allaaba in the early 1930s, and for a young girl for whom he had paid 50-60 Maria Theresa thalers, he received 70-100 thalers. A very good cow at that time amounted to 20-50 thalers. At the Qabeena market in Zenna-Bannär, a traditional collecting point for the human 'merchandise', approximately 100 thalers was paid for a ten to twelve year old child.[768]

In principle, it was such that only the kidnapping and transportation of slaves was a punishable crime but not the sale or the ownership of slaves. The government decree of 1931 basically did not change anything regarding this situation. Occasional court proceedings and sanctions against slave traders could not act as effective deterrents.[769]

The oral traditions and written sources provide little information on the movement of populations, and internal migrations which were undertaken in central-southern Ethiopia in the period between the end of the civil war and the Italian invasion. Occasionally, internal disputes led to the resettlement of smaller groups like a number of Allaaba families living in Arsiland, who after discord and vendettas in that area, sought refuge in the territory of their tribal kinsmen. The trend by Gurage people of undertaking migratory work in Addis Abäba increased noticeably in fact,[770] however the link to their country of origin remained unabatedly strong. Central-southern Ethiopia was evidently not appreciably affected by the serious

768 Old informants, who had been involved in the slave trade themselves, were reluctant to report about it. But more or less general facts were known to many eyewitnesses of the 1920s and 1930s.

769 According to ZERVOS ' " T, g M T, onally ordered several slave traders to be executed or punished with 40 whip-lashes.

770 This was pointed out, for example, by MÉRAB (1921: 363) and STEER (1937: 33). According to WORKU NIDA (2005: 929) the number of Gurage immigrants in Addis Abäba increased from 2,000 in 1910 to 255,000 in 1984. Hadiyya proper and Kambaata are also often classified in the capital al "Gurage".

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influenza epidemic of 1918/19, which claimed many victims in the capital of the Empire.[771]

In 1924/25, the nsät plantations of the Allaaba were destroyed by a disease. The date could be specified because the oral tradition stated that this event occurred eight years after the battle of Sägäle (1916). The calamity was attributed to the settlement areas located 1,800m ASL as being unfavourably for the cultivation of nsät, and since then the Allaaba have not resumed its cultivation to any noteworthy extent. It did not result in a serious hunger crisis at that time as the "false banana" was only of secondary importance in the food production of this ethnic group.

Acute difficulties in the supply of agricultural products resulted from the excessive tribute demands on the part of the abäša authorities, which obviously reduced the readiness on the part of the indigenous peasants to work towards a surplus. This had a disastrous effect in the event of crop failures, which occurred repeatedly.[772] A successful approach to combat famine in a territory afflicted by it in the 1930s was undertaken by the Capuchin padres of the Gambo station in Arsi by means of holding a potato market. The Oromo obtained the potatoes cheaply in exchange for other natural products, for example honey, and from then on the potato market became an established institution for years.[773] Shortly after 1930, many people are said to have left the Kämbata Province and migrated to other regions as the tribute enforcement had become unbearable.[774] Occasionally cattle epidemics which spread locally or regionally also threatened the nutritional base. In 1926 the American traveller NORDEN (n.d.: 74) documented such a case in the boundary area of the Karrayyuu and the Arsi at the Awaš river.

In 1928, Šäwa was afflicted by a famine which caused the French adventurer Henri DE MONFREID to put forward massive charges against the Ethiopian government:

> "[…] when thousands of miserable people came from the borders of the Empire in order to implore the Negus Tafari (later Emperor Haile Selassié) to give them a bit of grain, when he made them to be chased away and let them die along the roads, then people still recalled the time not too far back when the kings were the fathers of the poor".[775]

In the year 1930 and apparently connected to this event, larger groups of Šäwa-Oromo (Abbichu, Gombichu, Meettaa and others) came to the south and settled in

771 HAILE SELLASSIE mentioned this in his autobiography (ULLENDORFF 1976: 59).

772 A dramatic case was reported by HUYN and KALMER (1935: 66). These authors speak of "endemic" famine in many territories and point especially to the Cärcär-Harär region, one of the most fertile areas in Ethiopia.

773 HUYN/KALMER 1935: 66.

774 Information related by Haile Bubbamo Arficio, who had gathered reports on events of this type from numerous elders.

775 DE MONFREID 1954: 43 (our translation from French). A further source confirming this event is not known to me.

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the Arsi territories of Gädäb and Bale with the support of the government. At the same time, according to statements from the informants, the last inhabitants of the Shaala islands abandoned their old places of residence and established themselves in the region of the lake shore. The settlement of the Addoona reached the upper Wabi Šäbälle between the provinces of Arussi and Bale. Also the westward expansion of Somali nomads from the Ogaadeen area resumed. At the expense of the Arsi-Oromo, the Awlihaan penetrated beyond the middle Wabi as far as the escarpment of the highlands;[776] further expansion was curbed as there their preferred economic system of camel breeding was no longer possible.

In some areas, the period of peace in the aftermath of the civil war from 1917 onwards had a promotional influence. The traveller ESCHERICH described the Gurage in 1920 and specially those of Hadiyya descent in the eastern part of their country as diligent, placid and relatively prosperous people:

> "This was shown to us at the first encounter. The heavy lance and the round shield, whose sight we had become accustomed to in the land of the Danakil, have vanished. A simple stick constitutes the weaponry of the peasants and if one sees here and there a lance, the form of the shaft and the edge indicates more of a decoration and finery than that of a warlike weapon".[777]

The caravan traffic was brisk and there were great numbers of "superb zebus".[778] The East-Gurage was a group considered traditionally loyal to the authority of the Christian Empire and they were therefore treated with greater deference. A considerable wealth in cattle was also reported of the western Arsi in the middle of the 1920s where some herd owners are said to have possessed 5,000 head of cattle and many horses.[779] In their material culture, these Oromo were still so traditional that not only the women but also the men wore leather clothing which they only relinquished in favour of cotton wear near abäša *kätäma* settlements. They lived in small domed huts which were scornfully designated "birds' nests" by the other Oromo groups.[780]

As the last Arsi, except for those in the lowland of the Rift Valley, the inhabitants of Gädäb accomplished the transition from more or less pure livestock-breeders to a mixed economy. This is reported to have occurred during the reign of Empress Zäwditu. Barley, which had from ancient times been the most valued item of vegetable food, was cultivated from that time on throughout the region. In the vicinity of Kofale and Kokosa, some Arsi groups, mainly the clans Dooda and Weege, sporadically adopted the cultivation of nsät from the Sidaama in the early 1930s. However, for a long period it obviously did not spread beyond a radius of approximately 20 kilometres to the north and north-east of the Sidaama territory.[781]

776 HUYN/KALMER 1935: 279.
777 ESCHERICH 1921: 67f. (our translation from German).
778 This was explicitly emphasized by ESCHERICH (1921: 68).
779 AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 207f.
780 AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 212.
781 This situation which I observed in the early 1970s has meanwhile changed. According to

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In the Kämbata Province the white sort of ef, which was valued the most by the Amhara, was introduced during the administration period of GetaCCäw Abatä. As a result of the increasing population and the considerable extension of cultivated fields, the number of livestock even among the Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho had become so meagre, that the cattle were no longer kept in kraals but were – as has always been practiced in the highlands by the Kambaata, Gurage and other ethnic groups – increasingly accommodated in houses.

The exchange of goods between the metropolitan area of Ethiopia and the southern provinces remained in fact rather modest in overall volume, but nevertheless increased considerably from the 1920s up to the period marking the arrival of the Italians. Regarding the infrastructure, however, still hardly any changes became apparent. A dirt road passable for vehicles heading out of Addis Abäba through the Lake Region up to as far as Sidamo Province was completed in 1932.[782] Yet the main transport medium at that time was still the caravans with pack animals. In Allaaba, the road along which most Arab traders conducted their transportation of goods from the east was still called the "camel street" in the 1970s. However, horses, donkeys and mules as pack animals outweighed camels in importance on this route.[783]

In Laku (Sidamo Province) the governor *dä azma* BalCa Mfo had established a relay station for the coffee trade which was chiefly inhabited by Gurage settlers and traders. The raw coffee was usually traded there in bundles amounting to approximately seventy kilogramme, called *farasula*, and sold in the capital Addis Abäba with a surcharge of two thalers,[784] so that the profit margin for the transporters was relatively minor.

At this time the Maria Theresa thaler, which had been introduced in the 19th century in great quantities from Austria, was still the most important currency all over the Ethiopian Empire. A thaler was subdivided into 16 *t mum*, small silver coins with the picture of M nil k II on the one side and the Ethiopian heraldic lion on the other side. Beside the thaler, cartridges of the "Fusil gras" rifle, of which three to five equated to one Maria Theresa thaler, and *mar o* iron bars were still favoured items of monetary value in central-southern Ethiopia.[785] In the areas of the Gurage and Qabeena an ox could be bought in those days around for 10 thaler, a horse for 20-40 thalers. Market taxes for valuable trade goods were collected by officials of the government, for example, one *t mum* for every cotton cape (*buluko*). In order to control the traffic on the trade routes, customs stations (Amh.: *kella*) were estab-

communication by Alke Dohrmann in 2001, nsät cultivation in the borderland of Sidaama and Arsiland has expanded considerably.

782 JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE STE THÉRÈSE n.d.: 28a; JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 74, 280.

783 This can be concluded from observations of ESCHERICH (1921: 72) and SAN MARZANO (1935: 218).

784 AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 218, 223. According to the value relation around 1935 a Maria Theresa thaler equalled a Swiss franc (JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 26).

785 HUYN/KALMER 1935: 122f., 125.

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lished at the province boundaries, out of which it was not uncommon for new *kätäma* settlements to develop.[786]

Significant changes became apparent in the sphere of religion. In 1917, among Holbatmannaa and other Arsi clans in Bale, a process of conversion to Islam began, about which there was no information to be obtained regarding the cause and background. The exact reconstruction of the date, however, was enabled by the counting of the eight year *gadaa* periods, about which the informants still had preserved some basic knowledge. In the 1920s, the Muslim faith began to spread on a wide basis in Arba-Gugu. In 1926, *gifti* Momina died, a supra-regional, well-known female "witchdoctor" and founder of the Faraqasa pilgrimage centre.[787] It showed a basically Islamic character due to its exterior and ceremonial actions, but it was at the same time a place of worship which also *Awaama*, the followers of the traditional religion among the Arsi, and the orthodox Christians frequented.[788] In Mume Ilka (Oromo: "jagged tooth rock") at Hogiso at the source of the Wabi Šäbälle, where according to a legend *shaikh* N r usayn, while being attacked by an elephant during his prayer, sank the animal down in the ground. This location became a cult site trans-regionally in the late 1920s.[789] T Vg V . P s . T . ´, lar by the name of *adjdj* Qaadir Kajawa from the Adamoonyee clan settled in this previously sparsely inhabited plateau (c. 2,800 m ASL) and since then his descendants have taken care of the site.

Among the western Arsi Islam had hardly penetrated by this time.[790] However, the Mausoleum of *shaikh* usayn in Anaajiina had already assumed the character of an "Ethiopian Mecca" which also started to cast the *Awaama* under its spell.[791]

In the 1920s and 1930s the *Rash diyya* brotherhood expanded in Qabeena, East-Gurage and Allaaba, and starting from 5 imma also the *Tidj niyya* gained a number of followers from these groups.[792] For the Hadiyya Muslims, the weekly feast day or day of rest was not Sunday but Tuesday or Friday and was dedicated to the memory of N r usayn. Apparently on the grounds of respect for the Christian Ethiopians no markets was organised on Sundays and other commercial activities were also curtailed on this day.[793]

786 ZERVOS 1936: 153; ESCHERICH 1921: 73 ff.; JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 280. Buta3ira in East-Gurage, for example, is said to have come into existence in such a way around 1930.

787 NORDEN (n.d.: 62) received this information from a planter Neitzel from Mätähara.

788 I could have this fact confirmed by a visit to a festival ending *Rama n* (*ʿid al-fi r*) in Faraqasa in 1973.

789 SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932: 50. HABERLAND 1963a: 412.

790 AZA S/CHAMBARD 1931: 208ff.; SAVOIA-AOSTA/CERULLI 1932: 37.

791 See JENSEN/WOHLENBERG 1936: 397; CIRAVEGNA n.d.: 229.

792 SHACK's (1969: 193) opinion that the *Tidj niyya* had extensively displaced the *d diriyya* in Gurageland decidedly contradicts my own state of knowledge regarding the time until the 1970s.

793 How stringent these curtailments were in reality is not known. In the second half of the 20th century Sunday markets were quite frequent, also in territories of Christian dominance.

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Between 1917 and 1935 there were, as far as can be concluded from the reports of the informants and the genealogies, no spectacular conversions to Christianity or targeted missionary campaigns of the Orthodox Church at all. Occasional conversions to the religion of the ethnic and socio-political elite, for example those of the government chiefs or other people who thereby hoped to achieve certain advantages did take place and as a rule did not unleash a mass conversion to Christianity.

In the 1920s, the work of European and American Christian missionaries began, which in the long term was of considerable significance for the people of central-southern Ethiopia. In March 1928, a caravan of the *Sudan Interior Mission* (S.I.M.), an organisation of American Baptist Protestants, under the leadership of Dr. Lambie left Addis Abäba in order to found a station in 5 imma.[794] In Hossäyna the Kämbata governor *dä azma* Mäšäša attempted to convince the missionaries to stay in his province. However, they insisted on continuing their journey but were then talked into establishing a mission in Otona near Soddo/Wälaytta by *dä azma* Igazu, the governor of Wolamo Province.[795] At the end of 1928 Clarence Duff, one of the missionaries, left the mission station which had been completed in the meantime, to found a branch in Kämbata.[796] With the permission of *fitawrari* Wäldä Mika'el, the Protestants began to build a station in the area of Sooro-Boosho'anna. For no apparent reason, but likely because of the missonaries' initial refusal, governor Mäšäša had the construction work stopped immediately and ordered the hurriedly put up building to be torn down. Lambie lodged a complaint with the regent Täfäri Mäk^{w}änn n in Addis Abäba and eventually received permission on 31st May 1929 for the *Sudan Interior Mission* to establish itself in Kämbata Province. The American missionaries received the permission to build a hospital at the Baateena River near Hossäyna, but the mission doctor M. Duff chose Lambuda district west of the provincial capital not far from the site previously disallowed by the Governor.[797] At the beginning of the 1930s, the *United Presbyterian American Mission* began to build stations and small hospitals in the Arsi territory. Even if the first indigenous people, not more than ten Wälaytta in the S.I.M. territory, were not baptized before December 1933,[798] here indeed was the beginning of a development which led to an extensive Christianization in the territories between the Omo and Bilate.

The governor of Sidamo, *dä azma* B rru, who resided in Agärä Sälam, had invited Roman Catholic missionaries to settle in his administrative area. Through the Muslim coffee traders a growing Islamic influence arose there which the Europeans hoped to counteract with the support of the Ethiopian government.[799] At the end of the same year, 1928, in which the Protestants started out from Addis Abäba towards

794 A detailed report on this action was provided by DAVIS (1972: 27).
795 DAVIS 1972: 30.
796 DAVIS 1972: 33.
797 JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE S^{TE} THÉRÈSE n.d.: 5a, 5b, 6b, 7a. In the manuscript it is written "vers Buchane".
798 DAVIS 1972: 73.
799 CIRAVEGNA n.d.: 148.

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the south, the Catholics also dispatched a group of missionaries of primarily Italian and French nationality who went along the old caravan route on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley as far as Alatta in the Sidaama territory. Between 1929 and 1932, as more or less rivals with the Protestants, they constructed a number of stations in the Kämbata Province particularly in the dwelling-areas of the Kambaata (e. g. Waasara) as well as in Leemo, Sooro, imbaaro and Donga.[800] In March 1929, the first Hadiyya child, a nephew of the *dañña* Fixeebo from the Leemo district Qaalisha, was admitted to the newly founded Catholic mission school. In addition, in the same month the first people were baptized in this region.[801]

The Roman Catholics behaved more tolerantly towards the culture of the indigenous people than the Protestants who were more influenced by their puritanical social background. They not only demanded the renouncement of alcohol and tobacco as one of the most fundamental criteria required by their religion, but adherents should also try to suppress dances and songs of the "pagan" past.[802] As far as the equipment of the schools and hospitals went, from the beginning that of the Protestants was superior in comparison to their Catholic rivals and this fact undoubtedly exerted some influence on their missionary success.

As regards the situation of land holdings, a certain trend towards a change became evident which had already begun in the M nil k era. Many abäša sold the property they had obtained after the conquest, particularly in the Arsi territories. Gladly, many of the autochthonous people to whom the land had belonged prior to that, purchased it back at a lesser price. Because the *näf äñña* could insist on the services of the *gäbbar*, it resulted in a formal judicial transaction but practically did not change the living situation of the new owners. They had merely bought the advantage that they could no longer be driven off the land that belonged to them. However, when the government recognized that through the sale formal ownership was now in the private hands of peasants and thereby the control of the state was compromised and the originally awarded *g*^{w} *lt* and *r st* rights were impaired, the contingent allowed to be bought was legally restricted. An ordinary soldier, who owned two or three *gaša,* could only sell one, a *hamsa aläqa*, an officer commanding 50 subordinates, could sell three of his five *gaša*, a *mato aläqa,* an officer of 100 soldiers from his ten *gaša* seven. A *c d* commander of 1,000 men, was allowed to sell 13 of his 20 *gaša*, while the rest was not for sale and remained under government control. With the transactions the sellers frequently utilized their own position of power and the ignorance on the part of the indigenous people concerning the legally fixed rules. Swindling with regard to the actual size of the property is said to have been a common practice.[803] The social divide between the *mälkäñña* and the

800 JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE S^{TE} THÉRÈSE n.d.: 5a, 6a, 9b, 10b, 14b, 20b.
801 JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE S^{TE} THÉRÈSE n.d.: 5b.
802 Here it must be mentioned that one of the S.I.M. missionaries, D.L. STINSON (1965; 1976), made important contributions to the study of the language and culture of the Hadiyya proper.
803 This was also reported by BROTTO (1939: 92-96) about Hararge Province.

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isäññä, the tenants, remained almost unchanged until the Italian occupation. The societal stratification also remained largely an ethnic one.

3.8 From the Italian ´ ´ g I

With the occupation of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy a new phase in the history of this country began and even though it was to only last five years, it initiated, especially in the south, an extensive socio-economic transformation. The decades after the liberation from foreign colonialism were characterised by the autocratic rule of Emperor g M T. His fall through the revolution of 1974 signalised a new development with a far-reaching impact also on the territories inhabited by peoples of Hadiyya descent. A historical analysis of the post-revolutionary period has yet to be done.

3.8.1 War of Conquest and Administrative Practices of Facist Italy (1935-41)

At the beginning of the 1930s, it became increasingly clear that Italy strove to occupy Ethiopia, the last remaining independent state (besides Liberia) on the African continent.[804] Two of her colonies, Eritrea and Somalia, shared a common boundary with the Ethiopian Empire. Another reason for Italy's aggressive policy resulting in a war of conquest was presumably the endeavour to revenge the blemish of the defeat at ᶜAdwa (1896).

In the Kämbata Province, where a notable number of Italian missionaries were active, rumours had been circulating since 1932 about an impending armed conflict.[805] After border incidents, which the Italians used as an opportunity to spark off a propaganda campaign against the apparent Ethiopian trouble spots and to make preparations for war, Benito Mussolini gave his military commanders the order to attack in October 1935.[806] Detailed accounts of the events on the Eritrea and Somali front exist,[807] however the information on the hostilities in the interior of the country is scant. Significantly, the campaign report of Marshal Rodolfo GRAZIANI ends with the seizure of D rre Dawa and the amalgamation of the Italian northern and southern armies in this town on 9th May 1936,[808] which was officially fixed as the date of the

804 Already in 1906 Italy, Great Britain and France had marked out spheres of influence in Ethiopia (MARCUS 1970: 571). A further pact between these three powers followed in 1915 (REIN 1918/20, III: XXX f.). Regarding the partition plans which still existed in the 1920s, see DORESSE (1970: 112). For the prelude of the conflict see PROCHÁZKA 1936.

805 JOURNAL DE LA STATION DE STE THÉRÈSE n.d.: 21b. At the beginning of the 1930s there were repeated border conflicts between Ethiopia and neighbouring European colonial territories, particularly Italian Somaliland.

806 DEL BOCA 1969: 19.

807 Amongst others, the Italian marshals Emilio DE BONO (1936), Pietro BADOGLIO (1937) and Rodolfo GRAZIANI (1940) have written books about it. Comprehensive insights into the Italo-Ethiopian war were provided by Angelo DEL BOCA 1969 and by Thomas OFCANSKY (2007).

808 GRAZIANI 1940: 392f.

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final conquest of Ethiopia, even though the definitive occupation in some territories was prolonged for over a year still. One of the last territories of the Empire occupied by the Italians was the area between the rivers Omo and Bilate.

South-east Ethiopia was the target area of operations for the second Italian expedition army under the command of Marshal Graziani which set out from Somalia. When the attack began in October 1935, approximately 50,000 Italians stood on this front faced with approximately 80,000 Ethiopian men with firearms: 40,000 were under *ras* Dästa Dam äw in Sidamo-Borana Province and in Bale under *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d, a further 30,000 under *ras* Näsibu were deployed to defence lines in Harär-Ogaadeen and the remainder, a 10,000 strong contingency reserve in Arsi, was commanded by *dä azma* Amdä Mika'el.[809] The Ethiopian troops at the southern front were considered superior in training and weaponry to those in the north. Nevertheless, it was apparent that the Sidamo sector was particularly sensitive in the system of the Ethiopian defence because Dästa Dam äw apparently attached more importance to a wanton lifestyle than to an efficient military organization. According to the statements of the British journalist George L. STEER, it was characterized by mismanagement.[810]

Immediately after the conflict of Wälwäl in Ethiopian Ogaadeen on 5.12.1934, which provoked the Italians to interpret it as a *casus belli*, g M T ordered mobilisation.[811] This step brought a number of decisive ramifications with it for the people of the south, even though the war only broke out ten months later. As large parts of the Ethiopian garrisons stationed in the interior of the country were deployed to the threatened borders with Eritrea and Italian-Somaliland, there was, just like in 1916, a zone extensively divested of fighting forces in the *Dar agär*. This must have evoked a precarious situation for the abäša living in this part of the Empire due to the animosity of most of the autochthones towards the Ethiopian state. The government in Addis Abäba was very well aware of this danger and attempted to offset the administrative and militaristic thinning out as far as possible by consolidating governor and commando spheres, by fortifying the main towns of the provinces (e.g., Hossäyna, Soddo á o, Y rga ᶜAläm, Gobba) and by establishing for the purpose of internal security a kind of reserve force out of all the available *näf äññä*. When *dä azma* Mäšäša Wäldä led the contingency from Kämbata to the northern front, *dä azma* Mäkʷänn n Wossäne, governor of Wolamo, was entrusted with the administration of the neighbouring province.

The Kämbata contingent which arrived in Addis Abäba in October 1935 and took up position in T gray Province was believed to be one of the strongest units of the Ethiopian army with its 30,000 men despite outdated and poor weaponry.[812] It

809 DEL BOCA 1969: 115 f.; cf. STEER 1937: 83, 236ff.; HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 238-41.

810 STEER (1937: 346). He obviously had sound knowledge of the Ethiopian military conditions at his disposal.

811 HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 227.

812 STEER 1937: 60, 259.

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was assigned to the command of *ras* GetaCCäw Abatä on the left flank of the northern front.[813] On account of competence disputes between the two commanders, *ras* KaKa aylu and *ras* Mulugeta Y ggäzu, the troops from Kämbata were not efficiently deployed, and in April1936 surged back with the bulk of the defeated Ethiopian forces to Däse (Dessie) in Wällo.[814]

From the moment of mobilisation, auxiliary personnel were recruited amongst the subjugated peoples especially as porters and had to follow the soldiers to their standby positions. Because of the notorious lack of modern transportation means in the Ethiopian army, their services were of decisive importance. Already during the civil war of 1916 it was customary for every *näf äñña* from the southern provinces to have about five young men or also women from the *gäbbar* assigned to him who were taken with on the military campaign and who were responsible for his luggage, his tent and his comforts. These people's living conditions during the Italian War were disastrous. Those having to perform services on the southern front, who in carrier convoys had to transport supplies from Adoola in the Sidaama highlands to Nagallee/Boorana, did not receive adequate rations so that an excessively high proportion of lives were lost because of starvation and fatigue.[815] Indigenous personnel were also conscripted to serve at the bases in the interior of the country.

Beside the *näf äñña* who had firearms at their disposal and could recruit service staff, only the indigenous government chiefs, the *balabbat*, or their representatives and followers were recruited as combatants because their loyalty to the state was considered to be largely assured. Older French "fusil Gras" (*wä igra*) rifles could be purchased in the region of Hossäyna in exchange for four sheep, whereas modern English Snyder and Remington rifles were more expensive.[816] A large section of the Ethiopian soldiers only had at their disposal outdated equipment consisting of lances, swords and shields. As every combatant had to supply his own riding and pack animals besides his personnel, for economic reasons alone the status and service of a fully equipped soldier was only accessible for prosperous people among the local population in southern Ethiopia.[817]

Before the soldiers departed, each head of family of the *gäbbar* allocated to them in the Hadiyya and Arsi territories had to pay a special tax of one Maria Theresa thaler. The recruitment system determined that only a few thousand locals from the southern Ethiopian provinces served as "regular" soldiers in the Ethiopian army. The number of service auxiliaries who largely carried only lances as weapons with them was, by contrast, considerable. At the same time, these people formed a reservoir so

813 HAILE SELLASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 278f.
814 STEER 1937: 259, 262 f., 267, 379.
815 STEER 1937: 346. HABERLAND (1959: 237) documented records of this kind from his informants.
816 Oral information related by Hadiyya as well as *näf äñña* elders.
817 Those soldiers recruited from indigenous people were designated "Amhara-Galla". STEER 1937: 54, 237.

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that with an increasing number of losses of men armed with rifles the void of active combatants could be filled.

When the military position continued to worsen for Ethiopia from the beginning of 1936, the recruitment measures were intensified and enlarged. In the commando-division of *dä azma* Mak^{w}änn n (Wälaytta and Kämbata) a decree became law that every man fit to bear arms who evaded military service, irrespective of his ethnic affiliation, was threatened with execution by hanging.[818]

Next to reinforcing the front lines of defence against the Italians, the recruitment measures were also aimed at securing the position of the abäša in southern Ethiopia. When there is talk of Mussolini's "Abyssinian War", what is usually associated with it is merely an invasion of a Fascist-imperialist state against the only remaining Empire of Africa free from colonialism. Less known and not satisfactorily considered is the fact that at the same time a civil war flared up which considerably weakened Ethiopian resistance against the foreign enemy.[819] When the first news of the defeats of the imperial troops trickled through, the oppressed people's opposition in the south grew as well as their endeavour to use the obvious chance presented to them of liberating themselves from what they considered as abäša colonial rule. After the collapse of the northern front in spring 1936, central-southern Ethiopia transformed itself into a seething cauldron of rebellions and inter-ethnic conflicts. The built-up decade-long hatred of the people in the provinces of Kämbata, Arussi, Sidamo and Bale began to vehemently unleash against the remaining abäša, superior in modern weaponry but numerically vastly in the minority. For the *näf äñña* it was an advantage that no unified front against them arose and that in the simultaneous outbreak of inter-ethnic conflicts they could find allies among some of the antagonists.

At the end of 1935, the main body of *ras* Dästa Dam äw's troops had left the climatically favourable Sidaama and Bale highlands in order to confront the Italians in an offensive in the region of Dolo. The disastrous defeat of the Ethiopians at the turn of the year 1935/36[820] was the initial starting signal for insurrections against Ethiopian sovereignty in most provinces of the *Dar agär*. While the Ethiopian southern army became increasingly demoralised through the bombs and poison gas attacks of the Italian air force and through supply difficulties and began to retreat northwards, the first incursions against the abäša *näf äñña* in Gädäb, Bale and other territories occurred.[821]

818 HAILE SELASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 262.

819 I have recently tried to draw attention to this hitherto neglected problem of modern Ethiopian history (BRAUKÄMPER 2012: 163-83).

820 GRAZIANI 1940: 230ff., 266, *passim*; DEL BOCA 1969: 120.

821 I could obtain information about this especially from Amhara informants who showed less bias than the Hadiyya or Arsi in their reports on these events. The locals were often afraid of reprisals by the authorities if they reported on their group's anti-Ethiopian activities during the Italian War. One of the few eyewitnesses who openly reported about the battles and massacres of that time was my main Hadiyya informant Namana Dilliso.

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In April 1936, shortly before the occupation of Addis Abäba (5th May), the commander-in-chief of the Italian armed forces in East Africa, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, designated the area of Harär as the objective of his operations to commander Rodolfo Graziani on the Somali front, in order to accomplish an amalgamation of their respective forces.[822] For the realisation of this plan, a great offensive against the troops under *ras* Dästa and *ras* Näsibu, which constituted the last intact Ethiopian army after the collapse of the northern front, was to take place. The Bale contingent led by *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d had already retreated at the end of December 1935 to Imi at the Wabi Säbälle and did not undertake a diversionary attack to relieve *ras* Dästa in the area of Nagallee, threatened by an enemy offensive.[823] From February 1936 Italian air force planes starting from Lugh flew on numerous sorties against the towns of Magaallo, Ginnir and Gobba, located far inland.[824]

It took months, however, until the resistance of the Ethiopian forces in Bale was broken. According to the descriptions by those who had taken part in the fighting in the Ogaadeen and could give detailed accounts, Bäyyänä Mär d's troops were pushed back to Magaallo and still faced open battles in the middle of 1936 at Sabiro near Ginnir, at Laajjo and at Gololcha. A considerable portion of the autochthonous Oromo had deliberately joined the invaders and fought as so-called *bandas (bande),* [825]indigenous irregular auxiliaries, at first in the area of Magaallo against the imperial Ethiopians. Three leaders of the Arsi, Shayimo Kimoo and Noho Daadi in eastern Bale and Wäldä Mika'el Bu'ii in Gädäb, who as government chieftains had received the title *fitawrari*, were distinguished as anti-government fighters in the oral traditions. After the fall of Gobba and Ginnir, where heavy damages were caused through Italian military actions,[826] the conquest of Bale Province was largely concluded. Groups of *arbäñña*, Ethiopian "patriots", withdrew into the mountains and led a guerrilla war against the occupants. In one of their actions of retaliation, Italian pioneers blew up the Grotto Church Abo Waša, an important cultural monument near Gobba, which the resistance fighters had allegedly used as an arms depot.[827]

The rest of the army under the command of *ras* Dästa had pulled back to the highlands inhabited by Sidaama and had taken up position in the territory of Qeweena and Harbegoona from where they could withstand the Italians up to the end of the year 1936.[828] Only in January of the following year did the Ethiopian

822 BADOGLIO 1937: 169.
823 GRAZIANI 1940: 232, 266. Bäyyänä Mär d was himself wounded.
824 GRAZIANI 1940: 306.
825 The correct Italian plural is *bande*, but in writings on Ethiopia in Englishthe version *bandas* is often used.
826 In the municipality of Gobba I could inspect, for example, a list of objects (dated 10.10.1936) which had been destroyed by the Italians.
827 Oral communication related by various informants in Gobba in 1973.
828 ZOLI 1937: 365ff. and maps XXII, XXIII. This was confirmed by oral reports of informants

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troops have to evacuate the area of Agärä Sälam in the west and Dodola in the north-east and withdraw along the Bilate northwards as a direct result of the opponent's pincer movement. A moving off to the west was blocked:

> "In order to avoid that the enemy retired through the lines of encirclement and tried to go in the direction of Cambata and Uolamo, the Marshal Graziani had gathered all the irregular bande of the Arrussi, the Sidama, the Darassa [Gide'o] and the Gugi [Gu33i-Oromo] between the Lake Margherita and the Lake Auasa".[829]

The informants could give an account of a two-day long skirmish at Tulluu Gaduuda in which both parties are said to have suffered heavy losses. The retreat of the Christian Ethiopian troops through the lowland of the Lake Region moved through the places of residence of Hadiyya groups up to the vicinity of Buta3ira (cf. below).

The abäša successfully maintained their position in the Arsi highlands until about the middle of 1936. Although the majority of the men in this area fit to bear arms had been sent to the northern front and *dä azma* Amdä Mika'el's contingent had to take over defence duties in the south, the local *näf äñña* troops in March 1936 (upon learning of the defeat at May Cäw on the northern front) succeeded in keeping the intensified Oromo insurrections in check to a large extent until the arrival of the Italians. Marshal GRAZIANI commented on the events in this phase of the war in central-southern Ethiopia as follows:

> "In the region of Uadara and Irgalem the enemy tries to deploy regular detachments. Degiac Makonnen Uossenie Dello Uollamo, who had the reputation of a forceful, experienced commander, was ready to lend support to *ras* Desta. Later, the old Gabre Mariam joined with fresh Arussi troops. This military formation was engaged near Darar to bail out a reconnaissance manoeuvre which had been attacked, and came up against Colonel Micheli between the 9th and 10th April. But from 20th January to the middle of March (two months) a gap was open at Neghelli; thereby all possibilities of an attack against Irgalem and beyond had been facilitated, if the necessary means of transport had been at their disposal".[830]

The imperial Ethiopians received reinforcements through fighters from the Cärcär territory which had pulled back towards the west. The Arsi, led by *fitawrari* Mäläsä, could not withstand the superior armed *näf äñña* under *grazma* aylä B rru and were defeated at Samaarra (close to today's town of Gobesa) and were pursued out of the territories of Shirka and Gädäb right into the Wabi Säbälle valley. The *näf äñña* had fled from the lowlands of the Lake Region into the eastern highlands to escape a massacre on the part of the indigenous people. An Arsi *balabbat* from

in Qeweena.

829 ZOLI 1937: 365 (our translation from Italian).

830 GRAZIANI 1940: 308 (our translation from the German text).

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the Šašämäne area is supposed to have joined the escape movement together with the *tabot* of his church which was under the threat of being destroyed by the rebels. Like other government chieftains who had retained loyalty to the Emperor, he received big land grants after Anglo-Ethiopian re-conquest. The Oromo settlers from Šäwa were also on the side of *näf äñña* troops and had attacked the Arsi in the Muneessa area during a council meeting and are said to have killed many of the participants.[831]

In the boundary area between the Arsi and the Sidaama, the old tribal hostility erupted again and resulted in numerous attacks and killing raids which were carried out above all by the latter. Also within the ethnic body of the Arsis bloody disputes broke out. The oral traditions account for such a case of the then rival Hadiyya clans of the Weege and Aboosa south of the Maqii River. At this time of turmoil, the Zay had largely chosen to withdraw back to their islands.[832]

The final occupation of the Arsi highlands by the Italians took place from the north in the second half of 1936. Italian troops advanced from the area of Adaama (Nazret) against Asälla and came up against such tenacious resistance from scattered remainders of the Ethiopian army in Huruta, however, that they retreated and in a bend east of the Celalo massif proceeded towards á , , the then provincial capital of Arussi. After the seizure of Sire, they issued the Ethiopians with an ultimatum to lay down their arms. When they refused to comply, the Italian air force bombarded the *kätäma* of á , . Many *näf äñña* family members had sought refuge there and the conglomeration of a considerable number of people in a small space meant that the impact of the explosives and mustard gas bombs caused appalling havoc. Shortly after the occupation of á , followed, where it was said that the Italians hardly met any resistance and also the Ethiopian guerrillas were barely successful in the face of the animosity which they had encountered from the local Arsi.

In Arba-Gugu *fitawrari* Dibaabaa and *fitawrari* WabiCet, an adventurer from Ankobär, put up some resistance, but after brutally executed Italian "punitive expeditions" in July 1936, the majority of the Ethiopian "patriots" (*arbäñña)* surrendered.[833] Up to 500 partisans are said to have hidden themselves at times in a cave at Katuta in the lowland between Robee and Sire.

In August 1936 *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo, the long-standing governor of Sidamo Province who was banned to the land of his origin A3äm3a, set off from the neighbouring territory of Qabeena with a group of *arbäñña* in the direction of Addis Abäba. He was beaten at Furi and pursued up to BäCCo where the Italians took him prisoner and executed him.[834] In Qabeenaland these circumstances were still actively recalled in the early 1970s.

831 In regard to this, the statements of the informants according to their ethnic belonging contradicted in relevant points.

832 Personal communications from Hermann Götz in Adaamii Tulluu on March 30, 1970 and from Arsi informants in the town of Z^{w}ay in 1973.

833 CANNONIERI 1937: 30f., 65, 74f., 82ff.

834 BAIRU TAFLA 1969: 20f.; TSEHAI BRHANE SELASSIE 1971: 188.

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To the west of the Rift Valley the combat operations continued until the early part of 1937. As already mentioned (see below), the remainder of *ras* Dästa Dam äw's army had withdrawn from the highlands of Sidamo towards the edge of the Gurage Mountains where they had apparently hoped for support from the East-Gurage who were known to be loyal to the Emperor. In the Maräqo (Libidoo) plain, the few hundred troops that had remained became engaged in a skirmish with a contingent of local "*banda*". The country was, however, already so extensively under Italian control that any further resistance had to be suicidal. After the refusal to lay down their arms, Marshal Graziani surrounded the remaining Ethiopian fighters with a strong force. On 19th February 1937, the troops of *dä azmac* Gäbrä Maryam and *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d were destroyed at Go33etti, the main town of the later "*Residenza dei Guraghè Orientali*". Graziani ordered the rest of the Ethiopian resistance fighters under *ras* Dästa Dam äw, who were captured at Buta3ira a few days later (on 24th February), to be shot on the spot.[835] After this last great military operation of the Italo-Ethiopian war in central-southern Ethiopia, the intervention of the colonial rulers also put an end to the violent inter-ethnic conflicts which had been raging in this region for over a year.

Right after the beginning of the Italian invasion, hostilities broke out at the end of 1935 between the peoples of Gurageland and the territories in the vicinity of Lake Z^{w}ay. They erupted with increasing fierceness into violent actions the more the military position of the Ethiopians worsened and additional *näf äñña* reserves from the southern provinces were thrown onto the front. The remaining abäša settlers who were no longer safe on their landed estates and smaller *kätäma* mostly moved back , T. After a number of smaller clashes had preceded, in May 1936 the Gogot Federation of the East-Gurage T Z P, E rro, Mäsqan, Dobbi and W riro invaded Libidoo. In the southern sector they were led by *im m* Sugato Zäyni and by Deebisso Golbe from the YäCärät tribe, which did not belong to the Hadiyya, but to the "Seven Houses" of the Gurage. They were reinforced by *näf äñña*, and also the Allaaba intervened on their side. The Libidoo and their allied Arsi clans who, according to the informants, had approximately 1,500 riflemen and more than double the number of warriors without firearms at their disposal,[836] moved back with their herds via Qoshe into the Maqii estuary area on the northern shore of Lake Z^{w}ay and partly into the region of Koka on the Awaš. Three war leaders, one for the men with firearms and two for those people armed with lances, commanded the mostly mounted fighters. After a short time Arsi reinforcements from the south of the Lake Region – as long as they possessed horses for the long way – arrived to assist the

835 GUIDA DELL' AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 548. HAILE SELASSIE (ULLENDORFF) 1976: 260. Dästa Dam äw was considered from that time on in Ethiopia as one of the most revered martyrs of anti-imperialistic resistance. See also BUSTORF 2011: 301ff.

836 Regarding the firearms, it appears to me that these figures are basically too high. Frequently, the informants, who were hardly conversant with large numbers, when they were asked questions about the quantities of fighters involved in the warlike events replied, "can you count the grass on a meadow?"

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Libidoo and from the highlands the Adaree under their *abbaa dulaa* Oogatoo, the Harbarnoosa and other clans also despatched their contingents. However the Gogot Federation remained on the offensive right up to the invasion of the Italians. When they advanced towards East-Gurage, the Libidoo sent a delegation to them under *qäññazma* Woshsheebe to greet them as liberators and to portray their situation as refugees. Three months later, in May/June, when the new masters had compelled the Gogot Federation and the Amhara to make peace, the Libidoo could return to their territory.[837]

At the same time as the Libidoo had to flee north-east under the pressure exerted upon them by the East-Gurage, the Shaashoogo were attacked by the Allaaba. They could, however, hold their ground in their own territory and hinder the advance of their foes. Also in the area of Aashe, the Allaaba could not make big inroads against the southern Arsi.

With the exception of the East-Gurage and Allaaba, all the Hadiyya groups of the Kämbata Province, particularly the Shaashoogo, Leemo, Sooro and Baadawwaachcho adopted an antagonistic attitude towards the abäša which erupted into an open conflict after the Ethiopian defeat at May Cäw. The informants recalled with restraint the bloodbath which was created among the *näf äñña* and their families who could not retreat in time to the fortified *kätäma* of the government in Hossäyna or Soddo/Wälaytta. Informants who were confronted with questions regarding the brutality of that time were somewhat distrustful out of fear of government sanctions. In a surge of hatred and revenge, the rebellious people slew the abäša colonists, often women and children inclusively.[838]

In Hossäyna *fitawrari* Tamrat Wäldä Sämayat, acting on behalf of governor Mäšäša Wäldä who was fighting the Italians on the northern front with his troop contingent from the Kämbata Province, prepared for a subjugation campaign against the insurrectionary territories after the shock of the massacre. He sent messengers to *dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n Wossäne in Soddo/Wälaytta and opened negotiations with the Gogot Federation under *im m* Sugato to coordinate the course of action against the anti-government tribes more efficiently. However, the East-Gurage forces were so tied up fighting against the Libidoo that they could not intervene in Kämbata and the Wälaytta faced an attack by the Baadawwaachcho.

Around the middle of 1936, the rebellious Hadiyya could gain military advantages in the first onslaught, and the situation for the *näf äñña* was at times extremely precarious. The Leemo, who allegedly had over a hundred rifles at their disposal, advanced to Hossäyna and destroyed the town except for the strongly fortified *g bbi*. With the help of machine guns, the abäša defenders then succeeded in pushing the attackers back towards the south and pursued them into the territory of the Sooro. The Kambaata also joined the insurrection against the imperial Ethiopian

837 Information related by Ochorro Xubbe and Faaqiro Farde in 1973.

838 For most of the information about the events of the war in Kämbata Province I have to thank Namana Dilliso. See also BUSTORF 2011: 300ff.

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authority and subsequently had to face massive acts of reprisal on the part of the government troops.

In the south of Kämbata Province, after assaults by the Baadawwaachcho on *näf äññа* at Jaarso, *dä azmac* Mäk^{w}änn n had a Hadiyya *gaaxanna* along with several of his fighters executed as ringleaders and in a marauding raid pushed forward as far as the foot of Mt. Ambarichcho. In May 1936, the Baadawwaachcho gathered their warriors and invaded Wälaytta as far as Boditte. One of the abäša deputy-commanders, *azma* Mulato, was killed by *gaaxanna* Olkamo Miseebo of the Dooda clan. The inhabitants of the territories involved fled towards Soddo, mobilised all available forces and proceeded to launch a counter-offensive.[839] With the backing of the Wälaytta, the *näf äññа* troops under the command of *fitawrari* Zamme advanced via Ilgiira again up to the foothills of Mt. Ambarichcho. From the north, the troops of *fitawrari* Tamrat marched closer through Kämbata in order to annihilate the rebellious Hadiyya by means of a pincer attack. The action was, however, badly coordinated, as Tamrat arrived too early and the Baadawwaachcho who were concentrated in the area of Shonee, were forewarned of the opponent's intentions by seeing the burning houses in the Kämbata highland. They threw themselves with all their available forces against the enemies in the north and defeated them with the support of combatants from the rest of the Hadiyya tribes, pursuing the defeated imperial troops up to the vicinity of the Catholic mission station Waato in Kambaata territory. Overnight, the *näf äññа* could go back to Hossäyna in good order. The Hadiyya desisted from pursuing them, and part of the Baadawwaachcho proceeded northwards to Liisaanna in order to fight in a union together with the Shaashoogo and Leemo against the warriors of the Gogot Federation. The latter had allied itself with the Allaaba and represented from the north-west a serious threat to the rebels in the Kämbata Province. The Allaaba living to the west of the Bilate had fled to their kinsmen east of the river right at the beginning of the hostilities.

At the outbreak of the war, the Baadawwaachcho were said to have had barely more than ten firearms at their disposal. They were fighting under the command of *qäññazma* Alambo Waashsho (Doodichchmanna), Mirkaanno Ijaajo (Waageshmanna), Bargude Hardoochcho (Haballo) and Ginniye Gereebo (Oyyata-Hadalmanna) from their Kambaata allies. Thus they remained faithful to their tactic against M nil k's troops of attacking the opponents with no shields during the reloading time and seeking combat at close quarters.

Despite their early military successes, it soon became clear to the Baadawwaachcho and Kambaata that they would no longer be able to withstand the very much superior enemy who had almost encircled them. Therefore, they were anxiously looking forward to the collapse of the Ethiopians against the advancing Italian forces as a turning-point to put to their advantage. Among the Kambaata peasants who did not have mobility at their command like the livestock-rearing

839 The reports of informants about these events were confirmed by the written recollections of the Protestant missionary DAVIS (1972: 91, 95).

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Hadiyya, and who were permanently afflicted by the plundering raids of the enemy, a war-weariness spread rapidly. In October 1936, the remaining *näf äññña* from the Sidamo Province had fled to Soddo/Wälaytta[840] and had thereby strengthened the military potential of imperial Ethiopia in this area considerably. A troop contingent under *fitawrari* Bäqälä advanced from Wälaytta to Qacabiira and occupied the area as far as Mesaafe. The Hadiyya fled with their herds to the lowlands of the Bilate valley, covered with thick bush and reluctantly frequented by the abäša for climatic reasons. In their ultimately forlorn situation, the Baadawwaachcho sent four negotiators, Badamo Akole, Lachcheebo Koshe, Mirkaanno Ijaajo and Laajiso Taloore to *dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n. As intermediary and interpreter the *näggadras* Täsämma šäte was designated. Mak^{w}änn n demanded the Kambaata to be included in the peace negotiations, but the belligerent noble Oyyata clan proved to be unyielding.

> The Baadawwaachcho then sent a delegation to the Kambaata in order to convince the Oyyata to surrender and to make peace with the imperial Ethiopian authority. However, they were spurned. As a result, a second delegation comprising nine mounted warriors was sent there. They were attacked by the Kambaata, but the Baadawwaachcho succeeded in killing five of the aggressors. They brought the captured genitals to *dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n at the place of negotiation. Owing to this, peace was made as the Baadawwaachcho had proven to be allies of the Amhara.
>
> (According to Namana Dillisso).

The Baadawwaachcho were compelled to join the war against the remaining rebels in Kämbata Province and penetrated up to Waagabataa in Sooro with the *näf äññña* troops. The residents of this territory had hoisted the Ethiopian flag and were therefore spared. Thereafter, the Baadawwaachcho advanced side by side with the *näf äññña* to W lbaräg, to fight against the Leemo. The Baadawwaachcho are said to have looted cattle and slain men who resisted them. However, they did not kill the women and children of their tribal relatives and refused to fight with the abäša troops against the Shaashoogo, their traditional friends, who in all conflicts in their territory had so far remained undefeated. Disobeying the command of *dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n, they returned home.

After the defeat of the people of the Kämbata Province, the Ethiopian troops moved eastward with their allies in order to fight against the irregular military forces of the Italians in southern Arsi and to relieve the persevering troops of *ras* Dästa Dam äw in the highlands of Sidamo Province. After the conclusion of this campaign, the *näf äññña* are said to have decided to completely destroy the Baadawwaachcho, seen as recalcitrant and unreliable, once and for all. They had been given an order to stay on the Allaaba boundary. The Kambaata had also aligned

840 DAVIS 1972: 96; GIACCARDI 1937: 1555.

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themselves with the government party in the meantime, and the Baadawwaachcho, surrounded by enemy forces, got prepared to fight a final desperate battle. It did not materialise, however, as operative units of the Italian occupation army arrived there from the north and east at the beginning of 1937, crossed the Bilate at Damine, and attacked the Ethiopian fighters concentrated there with their air force. Near Reke the Ethiopians put up fierce resistance and withdrew towards Soddo and Hossäyna to their last defence positions.

The Hadiyya, with the exception of the Allaaba, who remained neutral, and the East-Gurage, who up to the bitter end were predominantly loyal to Emperor aylä Mllase, welcomed the European Italians as liberators and provided auxiliaries against the abäša who had not yet capitulated. After bombardments on Soddo, the Italians seized the *kätäma* on 17.4.1937 and took the governor, *dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n Wossäne, and the rest of the defenders prisoner.[841] On 11th February Hossäyna was overrun and *fitawari* Tamrat Wäldä Sämayat was killed by the invaders during the attack.[842] His brother still put up resistance in the dense bush of the lowlands for a while; and a small group of Ethiopian patriots under the command , R R . .TV ´T , , . ´TT . ´T .P , -Ethiopian re-conquest in the year 1941.[843]

As the *näf äññä* of Southern Ethiopia emerged as the greatest losers in the shift of power, they were the ones who fought with particular persistence against the new rulers. The demand by the Italians to turn in their arms ensued on the part of several dozen abäša in the Kämbata Province. Who was then still found with forbidden firearms was in danger of being shot as an “outlaw” in accordance with a decree issued by Marshal Graziani, the appointed governor of Ethiopia. To combat the imperial loyalist partisans, it was preferred to rely on indigenous “*banda*” troops which were under the control of the colonial power’s regional authorities and were commanded by Italian officers.

The year 1936/7 is recalled by the Hadiyya as a year of distress, because due to the absence of the men who were auxiliaries in the Ethiopian army and combatants in the civil war, agricultural production stagnated, and on the other hand resources were lost due to marauding raids. In order to survive, people had to largely live from gathered wild plants and from the meat of domestic animals. They started with the slaughtering of the less important and less valued smaller livestock.[844]

841 DAVIS 1972: 106.

842 GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 548.

843 DEL BOCA (1969: 242) refers to a research article in the “Manchester Guardian” on Ethiopian resistance fighters, which, for example, distinguishes *grazma* Garassu in Gurageland.

844 That the livestock formed a kind of emergency reserve in times of disaster was a common phenomenon in southern Ethiopia. Cf. chap. 3.6.3. For example, when Konsoland was drought-stricken in 1955, KULS (1958:125, our translation from German) recorded the comment: “The Konso are suffering so badly because of the drought that they are only eating meat”.

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The Lake Region became part of the new administrative districts "*Galla e Sidama*" (capital 5 imma) under a governor which encompassed the whole of south-western Ethiopia. Most of the Arsi, along with the eastern Oromo, were attributed to Harär Province with the same-named capital obviously because of their Islamic orientation.[845] This tracing of boundaries to some extent affected the administrative system negatively. The Arsi in their western borderland, for example, initially refused to cooperate with the government or to pay taxes until an agreement was reached in 1939.[846] Generally, the territories inhabited by people of the Hadiyya cluster did not belong to regions which were particularly promoted economically because of political and military considerations. Nevertheless, the five years of European occupation here had left some significant traces.

For the sake of an efficient system of control and taxation the Italians could not dispense with the administrative organization which they had encountered in the Ethiopian Empire. The old pre- abäša governmental structures in the *Dar agär* were, on the one hand, largely shattered[847] and did, on the other hand, not provide a suitable alternative for efficient colonial rule. However, it was in the interest of the Italians to break the power of the *näf äññä*, the mostly patriotic imperial loyalists, and to build up a counterweight in this part of their colony as opposed to the evident dominance of the abäša. By their declared policy of emphasizing the principal equality of their Ethiopian subjects and by abolishing the *gäbbar* system,[848] they consequently gained extensive loyalty from the southern people. The recollections of the old informants in Hadiyyaland who still registered the shocking picture of suffering and atrocity of their past as *gäbbar*, consequently preserved a positive awareness of the "Italian Period" as a change towards greater freedom and humanity in their consciousness. It is indeed for Africa an unusual situation, only understandable through the preceding ruling system based on an extreme inhumane exploitative type of bondage, that the period of occupancy of the colonial power from Europe was then mourned as a happier phase of existence.[849]

The *gäbbar* peasants were not only relieved of the compulsory labour service demanded by the *mälkäññä* but were awarded the land cultivated by them which became their own property. The Italian administration was content with this measure alone and did not carry out any extensive land-survey or redistribution policy, especially because with the relatively sparse population density in the 1930s there was no

845 GUIDA DELL' AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938, map.

846 SBACCHI 1985: 92f. This researcher provided a detailed analysis on Italian colonial administration in Ethiopia.

847 This applied especially to the C rcär area (SCHOTTENLOHER 1939: 271).

848 The *gäbbar* system was declared irreconcilable with "Italian civilisation". (GIACCARDI 1937: 1563; cf. DE MONFREID 1936: 71).

849 I sometimes came across bitter remarks by informants in the Hadiyya-Sidaama, Arsi and Cärcär regions, who labelled their former *näftänna* masters as "bloodsuckers" and sometimes put forward the curious statement that "during the Italian time there was always enough rain and no drought".

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acute lack of arable land. Also as a rule, no alterations were made to the pre-existing property situation of the ethnic groups, and the predominant aim was to retain the *status quo* , Tj T ´T T could continue to live on the domains of *ras* Kaka aylu which were claimed by the Libidoo as being formerly land belonging to them. Also the course of the ethnic boundary of the Libidoo with the Mäsqan at Dobanna was officially confirmed.[850]

Besides the fact that a “peasant liberation” ensued, compulsory labour and the frequent arbitrarily set special tributes fell away, the fixed tax rate demanded by the Italians lay considerably below that of the abäša regime. The new rulers were anxious to win the sympathy of the subjects of their colonial empire and therefore kept the tax rate as low as possible. In fact, 90% of the entire expenditure of Italian East Africa was raised in the mother country.[851] The Italians let the property tax, up to then the most important kind of tax in Ethiopia, to fall except for the tithes.[852] However, during the time they had at their disposal, they did not manage to create a unified system.

The Libidoo informants reported that per *gaša* and year ten Maria Theresa thalers were paid whereas the informants in Baadawwaachcho estimated the amount of tax at on thaler per fully-grown steer or cow per year. This caused the owners of livestock to quote the head of cattle as low as possible. In addition, the old or the newly appointed government chieftains were obliged to provide manpower for the construction of roads and bridges because a modern infrastructure was desperately needed in the mountainous country to foster economic development. Within a few years the Italians provided a relatively efficient road system, the route planning of which was to a large extent also determined by military considerations. In those days the most important transportation links through the Lake Region to the Kenyan border were expanded and new routes at the eastern and western edge of the Rift Valley, e.g. via Buta3ira and Hossäyna to Soddo/Wolamo and via Asälla to Boqojjii, were built.

The services required by the Italians were hated by the colonial subjects in a similar way as the compulsory labour for the *näf äñña*. The administrator CANNONIERI wrote with evident annoyance:

> “But the Arussi consider themselves as big masters, a race superior to the petty farmers, as great cattle keepers, as hunters of big game who oppose accepting lower works.” [853]

As there was a necessity to re-establish efficient governmental structures after the collapse of the administrative system mainly based on abäša personnel, the Italians

850 Information related by Ocorro Xubbe, Faaqiro Farde and Dobe Farde in Libidoo.
851 HERMANN 1938: 133.
852 MAHTEME SELASSIE WOLDE MASKAL 1957: 297. The direct tax which was introduced and in 1938 standardized in Italian East Africa (WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM 1970: 54) as a form of income tax, proved to be unsuitable for the rural areas.
853 CANNONIERI 1937: 14 (our translation from Italian).

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were led to relying strongly on the indigenous socio-political elite. They sought replacements for the officials of Christian Ethiopian background as a rule among the most high-ranking of the local traditional dignitaries. For example, *im m* Sugato Zäyni became the appointed delegate of the governor of East-Gurage[854] residing in 5 imma, and Bargano Mooliso, great-grandson of the last Kambaata king and promoted to *dä azma* and cavalry officer, received a high administrative function in the former Kämbata Province. Even though the Italian colonial system was based on the principle of centralisation and direct rule, it could not do without the implementation of practices of "indirect rule". The establishment of the administrative apparatus was determinedly expedited after November 1937 when Luigi di Savoia-Aosta, considered educated and liberal and familiar with the cultural conditions in Ethiopia, replaced Marshal Graziani, renowned for his brutality, as the Viceroy in Addis Abäba.

Among the southern peoples, the Italians tried to work towards a return to local cultural traditions which sometimes went as far as a revitalisation of almost totally forgotten institutions and customs which were awakened in the memory of the older generation.[855] Civil rights matters and crimes right up to involuntary manslaughter through hunting accidents were preferably left in the hands of traditional jurisdiction. The colonial rulers emphatically fought against slavery and the slave trade with the drastic punishment of death by hanging – these social injustices had given them an argument for the moral justification of their war of aggression. Still during the campaigns in Ogaadeen and Sidamo, GRAZIANI (1940: 307) issued a decree on 27.2.1936 generally freeing slaves and facilitating social training for those freed. Freed slaves in central-southern Ethiopia were allocated land, although by far not all of them, as such a measure seemed to put too much of a strain on the existing arrangements. Kidnapping and trade in humans, according to the statements of the Hadiyya informants, actually came to a standstill because of the high risk.

With the establishment of a modern infrastructure, a further development accompanied it in the form of urban settlements and market centres.[856] In some of the existing *kätäma*, like for example Gobba or Hossäyna, permanent buildings were constructed out of stone for the administration and the military. Other small towns were newly established; Wälqite, for example, became the capital of the "*Residenza dei Guraghe Occidentali*". Subsequent institutions which provided supplies and facilities to the surroundings, particularly markets and religious facilities, were brought in. From the period of Italian occupation for the first time some statistical details are available about the Hadiyya territories. The number of inhabitants of the

854 New results of research about the situation of the time of Italian occupation in East-Gurage were provided by BUSTORF (2011: 304ff.).

855 Helmut STRAUBE (personal communication in 1974) heard of one such case among the Bur3i where the Italian colonial administration animated the indigenous people to renew the no longer practiced *gadaa* system (naturally without killing raids). This was confirmed by AMBORN (2009: 165).

856 HORVATH 1968: 42ff.

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“*Residenza del Cambátta*” was specified as 400,000, that of the capital city Hossäyna as 12,000.[857] According to more recent estimates at the beginning of the 1970s, the population of the territory which still encompassed Allaaba had almost doubled since then. For Hossäyna, the Italian specification appears to be too high as a census drawn up by the city administration between 1970 and 1973 collected the data of barely 11,000 residents, and since 1940 an increase is definitely apparent.[858] Further places in this region with more than 2,500 residents were specified by the GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA ZT. P T Angaca, Duranne (Duraame), Gulito (Qolito) and Shonee (*Ras* GetaCCäw Kätäma).[859]

In the Arsi highlands Robee was a residential administrative town and á , (Ticcio), with 1,000 residents, seat of the “Commissariato degli Arussi”.[860] Gobba, the main town of Bale, had 3,000 people.[861]

Through the expansion of a road network passable for motor vehicles the volume of domestic trade in Ethiopia increased considerably. Simultaneously, the modern means of transport signified an end to the eclusive caravan trade on the north-south route from Addis Abäba to Sidamo and on the east-west route from Bale in the Lake Region. The continued supply of the Maria Theresa thaler, the supply of which was contractually secured to Italy by Austria, remained the unit of currency.

The improved transport facilities stimulated the cultivation of cash crops, particularly red pepper, for which there was a great demand throughout the whole of Ethiopia. In the lower-lying Hadiyya territories, in Libidoo, Shaashoogo and Allaaba the most important producer centres emerged. Also the cultivation of coffee, which today is by far the most important Ethiopian cash crop, began to spread throughout the zones of higher elevation (over 2000 m) which were suitable for the plant. In the *Residenza del Cambátta* it was first adopted mainly during the period of Italian occupation. At the suggestion of European advisors, the Hadiyya started planting cotton in the hot and humid river valleys which had up to then been avoided by peasant settlers: the Allaaba and Baadawwaachcho on the Bilate, the Qabeena on the tributaries of the upper Gibe. The banana was introduced from 5 imma to the area east of the Omo, and the Italians themselves enhanced the range of crops through a sub-species of maize which was named after them in Hadiyyisa *taliansh boqollo*. In

857 GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 548. These figures are based on surveys, the realisation of which is not exactly verified. The “Residenza” basically corresponded to the former province. The names of the Italian residents were not known to the Hadiyya informants.

858 According to THE 1994 POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS OF ETHIOPIA (p. 17) the population amounted to 1,050151 in Hadiyya Zone and to 727,340 in Kämbata-Allaaba- imbaaro Zone. THE SUMMARY AND STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE 2007 POPULATION AND HOUSING CENSUS of 2008 (pp. 76, 80) specifies 1,243,776 for Hadiyya Zone, 683,167 for Kambaata-Timbaaro Zone and 232,241 for Allaaba Special Wäräda.

859 GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 548 f., 555, 557. The actual figures were most probably lower.

860 GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 461.

861 GUIDA DELL’ AFRICA ORIENTALE ITALIANA 1938: 464.

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contrast, the European sorts of vegetables and fruits, like the tomato and other crops valued by the Italians living in the country, could not gain much acceptance among the locals. Increasing deforestation through clearing and the taking of firewood, particularly by the Allaaba, led to the introduction of the eucalyptus tree, already been naturalised in the *Wäyna Däga* zones west of the Bilate, being planted in the lowland regions of the Rift Valley from 1940 onwards.

Remarkably, agricultural cultivation is said to have boomed during the Italian period of occupation especially due to the abolition of the *gäbbar* system which had reduced the will to work for the producers. Gädäb belonged to the last of the territories inhabited by Hadiyya and Arsi where plough cultivation asserted itself. The colonial rulers showed little interest in livestock-keeping so that in this economic sector no noteworthy innovations emerged. To test the riding quality of the horses, the Italian Resident commissioned Bargano, the *balabbat* of Kämbata, to organise horse racing in Hossäyna and offered 50 thalers as prize money for the winner.[862]

One of the essential features inherent in Italian colonial policy was that of strengthening the ethnic and cultural self-esteem of people in southern Ethiopia which had long been suppressed by the abäša. In the religious sphere, Islam was especially promoted to counteract the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a prominent mainstay of anti-colonial resistance. In fact, the decisive breakthrough for Islam took place among the Arsi (and also among many other ethnic groups) during the years between 1936 and 1941. It was particularly the ur'an scholars emerging from the school centres of Robee/Diida'a who developed a proper mission campaign amongst the western Arsi. In Gädäb, one remembered *shaikh* Abd al-Ra mdn, through whose initiative many of the locals converted to Islam. In á , , the Italians employed a *shaikh* who originated from Bale by the name of *adjdj* Ussen as their confidant who energetically used his influential position for Muslim religious propaganda and was supported in this by *adjdj* 2 hmad and *fitawrari* Mammiyyo.[863] In his studies on Islam and particularly Salafism in Bale, which were carried out in the first decade of this century, Terje ØSTEBØ (2012: 126-129, 176) collected numerous data concerning religious personnel, administrative structure and socio-economic transformations, which clearly support the notion of the decidedly pro-Muslim policy of the Italians.

The European colonial rulers were interested in promoting Islamization because it had the automatic side-effect of obliterating the *gadaa* system with its inherent killing-obligations and so contributed to a pacification of Arsiland and other areas in southern Ethiopia. A great number of mosques, e.g. in Qolito, Kofale, á , and other towns, can be traced back to the Italian period. ur dn schools and institutions concerned with Muslim judicial rights found support among the administrative authorities.

862 Communication by informants in Baadawwaachcho, Kambaata and Leemo, who, however, could no longer remember the frequency and the modalities of this race.

863 Information related by various Arsi informants. See also BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 152-69.

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With the adoption of Islam the hitherto strictly observed clan exogamy (cf. chap. 3.7) started dissipating. The Muslim preference of cousin marriage could not gain a breakthrough up to the present day, however.[864] Among the Libidoo and western Arsi, as a rule, the marriage regulations required that the pedigrees of the partners have to be different up to the seventh generation on the paternal side and up to the fifth generation on the maternal one. Also the Booyyaamanna groups in Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho, of whom only a small percentage converted to Islam, indicated that during the Italian period they had adopted the seven generation rule when marrying. Before this time they had preferentially observed the rule of marrying partners from other Booyyaamanna clans.

Among the Hadiyya of the lowlands of the Lake Region with its economic focus on livestock-keeping, particularly the western Arsi, the Allaaba and the Shaashoogo, the Muslim religion worked towards a ban on the consumption of blood from living and slaughtered animals. Although it was not essential for overall nutrition, it was appreciated as a type of food. People who had converted to Islam had henceforth to abandon the custom of consuming blood, because it was classified as " *ar m*" (unclean, forbidden) by the laws of the religion. Because dietary rules and obligations are regarded an essential criterion in the religious beliefs and practices of people all over Ethiopia – this also refers to the Orthodox Christians – blood as a nutritional substance was abandoned within a short time.[865]

By supporting Islam, the colonial rulers promoted a cultural system rooted in north-eastern Africa for several hundred years. The efforts that were made to convey their own European civilisation remained comparatively minor in the territories inhabited by peoples of the Hadiyya cluster. Besides, measures towards infrastructural and economic development took precedence over the setting up of a modern (Western) educational system. The rural schools remained, like to a great extent in Africa, the stepchild of the colonial rulers. The white missionaries were distrustfully monitored by the Ethiopian authorities during the war.[866] Some stations, like that of the "Sudan Interior Mission" (S.I.M.) in Libidoo, had to be abandoned because of attacks by the local population.[867] The Italians mistrusted the European and American missionaries and they were particularly wary of the Ethiopian intellectuals educated in occidental countries, against whom a bloody persecution started after an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Viceroy Graziani in 1937.[868] It was no secret that the majority of them rejected Fascism. The colonial government did not restrict

864 Apart from a minority of particularly religious-minded people this rule applies to most of the Islamic groups and territories of north-eastern Africa. Cf. also LEWIS (1967: 127 ff.) for the Somali. With the strengthening of Salafism since the 1990s the situation is presumably changing.

865 Detailed explanations on this point were given to me by the Allaaba elder Ibrdhim Affuuso.

866 This was reported by STEER (1937: 256) of the Wäylatta stations. In the other territories, e.g., also in Kämbata, it was said to be similar.

867 This arose from research done by LASS-WESTPHAL (1972: 96).

868 PANKHURST 1972: 374. SBACCHI 1985: 80, 85 ff., *passim*.

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the activities of the Roman Catholic missions in southern Ethiopia, predominantly run by fellow countrymen, out of consideration for the treaty Mussolini had concluded with the Vatican. Missionaries who conformed to the regime could be certain of official support. However, towards some Protestant mission societies the Italians were partly very harsh. S.I.M. missionaries of the station in Wälaytta whose followers were suspected of sympathising with the exiled Emperor were compelled to leave their field.[869] This measure had an effect on the stations in the *Residenza del Cambátta*.

The principles of the Fascist education policy for the East African Colonial Empire were proclaimed in a decree of the 24th July 1936 (Article I) which stipulated that there should be two different types of education, namely schools according to an Italian metropolitan model, and those for the "colonial subjects".[870] The curricula noticeably differed according to their purposes.

It was clearly inherent in the nature of Fascist ideology and of colonialism that the Italians, on the basis of their ideology of cultural and racist superiority, conceived the indigenous people as only second-class citizens. They were basically valued as a factor for providing manpower for economic production and securing military potential for the motherland. As HABTE-MARIAM MARCOS (1976: 173) put it with regard to language as the basic means of communication, the personal relations between colonizers and colonized remained meagre and specific:

> "In general, their major contacts were through houseboys and maids who were expected to understand standard Italian though not necessarily to use it themselves. Many soldiers preferred to communicate with underlings through interpreters rather than learn a contact language, as shown in several soldier diaries of the period."

This remark applies to a special degree to southern Ethiopia where no facilities of modern education except mission schools existed. As a rule, only people who had served in the army for some time or had been employed as service staff by administrative authorities were in a position to learn a bit of the language of the colonial masters.

In the areas inhabited by Hadiyya, except for the administrators and military personnel, there were barely more than a dozen Italians who had settled as merchants, hauliers or farmers (especially in the fertile coffee-growing areas of Gololcha in Arba-Gugu) and who profited from the infrastructural programme of the *Société des Plantations d'Abyssinie*.[871]

869 DAVIS 1972: 122 ff. Their confiscated property was in this case compensated. Also in other territories of Ethiopia there were Protestants like e.g. the Hermannsburg and the Swedish Evangelical Mission which were affected by such measures. See PANKHURST (1972: 363 f.) who refers to the "Four Power Commission Report on Eritrea", Appendix 86.

870 MINISTERIO DELLE COLONIE 1936: 608. PANKHURST 1972: 361-96.

871 Regarding the situation of the European farmers in central-southern Ethiopia see LATHAM 1912: 6; NORDEN n.d.: 62; STEER 1937: 76 f.; CANNONIERI 1937: 33, 52, 108 f., 168 f. To be

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The possibilities for social advancement through school education remained rare for the indigenous population. At best a partial improvement in the colonial system through a technical specialisation, e.g. as motor mechanic, could be achieved. To curb the significance of the Amharic national language according to the principle of "divide and rule", a decree was issued on 1st June 1936 stating that the colonial subjects in general were to be taught in the main languages of each province, e.g. in Oromiffaa (Gallinya), and in addition the governors could suggest additional languages (e.g. "Guraginya", etc.).[872] Before this provision could be introduced on a broad basis, the Italian colonial rule in Ethiopia came to an end.

3.8.2 Re-Conquest and "Ethiopian Restoration"

When Italy on 10th June 1940 entered the Second World War, the situation in its East African territories became abruptly precarious because British domination of the access routes meant that supplies from the mother country were cut off. After an Italian foray into Berbera in British Somaliland had been repelled, troops from different countries of the British Empire invaded Italian East Africa from Kenya and Sudan, and with the support of the Ethiopian resistance fighters, could bring the entire country under their control within a few months. On 5th May 1941, aylä M T I found his way into Addis Abäba which a month previously had been conquered by British troops, and on 27th November with the fall of Gondär, the last bastion of Italian defence collapsed.[873] Even though the Italian troops still had substantial military provisions and considerable contingents of indigenous "*banda*" at their disposal, particularly from the southern peoples for whom a return to abäša rule could not be welcome, they hastily retreated in the face of the advancing enemy.

The main body of the British troops had advanced from Kenya via Mogadishu straight through the Ogaadeen region to Harär and then along the D rre Dawa -Addis Abäba railway line to central Ethiopia. At the same time, several battalions had begun an offensive in February 1941 from the region of Moyale and Mega directed towards the Sidaama highlands. After the fall of Addis Abäba, the 22nd East African Brigade of General Alan Cunningham's 11th division turned southwards into the Lake Region where large Italian forces were concentrated.

> "If Shashamana fell, the retreat of these 15,000 Italians would be threatened: if Dalle fell or if the road to Soddu was cut, they would find themselves completely bottled up between the 22nd Brigade to the north, the 12th Division to

mentioned in addition are the French settlements in As db c ´ d. . T á , and the German ones (Plazikowsky) on the Dobana river at Buta3ira and in Adaamii Tulluu (Götz). As collaborators of the Italian fascists, the German settlers in northern Arsi, E. Ehm, R. Heller and P. Weidemann received the "croce di guerra" handed over by Marshal Graziani on April 6th 1937 (CANNONIERI 1937: 119).

872 MINISTERIO DELLE COLONIE 1936: 315 (Art. XXXII).

873 ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGNS 1942: 136 ff.; PERHAM 1969: 153; DEL BOCA 1969: 258.

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> the south, the Patriot-filled mountains to the east, and Lake Abbaya to the west."[874]

While a smaller force of the British expedition army from the Adaama area marched towards the highlands of Arsi, Asälla fell on 9th April 1941, Boqojjii four days later, the main body of troops moved through the lowland in the direction of Adaamii Tulluu. At Fike, west of Lake Ab3ata (29.4), and at Bubissa, a day of marching further south (9.5), the Italians resisted in a defensive battle lasting several days, but they could not stop the British advance. On 14th May, Šašämäne was occupied and on 17th Dalle in the Sidaama highland was reached, where the northern operative forces had united with the 12th African Division advancing from Nagaallee. From Bubbisaa and Šašämäne, the troops, mostly comprised of Nigerian and Kenyan soldiers, continued their advance towards Soddo/Wälaytta, the last great bastion of the Italians in central-southern Ethiopia. At the end of May, after a short period of resistance, the generals Liberati and Baccari surrendered with almost 5,000 men and a lot of munitions.[875] Leaving Soddo, the British troops advanced north-west towards 5 imma where the remainder of the Italian colonial army, including those forces stationed in Hossäyna, had retreated. On 5th June they crossed the Omo in the territory of the Sooro-Hadiyya and on the same day another British contingent coming from Addis Abäba via Wäliso and Wälkite arrived in the town Abälti at the headwaters of the Gibe. The virtually uncontested occupation of 5 imma signified the end of the British-Italian military actions in this territory.[876]

Northern Bale was not affected by the invading troops of the British Empire because there was no necessity as the Italian garrisons, due to the threatening encirclement, had moved off to the west. Straight after the retreat of the colonial occupiers in the spring of 1941, the Ethiopian resistance fighters (*arbäññä*) operating there emerged from their hideouts and began a struggle against the indigenous Arsi in order to bring the territory under their control. The "patriots" sent a report of operations to the commander of the Anglo-Ethiopian forces in Šašämäne, and as a result, Emperor g M T despatched *dä azma* Mäkʷ riya as commander to Bale in order to finalise the re-conquest.[877]

As the Italians put up hardly any resistance and the British troops in their pursuance of the enemy in central-southern Ethiopia followed through swiftly, the civilian population was not much affected by the war acts. The retreating colonial rulers had made themselves so unpopular by the requisition of large numbers of livestock that many young Arsi and Hadiyya willingly followed the appeal of the British commanders to participate as auxiliaries in order to re-conquer their country. It was moreover obvious for them that on the side of the victor they could anticipate spoils. The indigenous people are said to have rarely fought the new foreign invaders, as

874 ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGNS 1942: 126.
875 ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGNS 1942: 128.
876 ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGNS 1942: 124, 134.
877 Information related by *näf äññä* elders in the Gobba region of Bale in 1973.

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they appeared to them to be "strong and irresistible like lions"[878] and this military conflict of the "*Färän i*" (Europeans) was not their war. Hadiyya people nevertheless fell on both sides, and several of the recruited "*banda*" people followed the Italian colonial masters on their flight up to the "Šanq lla" territories of south-western Ethiopia.

The situation was for a certain time confusing in that one agency of political power had been relinquished, and a new one had not yet been established. So, just like five years previously the invasion of the Italian colonialists had brought about the outbreak of inter-ethnic disputes, their withdrawal then became for the peoples of southern Ethiopia once again a phase of intense civil war turmoil. The Sidaama, the Bur3i and other ethnic groups fiercely resisted abäša re-conquest and made a stand over a longer period in the form of a guerrilla war.[879] In the boundary territories, conflicts broke out with the Arsi, which caused many casualties. There were also outbreaks of violence within the Arsi territory, like for example, between the clans of the Weege and Aboosa west of Lake Z^{w}ay, and also incursions against the Šäwa-Oromo who had settled in the area of Muneessa.[880]

In the wake of the British troops, some irregular forces of Somali and Oromo origin moved westward undertaking forays for booty. Hadiyya informants remembered that in the middle of 1941 such a *"banda"* reached Allaaba, where the marauders killed many indigenous people and looted their property. The Wälaytta, rich in agricultural resources, also had to suffer from such attacks. However, near Bugee north of Boditte, they were successful in ambushing a marauding troop retreating eastward with rich booty. The rest were annihilated by the Baadawwaachcho.[881]

In the region of the Duquna range at the end of 1941, the Baadawwaachcho faced an attack by the Wälaytta, who had allegedly rejected an offer on the part of the Hadiyya to negotiate a keeping of the peace. The Baadawwaachcho and the allied Arsi succeeded in repelling the enemy invaders. During these combat actions evidently only small contingents of warriors participated, and the losses were accordingly minor.

During the time of the Italian withdrawal, a war of the Allaaba against the Shaashoogo took place. The latter succeeded in pushing back their enemy, who had invaded the district of Saankura, as far as south of Lake Shaala. At the same time soldiers armed with rifles, who had previously been irregular *banda* in the service of the Italians, infiltrated from East-Gurage, especially Mäsqan, into the Libidoo territory pushing the inhabitants living there eastward to Gadelala and looting a great number of cattle. In the west of Gurageland the Qabeena, who were led by *abagaaz*

878 This was a statement which I recorded in Baadawwaachcho, especially from Namana Dilliso.

879 HABERLAND 1963a: 29, 279; JENSEN 1959: 26; AMBORN 2009: 28.

880 The informants whom I interviewed were reluctant to report details about these incidents, because they were condidered a sensitive issue.

881 This was reported to me by Namana Dillisso. Eike HABERLAND (personal communication in 1972) also heard of this event in Wälaytta.

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Saale, could not resist an assault launched against them by the united Muher and Eabo and had to vacate the territory of Zenna-Bannär at the headwater of the Small Wabi until the "Ethiopian Restoration" had re-established peace.[882]

In the turmoil of 1941, in many territories public security was shattered and, for a short time, practices of slavery and the slave trade were resumed. The Baadawwaachcho raided the settlements of former slaves in Hachchuura, east of Donga, who after the liberation enforced by the Italians had received land there. According to oral records, they slew the adults, kidnapped and sold the children and plundered all mobile possessions.

It took years for peace to prevail in central-southern Ethiopia. The German farmer Hermann Götz, by autumn 1943, had still not returned to Adaamii Tulluu and had remained in his place of refuge on an island on Lake Z^{w}ay for fear of the Arsi who had destroyed his home and property.[883] Also the Zay people hesitatingly ventured to re-occupy their settlements on the mainland. In the boundary area between Arsi and Sidaama, the tension continued unabatedly,[884] and also the situation in the border areas Arsi and Boorana became temporarily precarious. This is tellingly evidenced by PERHAM's report (1969: 362):

> "In 1942-3 the situation there became very out of hand. The British had been holding this region as far north as Negelli; and upon their withdrawing the Ethiopian Government sent in a very ill-chosen governor with some irregular levies who badly misbehaved themselves […] The still untamed Arussi Galla took to raiding and some detribalised Somalis enjoyed themselves in their own way."

The revenge of the victorious Ethiopians in the re-conquered territories of the south was astonishingly lenient. Processes and acts of violence were an exception, and as a rule the imperial government is said to have contented itself with confiscating a portion of the cattle from ethnic groups who had created a bloodbath under the settlers of abäša origin and had collaborated with the Italians all too amicably, like the Hadiyya in the Kämbata Province and the Arsi. Government chieftains (*balabbat*) who had been in office under the European colonial rulers were in most cases not dismissed by the new administration. High dignitaries, who had placed themselves in the service of the Italians, like *ras* GetaCCäw Abatä, were, however, incarcerated. The former governor of Kämbata, at the instigation of the Empress, who was related to him, was freed after a time and is said to have frequently stayed in Shonee, the centre of his land holdings in Baadaawwaachcho.

882 One of my informants, *abagaaz* Kamal Jubeero, was wounded in this clash.

883 This was mentioned by the traveller BUXTON (1967; 139-41). I had a chance to meet and interview Götz on March 30 1970, five months before his death.

884 Up to the 1970s, these territories were considered particularly dangerous and when the Sidaama celebrated *qexaalla*, one of their traditional festivals, even the police are said to have avoided the area.

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Although the Italian colonial rule had hardly lasted half a decade, its legacy included elements at both the infrastructural and superstructural levels which had a remarkable effect on Ethiopian society and economy after liberation.[885]

3.8.3 The Period to the End of the Government of g I (1944-74)

In 1944 the restoration of the Ethiopian Empire in the southern territories had been largely accomplished. One of the first measures of the administration of the Emperor g M T, who was by then considered progressive and to be accelerating the modernization of his country with the help of British advisors,[886] consisted of a new structuring of the provinces.[887] This affected the Hadiyya territories in the following way. Gurageland with Qabeena was added to Šäwa Province. The Qabeena exclave south of Abälti now belonged to the territory of the Käfa Province with the capital 5imma. Arussi, with the capital Asälla, was expanded around the former Kämbata Province. Bale became a part of the Hararge, and in the south the administrative unit of Sidamo-Borana was created.

The boundary between Ar(us)si and Šäwa ran along the hill range of Faake west of Lake Z^{w}ay, so that Libidoo was situated in Šäwa territory. This territory was at first under the control of the governor (*Awra a gäž*) of the sub-province Gurage in Wäliso. In 1942, the administrator *šaläqa* Asfaw had a *kätäma* founded in Qoshe, the domicile of the priest Abba Zamzo, in order to secure the peace in the notoriously insubordinate Libidoo area. It became the administrative headquarters for two years. Thereafter, up to the building of a new centre of the regional government at Lake Z^{w}ay (at the beginning of the 1960s), Buta3ira was the capital for East-Gurage and Libidoo. Allegedly at the instigation of the big landowners, who preferred the imperial capital Addis Abäba to the provincial town of Asälla for the arbitration of land disputes, another far-reaching change in the administrative structure of central-southern Ethiopia occurred in 1962.[888] The area of Kämbata, mainly inhabited by Hadiyya proper, and the newly formed *Awra a* ayqoCC-Buta3ira comprising the lowlands of the Lake Region between the Awaš River and Lake Awasa were transferred from Arussi to Šäwa. The territory of Allaaba which had hitherto belonged to Kämbata was, as a new administrative sub-unit, allocated to ayqoCC-Buta3ira with the capital of Z^{w}ay kätäma. At that time it was possible to settle a long-standing dispute about district boundaries between the Allaaba and the Arsi through arbitra-

885 This point was also stressed by the Ethiopian historian BAHRU ZEWDE (1988: 277ff.).

886 That the emperor in the long run neither worked towards overcoming social contradictions nor towards national integration of his multi-ethnic state, became clear to the world public much later.

887 Before the annexation of Eritrea into the Ethiopian state in 1962, there were twelve provinces. Thereafter the number was enlarged to fourteen through the former Italian colony and the detachment of Bale from Hararge as an independent province.

888 This information given by Hadiyya and Amhara informants is confirmed by SEIFU YIGEZU (1970: 1).

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tion. 1962 was also the year that Bale became a province on its own, separated from Hararge.

Through the European occupation a historical watershed had occurred, after which g M ase could not risk turning back the wheel of history by reinstituting the *gäbbar*-system of the pre-Italian period. Initially, the Emperor tried his hand at reform and in proclamations of 1942 and 1944 he enacted far-reaching changes in the institutions and procedures of taxation. From now on the land tax could only be submitted in cash to authorised people commissioned by the Ministry of Finance, and types of socage and compulsory labour were interdicted.[889] However, it did not result in a far-reaching reform, as the *näf äñña* class, the main representatives of resistance against the Italian colonial rulers, constituted a powerful lobby against every aspiration for democratisation and a far-reaching land reform.

In regard to administration, the "Ethiopian Restoration" signified an extensive return to the circumstances that had existed before the Italian occupation in as much as nearly all state officials positioned in the old or newly-established southern administrative divisions were of abäša descent. The indigenous dignitaries, on whom the Italians had especially relied, hardly received governmental positions beyond that of a *balabbat*. In the Kämbata sub-province there was S yyum Annoore, the grandson of the *adil* Adaayye Agaago, the first Hadiyya to be appointed *Wäräda gäž* of the imbaaro district in the 1960s. Administrative officials were paid a fixed amount by the state in contrast to the governors of the period before 1935. Moreover, apart from this regulation, the posts were considered a sinecure for the officeholders. With civil and criminal law processes they were able to acquire bribe money which amounted to several times more than the state salary and enabled them to buy land under favourable conditions. For such positions, people were considered deserving if they had either fought for the Ethiopian cause against the Italians themselves, or members of their family had done so.

Next to political power, the bulk of the economic potential in the southern provinces remained primarily in the hands of the abäša elite as this category of people received extensive land grants there. Thus, the disparity of the pre-Italian period was perpetuated and strong social contradictions were re-established. Although the *gäbbar*-system introduced during Emperor M nil k's time, which had degraded the majority of the subjugated peoples to a kind of bondsmen with regard to the *mälkäñña*, was *de iure* abolished now, the former *gäbbar* now became tenants on the estates of the big landowners. They were personally free but in economic terms as landless peasants dependent on the landholders for better or worse. This merely meant *de facto* the creation of a new exploitative system: the paternal and *ad personam* principle of subordination and dependency was shifted to an impersonal relationship level which was determined through the leased land and not as with the

889 "Land tax proclamation" No. 8 of 1942 and "Land tax proclamation" No. 70 of 1944. WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM (1970: 64 f.) cited these proclamations according to the *Negarit Gazeta*, 1, 1942 and 2, 1944. Cf. also LAMBTON 1971: 225.

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gäbbar through the direct connection to his respective *näf äññа* master. For land cultivated by tenants of landlords, the term "*gaša* land" became more and more common all over southern Ethiopia. In principle, the tenants could purchase it, but the high amount of rent and taxes hardly permitted them to survive so that a surplus production and savings were rare.

In the Hadiyya territories of the then Arussi Province, which counted as one of Ethiopia's most favourable arable zones, the allocation of land to non-locals reached a higher dimension than in any other part of the state. It was no longer usufruct and servitude of the inhabitants, as had predominated in the *gäbbar* times, but actually property in the sense of *r st-g*^{w} *lt*, which was confirmed through certification. From the 1940s, land registration officials began to survey the land in order to lay the foundation for an exact taxation. However, this action proceeded sluggishly and after the "Land Tenure Survey Report" of the *Ministry of Land Reform and Administration* in 1970 only 27.31% of the land in Arussi, 11.7% in Bale and 44.58% in Šäwa had been surveyed.[890]

While the *gäbbar* system was characterized by the exploitation of the people's manpower, in the 1960s a new attitude to physiocratism increasingly emerged, the evaluation of the soil as a dominant factor of production and base of capital. From then on, land was considered by the Ethiopian socio-economic elite as a desirable possession and the best money investment. The courts, up to the district capitals, were chiefly occupied with the arbitration of disputes over landholdings.

After the collapse of Italian rule, the *näf äññа* received not only the official tenure over lands they had previously held as *r st-g*^{w} *lt*, but in addition they were offered favourable opportunities to buy additional plots of land which were considered the collective property of the state. As such, according to the concept prevailing in Ethiopia, principally all land was considered for which the inhabitants were not in a position to pay the tax-related amount. Especially the thinly populated lowland areas which served as pasture ground belonged to this category.[891]

The situation of land property in the areas inhabited by Hadiyya was remarkably heterogeneous.[892] In the Baadawwaachcho territory the share of *gaša*, which belonged to the abäša landowners, was particularly high. Alone the size of the land which belonged to the heirs of *ras* GetaCCäw Abatä was estimated at 600 *gaša*. As a reward for military service in the war, the Emperor distributed 88 *gaša* in the region of Jaarso and 60 more in other districts. 30 *gaša* were more or less forcibly occupied by *näf äññа*. y ZIR T ´T , P . g M T . ´Tg , , - ated in Qorga several *gaša* over which the indigenous people unsuccessfully lodged long-standing complaints in court. The land of the Allaaba also went to proprietors from elsewhere in large part. In the Xaafo district a dispute started about 10 *gaša*

890 MARKAKIS 1974: 126.

891 This situation did not apply only to the Hadiyya. Altogether between 1942/3 and 1969/70 nearly five million hectares were allocated to veterans, state officials, landless citizens and petitioners, who approached the Emperor on this behalf (COHEN 1973: 378).

892 I collected samples from various informants in different parts of Hadiyyaland.

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between the *näf äñña* and the indigenous people which continued till 1973. In the Shaashoogo territory it was the grazing ground at the Bilate River which was classified as property of the state and allocated to the abäša landlords. In the *Wäräda* district Leemo ten big landowners could be listed by name whose property altogether amounted to approximately 320 *gaša*. The richest and most unscrupulous *mälkäñña* of the Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* in the early 1970s was said to be Amhara KaKa, whose landholdings were concentrated in Sooro. The Libidoo lost around a third of the land they resided in to landholders from outside. The property of the descendants of *ras* Kása aylu in this area amounted to over 120 *gaša*.[893] With them the *balabbat* family of *qäññazma* Woshsheebe took a dispute to the High Court over 10 *gaša*, and also at the Arsi boundary the Libidoo went to court over 3 *gaša*.

Whereas in the higher elevations of Gurage peasant land *(r st)* belonging to the members of certain lineages or clans predominated, almost the entire district of Gooroo comprising most of the residential area of the Qabeena, was *gaša* land. In the district Zenna-Bannär most of the land remained as *r st-g*^{w} *lt* legally the property of the indigenous people.

Similar to the areas west of the Rift Valley, the sparsely populated and agriculturally valuable territories of Arsiland became a favourite domain of abäša landowners. The autochthonous Oromo had to powerlessly witness how a great proportion of their land was dispossessed and declared the property of the State. In as much as it was not allocated to *näf äñña*, rich people could buy it at low prices from the government and rented it out to local tenants. The practice of land distribution which was customary from the 1940s onwards can be illustrated by an example documented of the Oliiyye clan on the southern shore of Lake Z^{w}ay.[894] The Oliiyye could retain one quarter of the land originally claimed by their clan as owned property; three quarters was declared government land. From the quarter that collectively belonged to them, in turn one quarter of it was awarded to the local *balabbat* and the rest was divided among the other members of the clan.

In the 1950s, the landholdings of *näf äñña* in Abomsa (Arba-Gugu) as well as in the districts of Asälla, Muneessa and Boqojjii were extended considerably. Extensive landholdings at Nagaallee-Arsi were declared the private ownership of the Empress which she had administered through a special official.[895] In the Arussi Province which constituted only a part of the territory inhabited by the same-named people, however, 105.692 landowners were registered according to a census made in

893 Personal communication from Asfa-Wossen Asserate, a grandson of *ras* KaKa aylu, in 1979.

894 HABERLAND (1963a: 420) received detailed information about this from the German farmer Hermann Götz in Adaamii Tulluu. This example can be conceived as largely representative for the legal practices at that time.

895 HABERLAND 1963a: 420. Reliable details about the overall land holding of the Imperial family in central-southern Ethiopia were not available. What I could find out myself was that, e.g., the Princess Tänaññä- (g M T , .TV Tj . T .V ´, V. P . V and Gu33i territory administered by a *balabbat* appointed by her.

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1970 as against 128,014 tenants;[896] around half of all agricultural holdings were registered as rented.[897]

Regarding the circumstances in Bale, no comparable statistics have been available. The endeavour on the part of people from other parts of Ethiopia to buy land there was smaller in this remote part of the country even though favourable areas for the cultivation of grain exist. In the sparsely inhabited zones – also in the climatically favourable northern highlands the density did not surpass 6-14 inhabitants per km² in 1970 [898] – there were still considerable reserves of State land ready for distribution. However, from the 1960s a considerable settlement campaign began by people from northern Ethiopia, particularly Oromo and Amhara from Šäwa and Wällo who were by then pooled mostly under the designation ”Šäwa-Galla”. The authorities in the sub-provinces Ganaale, Fasil and Dallo estimated the number of immigrant peasants, who per family unit could apply for half a *gaša* (c. 20 ha) of state land, for which they had to pay the customary land taxes,[899] at 20,000. Contrary to the past practice of land distribution, here it did not concern any more the creation of large-scale landed property, but of a self-contained petty peasantry. The new settlers were welcomed by the State especially because as Christian Ethiopians they constituted a counterweight to the Islamic Arsi in a territory inclined towards insurrection.

In fact, the Arsi of the northern Bale Province had revolted against the government again. In 1966, a bigger upheaval was triggered off when they refused the tenancy duties and taxes and opposed the police force sanctions. In the remote areas, which had served as refuges for the remnants of the imperial body guard after the failed *coup d'état* of July 1960, the rebels opposing the government found excellent opportunities to escape pursuit. They succeeded in killing some high officials and police officers in ambushes, and the town Angetu in Dallo was largely destroyed. Under the leader Waaqo Guto, the southern Arsi intervened on the side of the Somali in the clashes with the Boorana who were supported by Ethiopian government troops. Only between 1968 and 1970 were the rebels prepared, on the basis of a promise of general amnesty, to establish peace. Bale Province remained, however, under military administration.[900]

Whereas through the abolition of the *gäbbar* system and the development of a new economic antagonism between land holders and tenants a far-reaching change had come about in the secular sphere, the situation in the field of church property was marked by a greater continuity. The *g^{w} lt* rights which had been awarded to the church after the re-conquest of the south, were not only confirmed throughout, but considerably extended. Through *Proclamation* No. 230 of 7th March 1966 freedom

896 ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, sheet 2.
897 MARKAKIS 1974: 128.
898 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 49.
899 The so-called *u c* -Decree of 1952 gave the legal foundation (personal communication by Ethiopian friends in Addis Abäba). Cf. also ØSTEBØ 2011: 137ff.
900 Personal communications by informents in southern Ethiopia and in Addis Abäba.

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from tax for *g*^{w} *lt* land title was abolished, for *sämon* (church land) and *madäriya* (special state land) it remained, however.[901] As a rule, the parishes in central-southern Ethiopia had at their disposal a much larger amount of property, more than the rural priests and deacons could cultivate themselves so that they could rent out a considerable part and gain profit through tenants.[902]

At the beginning of the 1970s, 266 churches existed in Arsi, 61 in Bale and 242 in the two Šäwan sub-provinces ayqoCC-Buta3ira and Kämbata-Hadiya.[903] With an average size of 20-30 *gaša* per parish – occasionally the property amounted to 60-80 or even over 100 *gaša* – one has to assume a quantity of tax-free land of almost 1000,000 hectares in this territory. In Arsi Province, the percentage of *sämon* was estimated to be at least 23.5 of the land under cultivation.[904]

The new tax law of 1942 provided a classification of arable land into three categories, as it had basically existed already in the M nil k era (cf. chap. 3.7.1). For the first category 15 Maria Theresa thalers per *gaša* were to be paid, for the second 10 and for the third 5 thalers. Additionally, a tithe had always to be paid for the harvest. In the reformed bill of 1944, a different taxation was decreed for surveyed and unsurveyed land in the provinces of Šäwa and Arussi. For the latter, which constituted by far the greatest part, the following tax rates applied (each one in Maria Theresa thalers).[905]

1. Category: 35 (tithe); 15 (land tax); 50 (total amount)
2. Category: 30 (tithe); 30 (land tax); 40 (total amount)
3. Category: 10 (tithe); 5 (land tax); 15 (total amount)

There were, however, certain variations between provinces and sub-provinces. As was mentioned to me in the 1970s in the southern Hadiyya territories of Kämbata *Awra a*, the corresponding sum, from now on in Ethiopian *b rr* (Eth $) as the new national currency, amounted to Eth $80 for good arable land (*läm*) per *gaša* and year, Eth $64 for lower-grade arable land (*läm äf*) and Eth $25 for hardly cultivable bush and wasteland (*äf*) which was used for taking wood and as pasture ground. From the time of the introduction of the system, bribing the land registration and tax officials so that they would either underestimate the property size or place it in a lower category regarding quality, was a customary practice. The more solvent a land owner was, naturally the more extensive his possibilities were for tax fraud, and as a

901 WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM 1970: 187f.

902 In order to become more independent from revenues from the land, after the death of *abunä* Bas ylos in 1970, the payment of a salary to high officials and functionaries of the Orthodox Church was introduced (information given by representatives of the church administration in Hossäyna).

903 STITZ 1975: 12. As this author shows, based on diverse documents, the figures differ substantially, however.

904 MARKAKIS 1974: 124. As mentioned, it did not concern church land exclusively.

905 For this classification see WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM (1970: 66).

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rule, one could assume that the land holdings of big property owners were in reality much more extensive than what was recorded in the tax lists.[906]

Peasants, who owned communal land as lineages or clans, were in a comparatively favourable position, because at the end of the year according to the Ethiopian calendar they only had to pay the land tax (*yiršat taks*) and the tithe (*asrat*). These people were called by the Amharic word *t r w* (sing. *t r* ; derived from *r st*), and their land was mostly divided into four parcels (*g mmet*), each of which had to pay one fourth of the total sum of tax. For the collection an official with the title *wänna* was designated in Baadawwaachcho, Allaaba and other territories. He then gave the revenue to a chosen *abbal* and the *dḳqa šum*, the authorized representative of the *balabbat* in that territory, delivered the sum to the financial authorities in the administrative district (*Wäräda*).

While the tax burden for the *t r* did not rise above Eth $ 10, added to that were school and health taxes which constituted 30 % of the land tax,[907] so the situation for the tenants was much more disadvantageous. From the time of the "Ethiopian Restoration" they constituted the greatest proportion of the peasant population in the Hadiyya territories. Among the Hadiyya in the sub-province Kämbata the word commonly used for tenant until 1974, alongside *isäññä,*[908] was *gäbbara*, which clearly evoked memories of the bondage system of past times. The tenants on the land of a big land holder each received a parcel of land to cultivate called a *bälanta* and chose a delegate (*ta äri*) to be responsible for handing in the tenancy amount. The level of the sum was not uniform and rested on the arbitrariness of the land holder against whom the tenant had practically no legal rights. In Leemo, for example, an amount was specified which corresponded to one third of the grain harvest, and in addition two $Eth. had to be paid annually. Moreover, the practice continued to exist of an extra duty (*yamatbal damoz*) to be paid at the great festivals of the year, as the tenant was expected to maintain the goodwill of his patron.

On favourable arable land in the sub-province of Kämbata 20 to 30 tenant-families lived on one *gaša*. The landowner imposed a tenancy levy, which could be determined by a number of representative examples, totalling Eth $ 600-1200. It concerned – apart from the land tax of Eth $ 80 to be paid to the state – pure profit, as no investments had been necessary. In general, in regard to the situation of the tenants, the statements of MARKAKIS (1974: 126f.) are to be entirely agreed with:

906 In the Sidamo Province, for example, cases were known of where someone with 8200 hectares of land was assessed for 80 ha and another for his 8000 ha only for 400. For this information WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM (1970: 186) referred to *Bulletin No 48* of Sileshi Wolde-Tsadik.

907 School tax was introduced in 1947 and health tax ten years later. LAMBTON 1971: 225; WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM 1970: 74f.

908 This term is derived from the Amharic *tɔ̈* (= smoke, fire in the hearth) and means small tenant as opposed to natural-share tenancy (GIRMA TOLOSSA 1975: 138f.).

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> "Landless peasants who cultivate rented land constitute the lowest group in the socio-economic scale and are the victims of harsh exploitation. Rented holdings are generally much smaller than privately owned ones."

It became a widespread practice for local peasants to rent land from great land owners at a rate of 400 to 600 Eth $ per *gaša*. They then rented it out to sub-tenants to thereby acquire an appreciable profit for themselves. This development was favoured by the fact that in Arussi on aproximately 28%, in Bale on approximately 15% and in Šäwa on almost 35% of the big land holdings, the landlords were personally not present.[909] They mostly preferred living in the provincial towns or in Addis Abäba. Generally, delegated officials residing in the territory of the great domains were appointed for their fiscal administration and exploitation. So, for Tj T s .P K . ,R ´ , P. T ,. ZTR ´T *Ras* GetaCCäw land" in Shonee.

Even though the social discrepancies that had existed in the south since the abäša conquest of the late 19th century were far away from being eliminated through the "Ethiopian Restoration" and the way to fundamental democratisation was furthermore blocked, from the 1940s a remarkable demographic and economic expansion took place. Peace and stability of the system of rule facilitated an extension of the arable areas, and due to the increased demand for cash crops, especially coffee, the inhabitants of central-southern Ethiopia began to profit. In 1964, of the 2,094.7 tons of *Coffea arabica* which was marketed in the Šäwa Province, 1,294.3 tons came from Duraame, i.e., from growing areas in Baadawwaachcho and Kambaata.[910] Also in Leemo, Sooro and Gurage the cultivation of coffee was mainly in the hands of petty peasants, who were advantaged in comparison with the inhabitants of the unfavourable climatic zones and could achieve a higher living standard. On the other hand, in the same year (1964) from Arba-Gugu (particularly Gololcha) in Arussi Province 147.2 tons of coffee[911] was exported which had been primarily produced by the European farms. The marketing of nsät fibres from Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* also became significant, a product which was transported mainly from Qolito to Addis Abäba. In the highlands of Arsi a considerable surplus of grain was exported to the Ethiopian capital.

Decisive improvements in production on a broader base were not achieved up to the 1970s and the agriculture of the Hadiyya territories was not spared its misfortunes. In the south of the sub-province Kämbata, especially in Baadawwaachcho, the nsät crop had fallen victim to a disease which resulted in the reduction of the cultivation of this important food crop. The situation of livestock-breeding began to stabilise with the introduction of a vaccination campaign. However, due to unavailable statistical surveys, no quantitative conclusions can be made about this economic

909 MARKAKIS (1974: 126) composed a register about "absentee landlords" in different provines.
910 ETHIOPIA. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT 1972: 40.
911 ETHIOPIA. STATISTICAL ABSTRACT 1972: 40.

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sector.[912] Mules, which had been reserved as riding and pack animals as a privilege for the abäša and the *balabbat* in the pre-Italian period from now could also be used by indigenous commoners.

Regarding the infrastructure, the collapse of Italian rule initially had a negative impact as through the "scorched earth policy" of the retreating colonial troops (e.g. the blowing up of bridges), and through the lack of responsible and efficient authorities for the maintenance of roads, many of the existing routes for motor vehicles had become unusable. As an example, the road links from Addis Abäba via Buta3ira and Hossäyna to Soddo and that of the route branching off through the territory of the Sooro-Hadiyya and the imbaaro to 5 imma was largely impassable. The blown-up Omo Bridge between Sooro and Boša has never been rebuilt, whereas the road connection from Wälaytta to Dawro was reconstructed at the end of the 20th century.

In the field of material culture, several changes occurred which had noteworthy significance for the present cultural conditions. The great amount of Italian military hardware left behind meant a reservoir of high quality steel which could be processed further into implements by the indigenous blacksmiths. The import of raw materials painstakingly extracted from bog iron ore in the 5 imma region therefore became dispensable. At the beginning of the 1950s, the traditional type of leather clothes worn by the women became obsolete in Libidoo, in East-Gurage and in the Hadiyya territories west of the Bilate. It was from now on replaced by textiles made of cotton. State propaganda, occasionally accompanied by sanctions,[913] succeeded rapidly in discouraging and condemning the habit of wearing leather clothes as the expression of a backward tradition, although they were durable and suitable for the regional conditions. They remained in use to a noteworthy extent only among the Sidaama and the Arsi in Gädäb and rarely in the lowland of the Lake Region up to the 1970s. From the time of the "Ethiopian Restoration" onwards, the Hadiyya west of the Bilate up to the Wälaytta boundary adopted the circular "Gurage" type of house with a central pillar and an average diameter of eight to ten meters. The space right of the entrance is usually the domicile for humans, whereas the animals are stalled in the left part behind a wooden barrier. The Arsi replaced their beehive shaped houses by constructions with conical roofs overhanging at some distance which were common among the Amhara and Šäwa-Oromo. Kraals surrounded by thorn fences or walls of cow dung for stalling the herds of livestock during the night continued to exist only in the thinly populated lowlands.

912 An indication of the number of cattle is provided by information from veterinarians working in the sub-provinces of Cäbo-Gurage and Kämbata in 1972/3, where 65,000 cattle were vaccinated. In the remote areas one could not get hold of all the stocks and the campaign could not be completed, so that the total number of cattle must have been substantially higher. In the Arsi Province from June 1970 to February 1971 a total of 816,350 cattle were vaccinated (ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, Sheet 29).

913 T TT T, TV T P R, á , -*Awra a* in the Arsi Province that the officials ordered the local police to prevent women wearing leather clothes from entering market places.

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After the expulsion of the Italians, the Arsi in Gädäb and in the lowlands of the Lake Region were the last of their people who still practised the *gadaa* system. In the middle of the 1950s, Islam began to expand also in this region[914] and in the following decade had encompassed almost all the Arsi. The *abbaa muudaa* in Luggo/Dallo was one of the last to convert to the new religion and thus abdicated the socio-cultural legacy of his ancestors. Under the new conditions, his position as High Priest of many Oromo groups had anyway become meaningless. In 1974, there was a greater proportion of *Awaama*, adherents of the traditional religion, only among the Arsi in the region of Kokossa at the boundary between Bale and Sidaamaland. However, also there the *gadaa* system was declining and evidently losing its role as an integrating factor of traditional culture. Conversion to Islam therefore appeared to be merely a matter of time. From 1946, Islam also became the dominating religion of the Shaashoogo.

On a map showing the distribution of mosques in Arsi Province – to the best of my knowledge it was not complete – 57 mosques were recorded for the year 1970. Most of them were concentrated in the eastern parts where Islamization had occurred at an earlier period.[915] The state administration was instructed to support the Muslim subjects with the procurement of ground for the construction of their houses of prayer in the towns. Some informants remembered that in 1944/45 the Emperor decreed that Islam had an equal status with Ethiopian Christianity. But this edict in practice remained limited in the religious sphere and by no means reduced the wide-ranging influence of the Orthodox Church on state politics. For the provinces and sub-provinces of the predominantly Muslim inhabited territories – occasionally also for the *Wäräda* districts – a *c* was appointed who was responsible for the issues relating to ur'an-law and who received a gratuity from the government. At the beginning of the 1970s, *adjdj* Kamal usayn was the highest *c* for the Arsi and had his official seat in Asälla. fi Islam has dominated, and a noteworthy expansion of Salafism, a conservative and fundamentalist movement in Sunni Islam, did not occur before the 1990s.[916]

Paradoxically, a custom which was contradictory to the commandments of the faith spread with the expansion of Islam to the west, namely the construction of graves surrounded by stones ornamented with figurative representations. HABERLAND (1963b: 109) assumed that that it was rooted in Hadiyya culture, but this can neither be proved from the oral traditions nor from a comparative view of ethnographic data, especially as it is a regional phenomenon, more or less restricted to the western Arsi. Whatever connection this custom had with the megalithic stone settings of Muslims in southern Ethiopia before the 16th century, must be a desideratum of further research. With the occurrence of embellished gravestones in the

914 HABERLAND (1963a: 406 ff.), who at this time conducted his research among Arsi of the lowlands, could still study the *gadaa* arrangement as a functioning system.

915 ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, sheet 11. Regarding the discrimination of Islam compared to Christianity in Arsi Province see BAXTER (1978: 293).

916 The first comprehensive study on Salafism in Bale was recently done by ØSTEBØ (2012).

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lowland between the lakes Awasa and Shaala, it quite obviously concerns recent stimulus diffusion. First in the 1960s, increasingly bizarre art trends were adopted – almost parallel to the expansion of Islam – reaching the lower Bilate and the Lake Z^{w}ay territory. Since then, there has been a series of specialists in the area from Asälla to Dodola who were commissioned to do such work, and apart from the older bas-relief technique they have increasingly begun to produce anthropomorphic sculptures.[917] Occasionally, Arabic phrases are found on the graves so that a Muslim provenance is without doubt. In Gädäb, there are also examples of white cupolas, customary burial sites of Muslim "saints", which are surrounded by stone circles. These are, however, exclusively ornamented with geometric patterns. From this time, mausoleums of the type widespread in Hararge and Bale were also introduced into the Lake Region. The buildings of the important pilgrimage centre N rulldh A mad at Qolito/Allaaba were constructed in the 1940s.

Whereas east of the Gurage highlands and the Bilate, Islam became the dominant religion, Christianity established itself west of this line.[918] After the Italian occupation and the historical experience that most inhabitants of the south showed little loyalty to the Ethiopian State, the Orthodox Church began to develop a new realisation of its socio-political and religious role. It redefined its position insofar as it made clear that it was no longer the confession of the privileged citizens of the state, the abäša on the one hand and the *balabbat* and their entourage in the south on the other hand, but it now made an effort to open up for the whole population and to develop a missionary strategy. In view of the considerable expansion of Islam which altered the religious statistic to the disadvantage of the Christians, the Orthodox Church considered it an urgent task to enlarge the number of its followers among the "pagans". The densely populated zones of central-southern Ethiopia, particularly the sub-provinces of Gurage, Kämbata, Wälaytta and Sidaama, presented themselves as a territory ideal for missionary endeavour due to its ecological and economic conditions. In this area, livestock rearing was of secondary importance compared with intensive agriculture and therefore the fasting and abstinence commandments of the Orthodox Church requiring believers to abstain from any kind of non-vegetarian food for about 180 days per year was not such a strain. For the inhabitants it was therefore much easier to convert than for the autochthonous people of those regions where nutrition was to a larger extent based on animal products as, for example, in the provinces of Arsi and Bale. Additionally, as already mentioned, relics of an earlier Christian mission of previous centuries had survived favouring a missionary

917 I owe thanks to Dr. Karl Bruch and Dr. K. H. Weithaler in Addis Abäba in 1971-72 for references to particularly remarkable examples. SCOTT (1952: 173) mentioned a "chieftain's grave" with piled-up stones for in the territory of the Baadawwaachcho. It remained unknown to me. West of Bilate, this type of grave is unusual, whereas it is frequent among the Muslims of eastern Ethiopia. In the late 1990s, I observed numerous gravestones with paintings showing, for example, riders and bulls along the highway to Awasa.

918 For further information cf. my analysis on "Re-Islamization" in south-eastern Ethiopia (BRAUKÄMPER 2004: 170-84).

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initiative. At the beginning of the 1950s, according to the information from local priests,[919] approximately 15,000 Hadiyya were converted from the Mika'el church of Mäsmäs alone and Orthodox Christianity subsequently became the most important confession of the Leemo, Sooro and Kambaata in the period following.

Also in the western Arsi territory the Ethiopian church is said to have carried out an intensive missionary campaign. In 1957, the *abunä* Bas lyos travelled through the Lake Region to Gädäb and baptised a considerable number of people who, however, a short time later, apart from a few exceptions, converted to Islam. As informants reported, most of the new Christians turned their backs on the religion again after the first fasting period. Two years later, in 1959, the metropolitan Bas ylos underwent another trip in northern Bale and it is said that in the area between Gobba and Kokossa around 20,000 people had converted. However, also here mission success was to be of only short duration and almost all Christian Arsi opted to turn Muslim.

The missionary endeavour of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity was not only confronted with Islam, but also with Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Even before Italian occupation, the government had permitted missionary work with the requirement of creating health and educational institutions. Because it was compulsory for the missionaries to teach and preach in Amharic, the government hoped to achieve an integrative effect for the Ethiopian state. At the same time, the possibilities of a literary development for the indigenous languages were restricted.

The Roman Catholic missionaries were hardly affected by reprisals on the part of the Italian colonial rulers. They could continue their work with great difficulty, however, in the period of upheaval after Anglo-Ethiopian re-conquest. The stations of the *Sudan Interior Mission* (S.I.M.) had been seized by the Italians, but after the interruption of their work the white Protestant personnel returned in 1945. In the T gT g M llase travelled to Soddo/Wälaytta where he ordered the release of imprisoned Protestants after having proclaimed freedom of worship for the world religions in the whole Empire the year before.[920]

From the 1950s, the S.I.M. missionaries could achieve substantial success especially in Baadawwaachcho, Leemo and Shaashoogo.[921] American Seventh-Day-Adventists expanded their generous support from their home congregations for school and health centres in Kuyeera at Šašämäne and Abonsa east of Mt. Ambarichcho. In the1960s, the more liberal-minded *Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (United Lutherans), largely run by locals, started competing against the S.I.M. and Adventist congregations which became increasingly unpopular be-

919 This was confirmed by the Mäsmäs elder Suliito Beyyore in Gibe Mika'el in 1970.

920 DAVIS 1972: 129, 143, 149. "Regulations governing the activities of Missions" were set down in "Decree No. 3 of 1944". WONDMAGEGNEHU/MOTOVU 1970: 171-74.

921 In 1970, informants (e.g. Nunishe Manta) in predominantly Muslim Shaashoogo specified the number of the S.I.M. followers at approximately 1500. But this was just at the beginning of their highly successful mission campaign in Hadiyyaland. The most important Protestant mission stations can be found on the map "Christian Missions in Ethiopia" (1966).

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cause of their rigorous Puritanism. At the beginning of the 1970s they built a mission centre in Heeto near Hossäyna which got a strong throng of former followers of the *Sudan Interior Mission* which was later re-named *d i* ("The Word of Life").[922]

The mission schools, especially in Kämbata *Awra a*, had contributed considerably to the literacy of the population, whereas the educational institutions of the State expanded only very haltingly. From the calculated tax revenue in 1962 for a sub-province of $Eth. 832,000 (with a population of 705,000) $Eth. 118,981 were allotted to school tax and the same sum was for health tax. However, it remains unclear how much was used for these purposes. The Swedish development aid provided generous contributions for school buildings. But despite the attempts to improve the situation, the literacy rate of the population may have been considerably under that of the ten per cent mark in the 1970s.

In 1971/72, in the Arussi Province with 818,000 inhabitants according to official statements there were 27 mission societies, 39 schools run by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and 193 by the imperial government.[923] The numerous ur dn schools, which, however, imparted a very specific education characterised by religion, were not registered especially as they did not conduct literacy in Amharic.

The health services were completely underdeveloped and were restricted, for example, in the district capitals of densely populated Kämbata *Awra a* to paramedic employees, so-called "dressers" also termed "doctors" by the locals, some health workers and physicians belonging to the missions with the same education level, and one single hospital operated by the *Sudan Interior Mission* in Balesa near Hossäyna.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the infrastructural network in the Hadiyya territories had not attained the standard of that during the period of Italian occupation again. The people complained that apparently only a part of the special tax extracted from them for road-building actually flowed into it. Industrial and manufacturing operations were lacking, and despite the favourable agricultural conditions, the calculated average *per capita* income, which amounted to $US 100 for Ethiopia in 1973, was only exceeded in the coffee producing areas.[924] Poverty and underdevelopment appeared to be an inescapable fate of most of the people in Hadiyyaland, the cause of which was frequently assigned to the metaphysical sphere: "God has pun-

922 In 1959, the *Mäkanä Iyasus Church* in Ethiopia had only 20,000 members. Up to 1975 the number had risen to c. 285,000. The Lutherans could not satisfy the growing interest of the Ethiopians with their expansion. Up to 1974 they had planned the founding of 92 parishes, but 188 were established. *RUF IN DIE WELT* n.d.: 10. At the end of the 20th century, the total number of Protestants in Ethiopia amounted to 5.4 million (SCHRÖDER 1997: 13f.).

923 ETHIOPIA. A STATISTICAL ABSTRACT (1971: 26) specified a population of 835,500 in Arussi in 1971. For the schools of this province see ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, sheet 15 and sheet 16.

924 The amount of $US 100 as an average *per capita* income for the Ethiopian population was cited in the *Fischer Welt Almanach* (FOCHLER-HAUKE 1977: 41). According to information received in the coffee producing areas of Hadiyya, Kambaata and Wälaytta, the peasants could earn up to 800 $Eth. from their yearly harvest.

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ished our people". Since the 1970s the situation has certainly improved in many respects, but people have been confronted with a series of new problems.

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4. Epilogue

We have arrived at a point in the analysis of the history of the Hadiyya where the work of the contemporary historian and political scientist must be applied. What shall be pointed out, are the most significant changes of recent times which have occurred in Ethiopia since 1974 and deeply affected also the situation in Hadiyya-land. A detailed analysis, however, is outside our consideration here and has to be the subject of further studies.[1]

At the latest with the failed *coup d'état* of 1960 a standstill occurred in the tenta- T TR T. VT , , . ´T ,R T, g T , ´T. , . ´T T can be no question of a serious attempt being made at overcoming the glaring contradictions and of removing the exploitative mechanisms sanctioned by the state. The socio-economic problems which accumulated in the region of our concern on the eve of the revolution of 1974 can be summarised in a set of points.

Through contacts with the modern, highly-developed world, expectations were created with regard to a better standard of life which diametrically contradicted the actual circumstances in Ethiopia. The rate at which the lowland, previously avoided and utilised only as pasture ground, was made habitable through the activity of the "Malaria Eradication Service"[2] and the discovery of its potential for the cultivation of cash crops like red pepper, sugarcane, tropical fruits and cotton, caused the price of land to escalate in the relatively easily accessible regions of southern Šäwa and western Arsi. At the beginning of the 1970s in Maräqo (Libidoo), $Eth. 30,000 and more was already being paid for one *gaša*, whereas in the remote and higher locations, the estimate was $Eth. 3,000 at best. Thus, there was an intensive rush for state land not yet distributed in these territories, whereby the employees of the government were at an advantage because of their detailed knowledge of the state of affairs and their connections to the administrative authorities. Land in the Lake Region became an object of speculation and a preferential target of capital investment by rich Ethiopians. Owing to favourable offers, the *näftäññä* residents there were often prepared to sell their land holdings to interested buyers who were financially strong. The start of a development towards "rural capitalism" became apparent. However, it did not result in the establishment of big agricultural estates run by foreign concerns, except in the Awaš territory.[3]

1 The results of my field research of 1999/2000 and 2004/05 are being published in separate articles (e. g., BRAUKÄMPER 2005, 2006) or will be included in my study on the traditional culture of the Hadiyya proper.

2 In Zone A, the first of four sectors in Ethiopia, to which parts of the Šäwan sub-provinces of Cäbo-Gurage, ayqoC-Buta3ira and Kämbata-Hadiya as well as Celalo *Awra a* in Arsi Province belonged, the anti-malaria programme began in 1965 (SCHALLER/KULS 1972: 32, map 5).

3 In the valley of the middle Awaš British, Dutch, Italian and Israeli enterprises had established big farms (BONDESTAM 1974: 432).

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The new "physiocracy" through the early approaches towards mechanisation had a determining influence on agriculture, especially as the lowland territories are partially very suitable for the utilization of machines. Automation was still at a rudimentary phase although in all places where it could gain a foothold it pointed the way to an agricultural transformation which also increasingly created human complications. Where sufficient capital for technical investments exist and the environmental conditions allow the ploughing and harvesting of the fields with tractors, tenants with their old-fashioned working methods became superfluous. The profit per *gaša* gained by a landowner through automated land utilization normally exceeds the leasing receipts contributed by tenants of the corresponding acreage. Every new tractor introduced thus created potential hardship as it removed the means of livelihood of numerous tenant families – at least temporarily, a fact which we could observe repeatedly in Allaaba and Arsi. When the tenants, who were released from their lands, found no new landowners and also no accommodation among their relatives, the only way left for them was to work as a "*coolie*" (day labourer) or to seek employment in one of the few industrial companies of the country where the demand for jobs outstripped the supply by far. In southern Šäwa Province "go to Won3i" became a common saying which signified that as a last resort one had to apply for a place as a worker in the sugar plantations and factories at the Awaš River. The rural exodus to Addis Abäba, disproportionately high from the sub-provinces of Gurage and Kämbata-Hadiya, resulted for most migrants in becoming part of an urban proletariat.

Even though the rationalization of agricultural production and the cultivation of cash crops, which generate foreign currency earnings, are in principle positive factors of development, their execution during the 1960s and 1970s have obviously contributed to an impoverishment of the rural population in the areas of our concern.

A different evaluation has been associated with foreign programmes of sponsoring development such as the *Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit* (CADU) which the *Swedish International Authority* has built up in the the sub-province of Celalo since 1967. Its programme,[4] which was based on a thorough investigation of the requirements and possibilities of the region, had the objective to raise agricultural development along with all the accompanying measures at first in a geographically limited model area and to train indigenous personnel for continued development work. It should aim at each of six main points: 1. the creation of collecting centres at which the farmers can sell milk and grain with the applicable profit incentive; 2. research on grain types, livestock, afforestation possibilities and agrarian equipment especially for the purpose of aiding the peasants; 3. the training of specialists on model farms; 4. the utilization of better seed and fertilizer on a broader scale; 5. the establishment of a credit department to facilitate the buying of fertilizer; 6. the founding of co-operatives. The CADU-operated "pilot project" which was planned

4 Information on the CADU Programme is based, for example, on the works of LAMBTON (1971: 238 f.), SPERBER (1971: 514 f.) and NEKBY (1971).

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to be extended to the whole Province of Arussi did not escape criticism, even though it was well funded and achieved notable successes in increasing agrarian production and in the training of local experts. Farmers in the districts of Kofale and Assasa complained[5] that the price relation between the grain seed supplied by CADU and the crop yield bought from the Project was not beneficial. Moreover, it was criticized that it came to grotesque misunderstandings about the use of fertilizer and not least about resettlements of local peasants which had been carried out in order to establish large-scale cattle ranches. People remembered their experiences regarding the settlement schemes which started in 1960 with big farming cooperatives in Awasa (Sidamo . V Z s . -Gofa) and which were then transferred to state-owned joint-stock companies. In this context, they raised allegations that such projects was heading towards a new form of corruption and would ultimately only benefit a rich clique.[6]

On the other hand, what affected the economic system and was burdensome was the fact that the predominant proportion of land owners did not utilize their income in the sense of a dynamic economic orientation for investments and a rise in productivity, but for the consumption of luxury articles. Imported whiskey which was not absent in the taverns of the remotest market hamlets, was the status drink of landlords, local dignitaries and administrative authorities. Moreover, the surplus value generated from agricultural production was frequently not invested in the country, but transferred to foreign accounts.

One of the most difficult problems for the Hadiyya territories of Southern Ethiopia was provided by the population explosion which has occurred since the middle of the 20th century. In the 1970s it had reached an alarming dimension particularly in the zones of nsät cultivation with partially over 300 people per km².[7] The growth of the population induced the necessity of increased food production and an expansion of intensive agriculture at the expense of livestock-keeping. The expansion of fields and eucalyptus groves, which are mostly located on what had been pasture land up to then, was highlighted by the constant reduction of the domestic animals which cannot be compensated for through intensive shed feeding. Simultaneously, this meant less access to dung. The fertilization of home gardens and nsät plantations is all the more necessary the more restricted the possibilities become to reschedule the planting at particular time intervals and to leave the land to lie fallow for regeneration purposes. Moreover, the provision of animal protein, especially milk for the small children, began diminishing to such an extent that supply shortfalls became

5 Information related by peasants and other residents of these places in 1973.

6 Cf. PAUSEWANG 1973: 285; SPERBER 1971: 517; COHEN 1973: 375.

7 Cf. also pp. 154f. The dramatic increase of the population in the nsät cultivation areas of central-southern Ethiopia between Gurage and Gide'o has proceeded to an extent, that the density in some regions reaches 800 per km². According to investigations which Alke Dohrmann, Dirk BUSTORF and I carried out in some territories of northern Leemo in 1999-2000, the average size of land cultivated by a family has dwindled to c. 1.5 ha. According to reliable information it is even less in parts of Sidaama, Kambaata and Wälaytta.

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more threatening than ever before. Indeed, according to the opinion of the Hadiyya in Kämbata *Awra a*, deficiency symptoms, blamed on one-sided nsät nutrition, were frequently visible in the early 1970s, particularly among children up to the age of eight years.[8]

It is on the other hand due to nsät, from which a small number of plants were enough to cover the annual requirement of a family[9] that the overpopulated highlands on the western escarpment of the Rift Valley were largely spared from hunger crises. The species is less prone overall to the rigours of the weather and disease. But nevertheless occasional damages to the plant stock in the main areas of cultivation lead to grave emergency situations. At the end of 1973, in the year of severe drought disaster in parts of northern Ethiopia, the nsät plantations in parts of Sidaamaland, particularly in Harbegoona, suffered from considerable damage through exposure to frost. Simultaneously, in western Gurage a rampant fungus and viral disease, the cause and impact of which has not yet been fully investigated, destroyed large numbers of plants. In the crisis year of 1973, the yield of Ethiopia's coffee crop to which the Hadiyya contributed their share to (s. above), was considerably under the level it had been the year before.[10]

A fateful escalating danger for the whole ecological system was soil erosion. The Hadiyya territories belong to the 52% of Ethiopia's land mass which suffer from a loss of more than 2,000 tons of earth per square kilometre annually.[11] The erosion is considerably accelerated through anthropogenic factors and has become particularly disruptive in the densely populated highlands of central-southern Ethiopia as in the territories of the Gurage, Hadiyya, Kambaata, Wälaytta and Sidaama. With every rainy season the ditches caused by erosion, which frequently follow the man-made paths, continue to be carved into the cultivated land. As soon as the sharp-edged hooves of the riding and pack animals have cut too deeply into the well-trodden tracks, new ones are created parallel to them. In this way, repeatedly new sunken tracks are created which become eroded down to the bare rock. The people certainly realise that through deforestation the original vegetation will be destroyed as a natural barrier to erosion, but they do not see any other alternative way of expanding arable land and meeting their needs for firewood and timber. The customary planting

8 In general, a calculated calorific requirement of 2,900 appears to be necessary for an average Ethiopian on the basis of the climate and the vocational activities. But statistically an adult person ingests only 2500 calories on average per day, so that there is a shortage of 400 (SCHALLER/KULS 1972: 20).

9 SHACK (1969: 62) estimated the requirement for an adult person in Gurage at 10 plants per year. Cf. also KARSTEN (1968: 58ff.). As already indicated before (cf. f. 19), the investigations of Alke DOHRMANN (2004: 238-44) revealed a production of 300 to 500 decitons per hectare. 15 plants of an age of c. eight years provide more than a third of the yearly food supply of a family of seven persons.

10 The vital coffee-exports for Ethiopia's foreign currency budget sank from 83,000 tons (1972) to 60-65,000 tons (1973). *Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste GmbH* Nr. 144/74, 26.6.74.

11 MESFIN WOLDE-MARYAM 1970: 16. Since the 1970s extensive measures against soil erosion have started.

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of the quick-growing eucalyptus tree also puts a strain on the reserves of groundwater and contributes to soil exhaustion. In the lowlands of the Lake Region where arable land and the procurement of charcoal have been carried out uncontrolled for decades, wind erosion has become an added threatening factor because of the depletion of trees and shrubs.

The inhabitants of the Hadiyya-Sidaama territories were in principle quite aware of all these threats to their existence and their living standards, but had no concrete and feasible concepts as to how to combat them. Already at the beginning of the 1970s in the densely populated zones of the sub-province Kämbata, for example, the inhabitants evidently realised that the natural resources, particularly wood, were increasingly dwindling. They complained about the growing scarcity of livestock, which was said to result in a diminished quality of nutrition, and about a progressive lack of arable land due to an uncontrolled increase in population. "At my father's time in this region we were strong, because we drank a lot of milk, and there was much pasture land and dense bush around", was the explanation frequently given in the areas of the Arsi, Allaaba and Hadiyya proper. If a son of a peasant, whose property was not sufficient to feed a family, wanted access to new arable land, he as a rule had to become a tenant – in many cases already his father held this status – because the yet uncultivated land reserves had mostly been granted to abäša landlords, the Orthodox Church or the State.

The people of the Hadiyya territories were also aware that the prevailing tenancy system implied a fateful foundation promoting underdevelopment and economic stagnation. They realised that instead of cultivating work enthusiasm and showing initiative to escape from the desolation of the present situation and work towards a better tomorrow, resignation determined a type of behavioural lethargy and mental passivity due to their forlorn conditions of poverty.[12] The tenant families who had to pay around $Eth. 30 to the landowners had hardly anything left for life's essentials so that they frequently had to undertake additional services to work off the tenant levy. Beyond nutrition, they had virtually no money for clothing and the necessary articles of consumption, let alone school fees and other expenses.[13] For the people living under these conditions, there was virtually no incentive to produce a surplus as they had to fear the landowners raising the levy amount if they discovered that the tenants had a prosperous household and farm. This often led to a nostalgic idealization of the past before abäša subjugation, a time when the Hadiyya peoples were independent and powerful, dreaded as warriors and famous for their abundant livestock. All of this had long since gone, and a dull feeling of trepidation largely prevailed in the present situation.

12 In fact, Ethiopia's income from the land tax rose only 10% altogether in the financial year of 1960/61 to 1966/67. WOLDE-MARIAM GOYTOM 1970:182.

13 In Arsi Province, e.g., the percentage of schoolchildren out of the entire population in most of the territories was under 5% (ARUSI. A REGIONAL ATLAS 1971, sheet 16).

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That a land reform was to be a prerequisite for the increase in agricultural production and for every dynamic development was an undisputed cognisance of most Ethiopians. The implementation of this, however, broke down due to the selfish interests of those in power. A minimal programme submitted by students in 1966 which demanded a reduction of tenancy by half and guaranteeing the tenants a form of protection against dismissal, was not realized in parliament because of opposition from the big landowner lobby.

A legislative proposal in April 1971 was introduced in parliament by the *Ministry of Land Reform*, created in 1966, which was to regulate anew the letting of land under more favourable conditions for tenants. It was, however, repeatedly adjourned due to the strong opposition of the committee largely dominated by a clique of *mälkäñña*. Further proposals, which by and large remained unrealized, concerned the improved land registration procedure as well as a land registry facility with measures against land speculation through progressive taxation on unused tracts of land and the resettlement of peasants from overpopulated highland territories to state lands in thinly inhabited lowland parts of the country.[14]

The solution to social problems at the beginning of the 1970s was still unresolved, and between 1970 and 1973 a considerable reversal in the mood of the population in the Hadiyya territories was discernible, that of a growing dissatisfaction with the current conditions. All the pupils, students and teachers emerging primarily from the propertied upper class, increasingly accepted the role of a progressive opposition, whereas the clique of big landowners fought against every type of reformism. Consequently, they saw the basis of their dominance threatened in the extension of school education and tried to thwart initiatives in this field.[15] Protests by the high school pupils in Hossäyna and other places around this time began to take on increasingly militant forms. Tenants from the Buriiyye clan in Sooro refused to pay the excessive levies and highlighted their resolve by wanting to defend their interests forcibly against the *naf äñña* of that region. The government reacted to the growing unrest by sending standby troops to the districts imbaaro/Sooro and Angaca (Kämbata). Various reprisals took place, but according to personal communications and observations no casualties occurred as a result.

The Revolution which began in February 1974[16] did not come about as a complete surprise in view of the looming developments at this point in time, even though one had only expected the outbreak of a violent political crisis discharging all the accumulated , Z T . ´ T T , V RT T , g M T VT ´

14 Information received in Addis Abäba in 1973 from people who had contact with the *Ministry of Land Reform.*

15 For example, I personally observed such a case in 1973, when local *mälkäñña* opposed a project initiated by the Hadiyya intellectuals Haile Bubbamo Arficio and Dr. Haile Wolde-Mikael of establishing a school at Sagge'e in Sooro *Wäräda*.

16 For a chronology of the events see THOMSON (1975: 103ff.) and LEGUM (1975). The enormous amount of literature which has been published about the Ethiopian Revolution and the *Därg* period since then is outside consideration here.

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When the military council (*Därg*) assumed governmental power in Ethiopia at the end of June 1974, the execution of land reform was one their overriding aims. That this project was only to be achieved in opposition to the fierce resistance of the big landowners in the south, was inevitable from the very beginning. On 4th February 1975, the "*Proclamation to provide for the nationalization of rural lands*" became law and six paragraphs defined anew the property right concepts and laid down the foundation for land redistribution. A reform plan provided allocation of up to 10 hectares for village co-operatives and larger areas for district cooperatives. In the Hadiyya territories of Šäwa and Arussi Provinces with their disproportionally high quota of land being leased, this decree certainly meant an improvement in the living conditions of a broader rural population because henceforth levies to the parasitic class of landowners fell away and only the ordinary taxes due to the State were to be paid. Therefore, the bulk of the Hadiyya at first gratefully accepted the sociopolitical changes and became a faithful support base of the *Därg*.

From the end of 1974, several of the most hated exploitative landowners in the sub-province Kämbata-Hadiya (and elsewhere) were arrested.[17] Simultaneously, the Military Council pensioned off thousands of administrative officials believed to be corrupt throughout the country by reducing the pensionable age for retirement. This measure was not a patent remedy due to the lack of trained personnel, however, and so was thus partially revoked again.

Further initiatives specifically affecting the people of the south regarding a certain cultural emancipation and autonomy were aimed at. The land reform measures and the *Därg* programme were not only to be written in Amharic but in all languages comprising more than 20,000 speakers and made public to all of them in printed versions. In the second half of 1975, for example, editions had been produced in Oromiffaa, á P 88 and Wälaytta and were being undertaken accordingly for the Gurage, Hadiyya, Kambaata, Sidaama and Käfa.[18] The Ethiopian radio stations provided broadcasts in the most important languages of the country, and with regard to the religious sector, the official admittance of the Muslims' main religious holidays was introduced.

In December 1974, the Military Council began a campaign (*zamacha*) in which after short training instruction university staff members, students and pupils of the higher level schools were sent to the rural areas with the aim of familiarizing the illiterate population with the goals of the revolution, of implementing the agenda of land reform and improving agrarian organisation.[19] The approximately 60,000 mobilised participants – the rate of intellectuals who managed to escape from this obligation is said to have been considerable, however – were centralised in almost 400 camps, each with 100 to 160 participants. These were located mostly in the

17 Personal communications supplied per letters by friends from the Kämbata-Hadiya-*Awra a*.

18 Information related by Haile Bubbamo Arficio and Solomoon Daaimo in the 1970s.

19 I received detailed information about this action from Haile Bubbamo Arficio who was the responsible programme leader in parts of western Arsi and southern Šäwa. The command centre for this region was Asälla. Further headquarters (*mär d*) existed in Šašämäne and Hossäyna.

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main towns of the districts and had along with the sub-camps an area of 10 to 40 km in diameter to supervise. To simplify the communication and to reduce tensions between the supervisors and the indigenous populations, 70% of the *zamacha* participants were to have originated from the area in question. Alongside the propagation of a socialist ideology which orientated itself towards Chinese, Cuban and Tanzanian development models,[20] and stood under the catchphrase "Ityopia V (Ethiopia first), eight points in the form of practical goals were to be striven for. They included agricultural guidance, hygiene and also the collecting of historical traditions and of objects significant for the local cultures. Simultaneously, through the effort of female students, the mostly "patriarchal" societies were said to have been given a precedent-setting example for the emancipation of women and girls.

The most important task of the reform programme, the establishment of rural co-operatives, were apparently satisfactorily resolved in the Hadiyya territories, especially as in southern Ethiopia the land was traditionally owned in most cases by extended families or lineage groups. Each of the heads of family – also widows – could become members of a *qäbäle* (peasant association). Dispossessed landowners, however, were only accepted in case they had no other available source of income. In Arussi and southern Šäwa it was aimed at limiting the size of the *qäbäle* units from 20 up to 35 *gaša*. According to information provided by Haile Bubbamo Arficio in September 1975, there was at this time a total of 16,000 peasant associations with an estimated 40,000,000 members.

Regarding the judgement of the impact of the *zamacha* programme, critical voices take up a considerable space.[21] Insufficient motivation and inadequate training among the participants of the campaign for their diverse tasks, supply difficulties in the camps and tensions within the indigenous populations evidently cast doubt on the success of the enterprise.[22] It will remain reserved for a field study among the Hadiyya in the post-revolution epoch in order to shed light on the matter.

In contrast to many parts of northern Ethiopia, the measures of the military government which must have seemed liberating to the poorest of the poor after decades of highly repressive conditions obviously found a positive echo in Hadiyyaland.

20 Information on the *zamacha* was printed, for example, by the newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 23.12.1974.

21 When the German edition of this book was published in 1980, empirical data were hardly available. Also by more recent research on the *zamacha*, carried out by Cathrin Horstmann in Hadiyyaland since 2004, detailed information and criticisms were extremely difficult to achieve because for various reasons the local inhabitants particularly those involved in the programme, are reluctant to report about it.

22 Information related by Gunter Minker, who eye-witnessed the *zamacha* activities in Gidole (Gamu-Gofa) in 1974/75. According to his observations, tensions between the campaigners and local peasants were frequent. The suspicion was expressed that the *zamacha,* considering the increasing opposition of students and intellectuals to the Military Council, secretly aimed at keeping potential opponents of the new regime far away from the focal points of domestic politics in a time of limited political consolidation.

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However, there had also been some considerable resistance against the new regime, primarily represented by *malkäñña* and influential government chieftains of the old order. There were bloody interethnic conflicts in Libidoo, Bale, Sidaama and other regions, and the old rivalries between the indigenous people and abäša colonists frequently broke out again. The request by the government to hand in firearms was complied with inadequately, even if some *balabbat,* for example in Hossäyna, are said to have given up to 80 rifles to the state authorities. Allegations arose regarding the fact that nationalisation of the land had in some parts been reversed and that the new ruling class on their part endeavoured, on an increasing scale through reprisal and speculation, to regain private advantages and privileges.

Considering that Ethiopia was afflicted with escalating problems from civil war to supply difficulties which threatened to break it up as a state entity, in 1976 a *"Programme for the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia"* was announced. It propagated on page 6 a perspective for the future, which focussed on the removal of feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism and the introduction of a socialist system guaranteeing human rights, equality and democratic freedom.

As scarce as the information may have been in the different areas inhabited by Hadiyya about the socio-economic situation during the *Därg* regime, there is no doubt that the aspiration of this programme was highly disproportionate to the reality. Due to the distinct dominance of the Amhara in the Military Council, the indigenous people not only continued to feel oppressed but were still treated as second class citizens. Grievances were aired in the southern provinces that they had been disadvantaged with the distribution of funds for education, health services and administrative posts and that the hopes for limited autonomy that had been aroused by the revolution, had remained unfulfilled. In the religious sphere, particularly the Protestants were oppressed and serious conflicts between the government and certain sects and denominations were reported to have occurred particularly in the Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* in the 1980s. Spirit possession cults were not acknowledged by the *Därg* (and also not by the EPRDF government) as religious practices, but as pre-modern survivals executed by unscrupulous persons who exploit the naivety of the local inhabitants.

From 1976, the disillusionment began to increasingly discharge into militant actions against the regime in Addis Abäba. The *Oromo Liberation Front* (OLF) received considerable backing from the Arsi and EärCär-Oromo. Waaqo Gutu who had fought against the Ethiopian government in Dallo in the 1960s, supported with his resistance movement labelled *Somali Abbo* the followers of the *West Somali Liberation Front* (WSLF). The Somali and their Muslim Oromo allies achieved great successes in 1977, but in spring 1978 through the "Ogaadeen campaign" of the Ethiopian government troops, which were supported by Cuban contingents, had to concede a decisive defeat.

The Hadiyya in the territory between the Omo River and Lake Z^{w}ay witnessed a massive recruiting of young men for the various fronts in the escalating civil wars of Ethiopia, particularly in Ogaadeen and Eritrea. They also considered themselves

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exposed to the growing influence of the former landlords. When then in 1978 a member of the Military Council in Hossäyna shot the elected spokesman of the peasant associations and his secretary, this incident caused outrage.[23] An underground organisation was formed which is said to have entered into negotiations with the *Oromo Liberation Front*.[24] A further aggravation occurred after a Moscow trip Zg ´T ´, . ´TR, R´Ty. uT T. . , ,.Ts .PK g s g . October 1978. Surprisingly, an unknown number of local administrative people and consultants working with the peasant associations were arrested under the suspicion of a conspiracy and liquidated in Addis Abäba.[25]

After a devastating drought in 1984, the *Därg* initiated a resettlement campaign (*säfära*) from the most affected areas to thinly inhabited regions along the western peripheries of the country, particularly in Käfa, Gambela and Go33am, in which approximately 600,000 people were involved. About 78,000 were recruited from Hadiyya proper, Kambaata and Wälaytta and mainly sent to Pawe in Go33am. Because the programme was badly organized and pushed through with brutal force, most of the resettlers returned spontaneously to their country of origin after the fall of the *Därg* in 1991.[26] Additionally, the *Därg* compelled a large amount of peasants to leave their hamlets and to settle in compact villages (*mändär misräta*), where different forms of collective labour were demanded. This system was particularly disastrous in areas where nsät is the core element of livelihood. Following the collapse of the military government, most people therefore immediately returned to their original homesteads and resumed their ecologically appropriate and highly productive methods of horticulture.

This change of regime resulted in a federal organization of the Ethiopian state and brought about a certain amount of cultural autonomy for the ethnic groups (nationalities). The socio-economic and demographic situation, however, has remained highly problematic. After a new drought in 2002, new attempts are being made to resettle people from the overpopulated parts of Hadiyyaland. The living conditions continue to be difficult, but based on the experiences of their history people will find solutions.

23 HASSELBLATT 1979: 69. This was confirmed by Hadiyya who lived in Europe and corresponded with relatives and friends at home.

24 What I heard on this was based more or less on rumours. The name of the organisation is said to have been *Hadiyyi mikmikaato* for which there is no precise translation.

25 At the same time, the Minister of Culture, the Hadiyya Dr. Haile Wolde-Mikael was removed from office. According to a letter from Ethiopian friends it was believed for a time he had been murdered, but after 1979 he resumed teaching at the University of Addis Ababa for a while.

26 Recently, I dealt with this problem in an article (BRAUKÄMPER 2006: 38-47). I am grateful to Dr. Wolde-Selassie Abbute for cooperation and information in this field.

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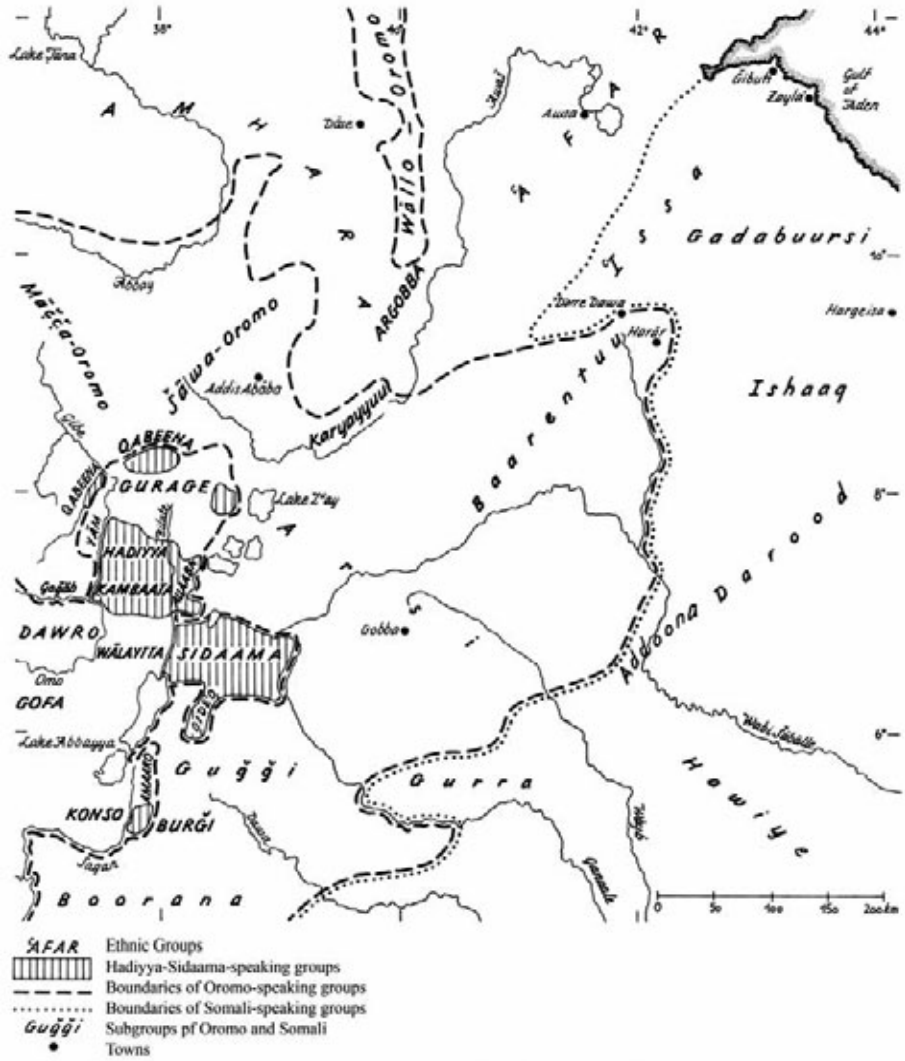

1. Ethnic groups in south-eastern Ethiopia at the end of the 20th century

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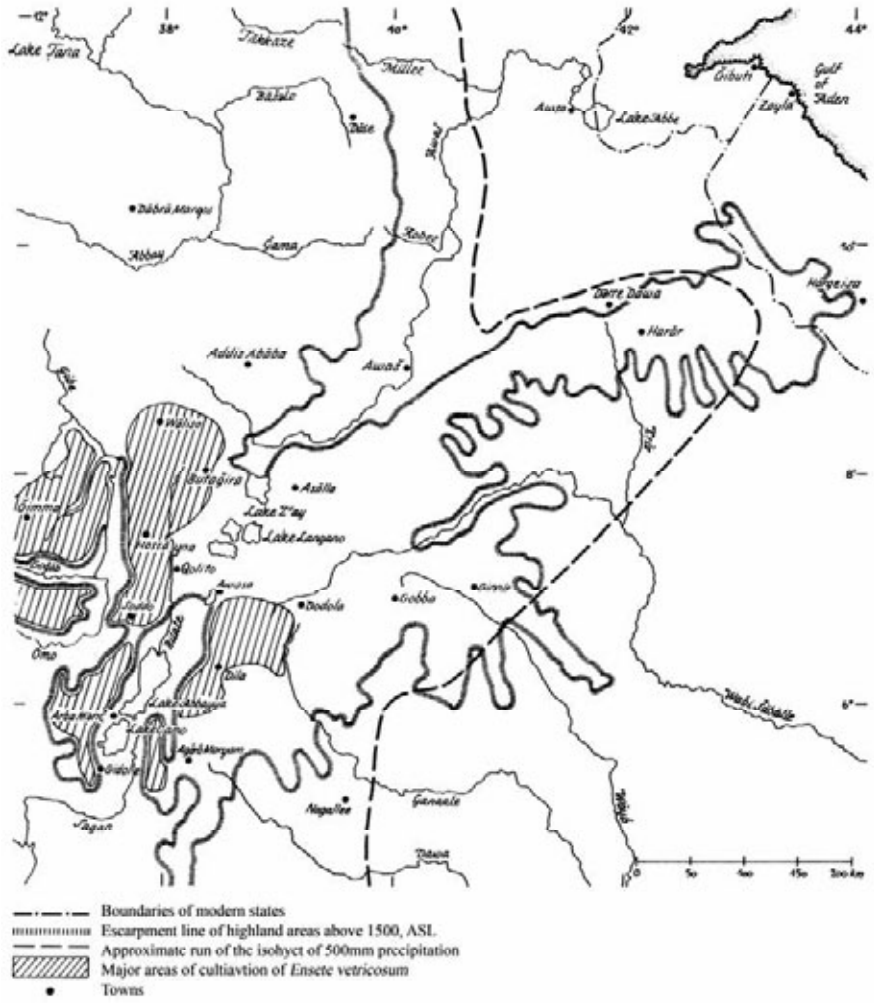

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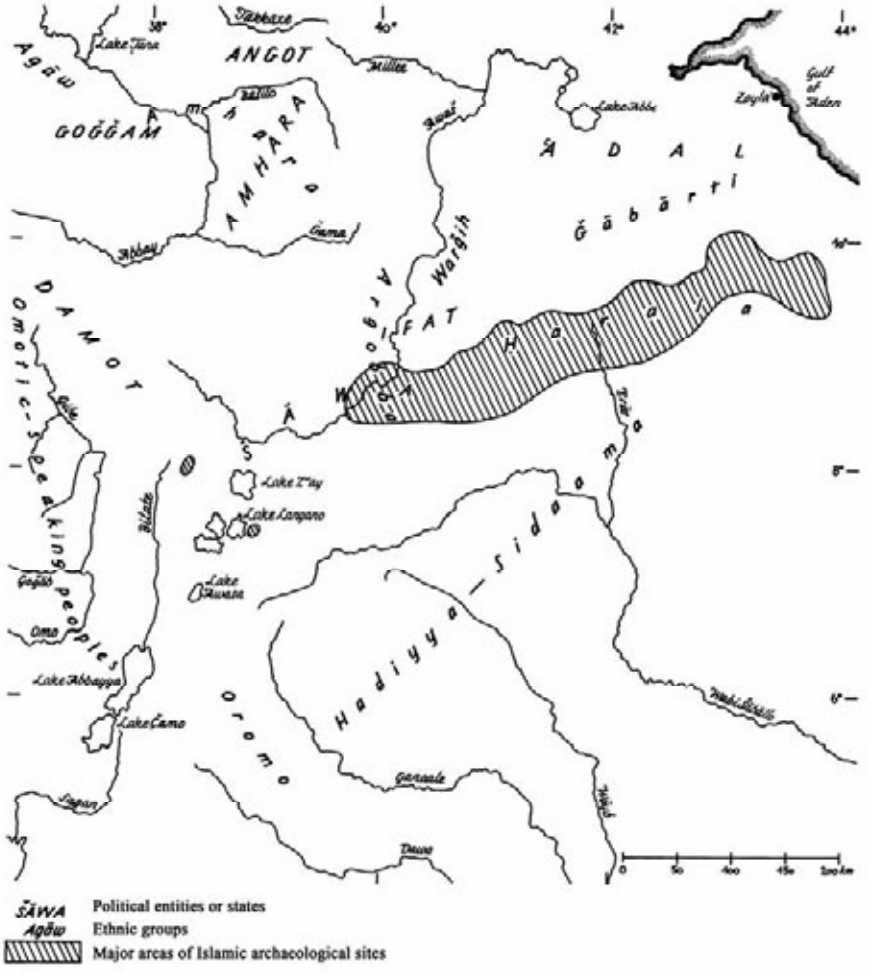

3. Ethnic and political situation of south-eastern Ethiopia about 1280

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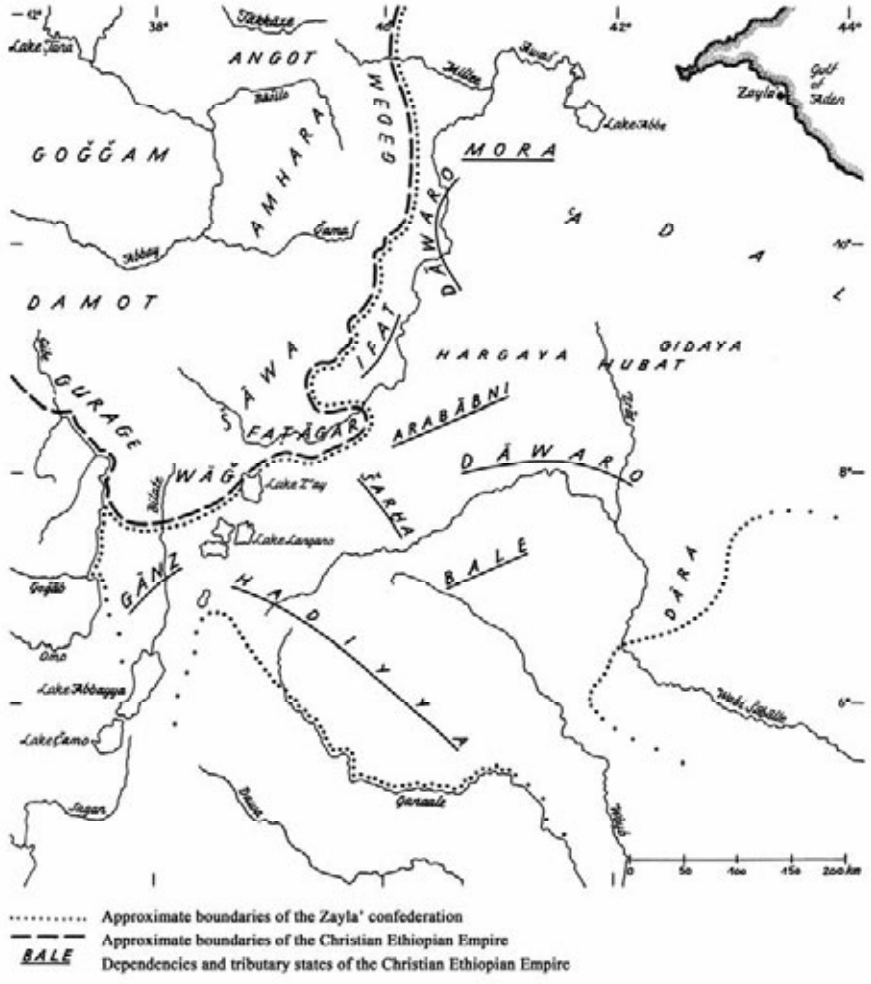

4. Political situation of south-eastern Ethiopia about 1340

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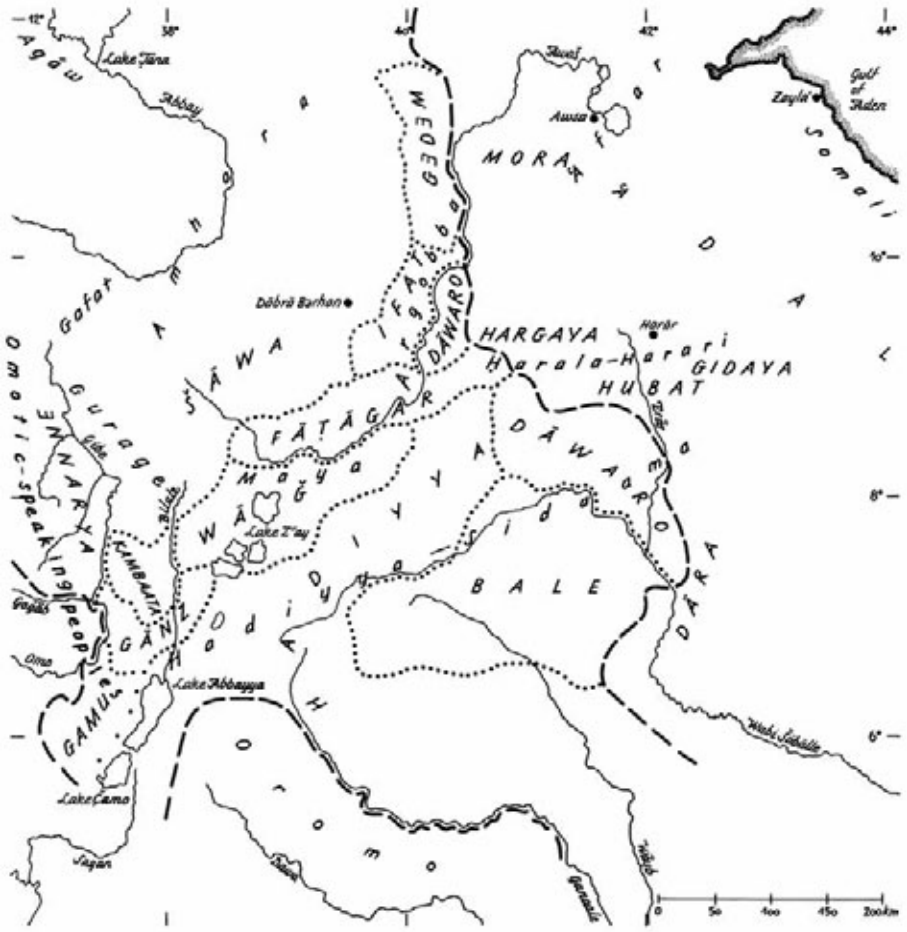

Approximate boundaries of direct or indirect political control of the Christian Ethiopian Empire
BALE Provinces and dependencies of the Christian Ethiopian Empire and districts of the ʿAdal Emirate
Internal boundaries of the provinces and dependencies of the Christian Ethiopian Empire
Āfar Ethnic groups

5. Ethnic and political situation of south-eastern Ethiopia about 1500

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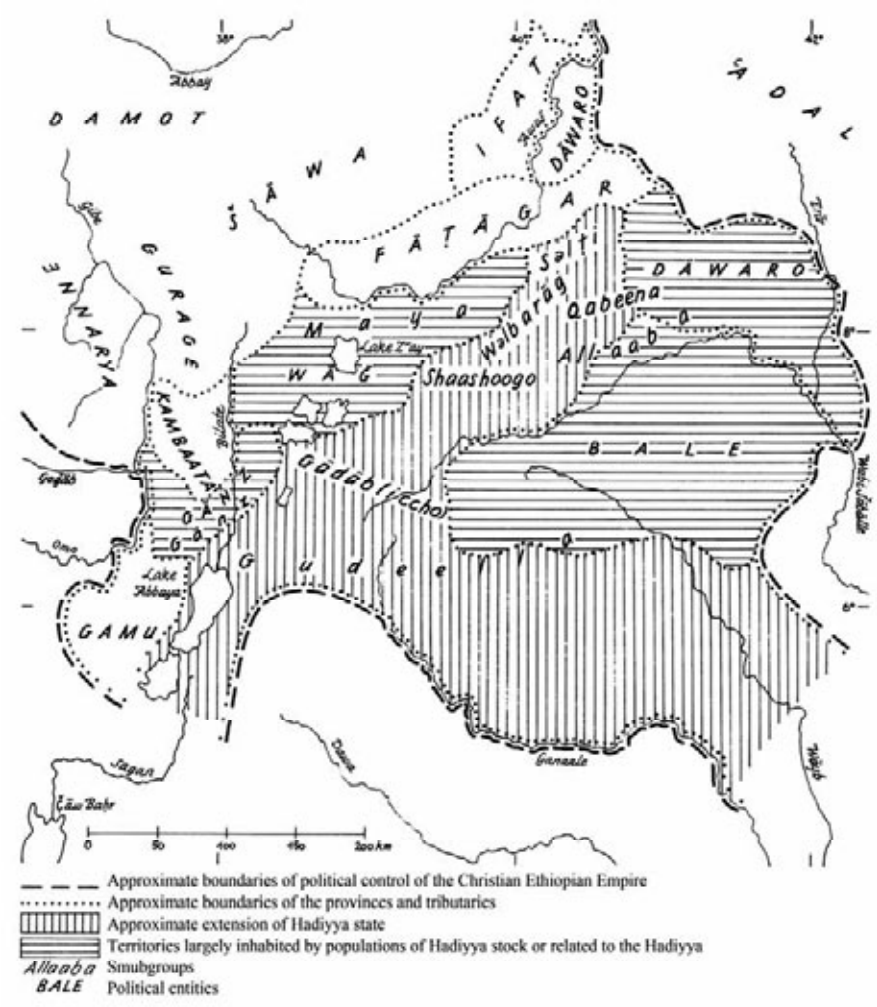

6. Approximate extension of Hadiyya c. 1500

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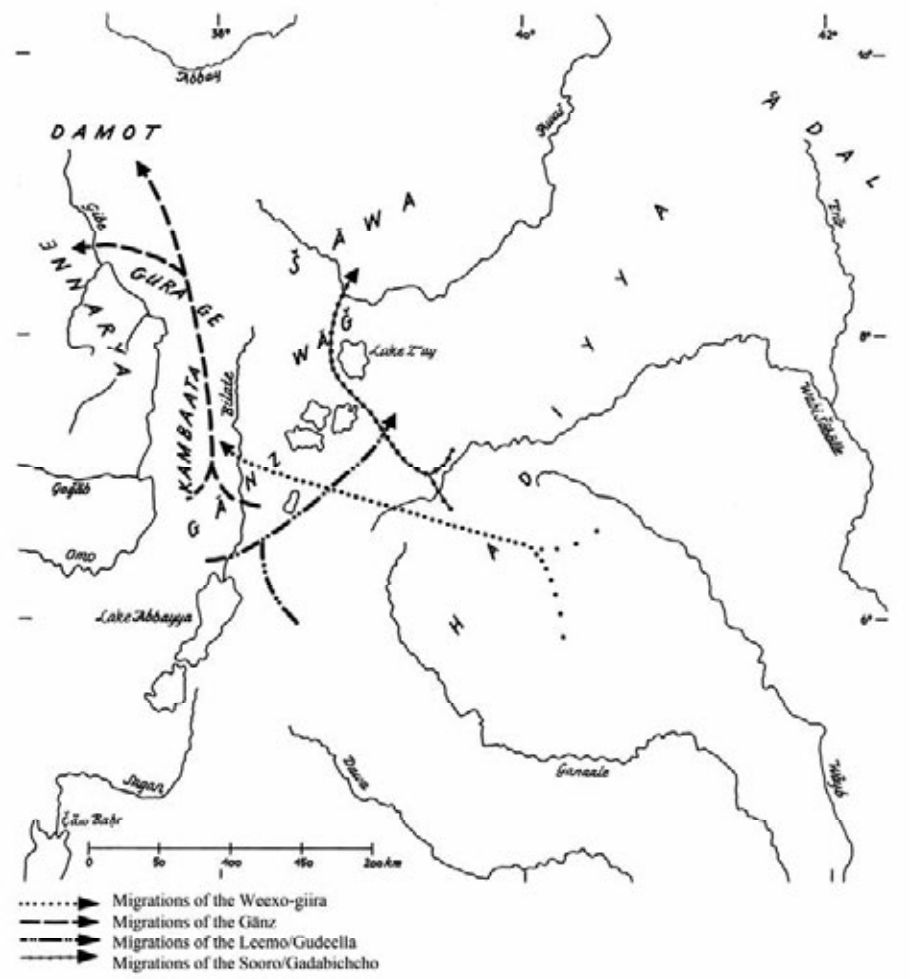

7. Hadiyya migrations during the time of ʿAhmad Grañ (after 1531)

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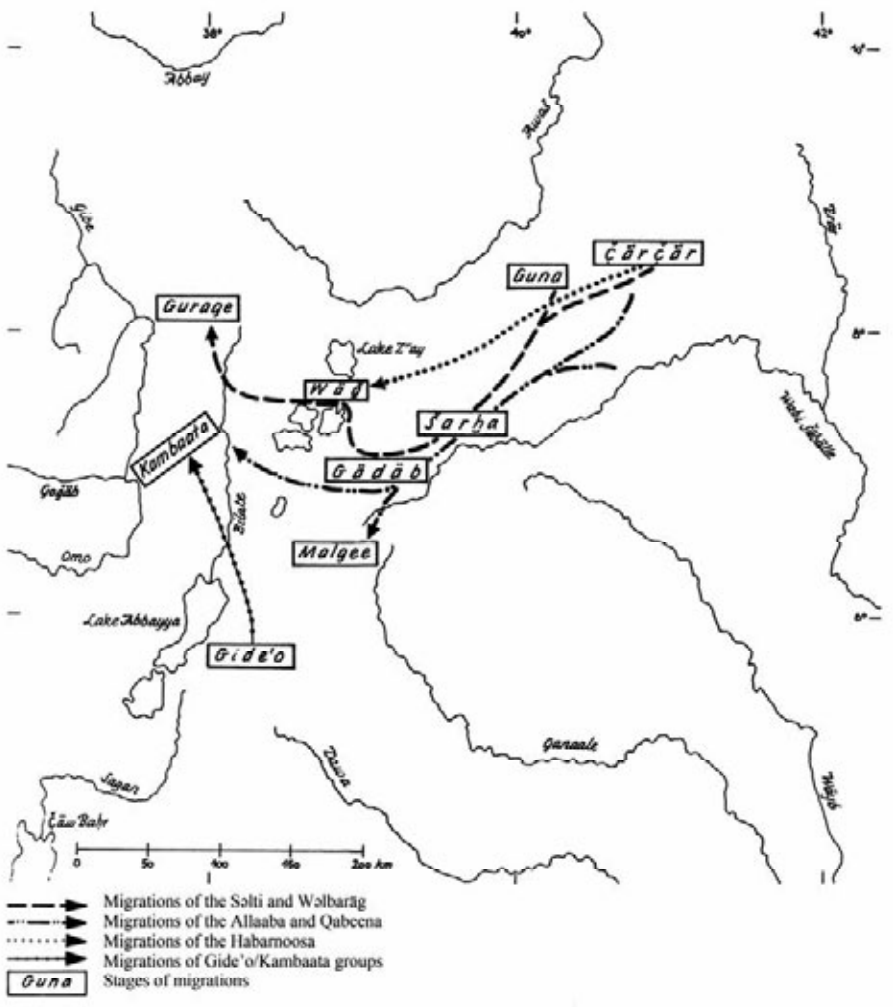

8. Hadiyya migrations during the time of the Nūr b. Mudjāhid (c. 1550-70)

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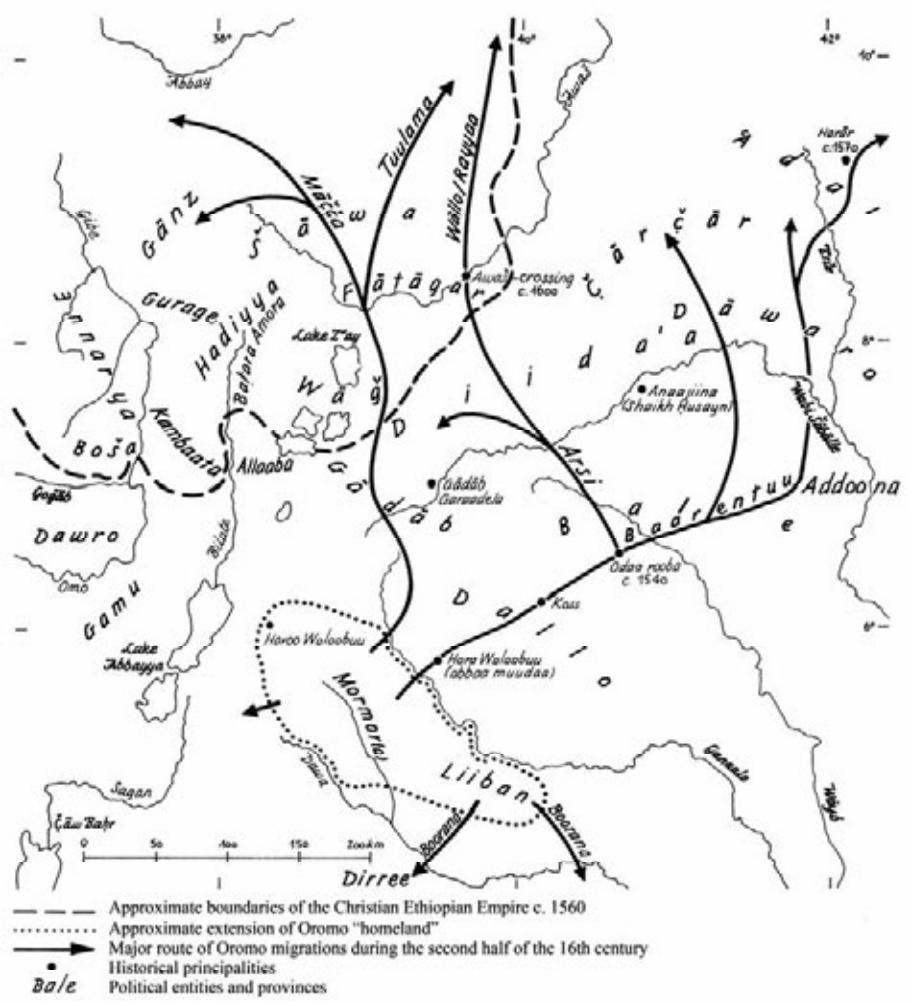

9. The Oromo expansion in the 16th century

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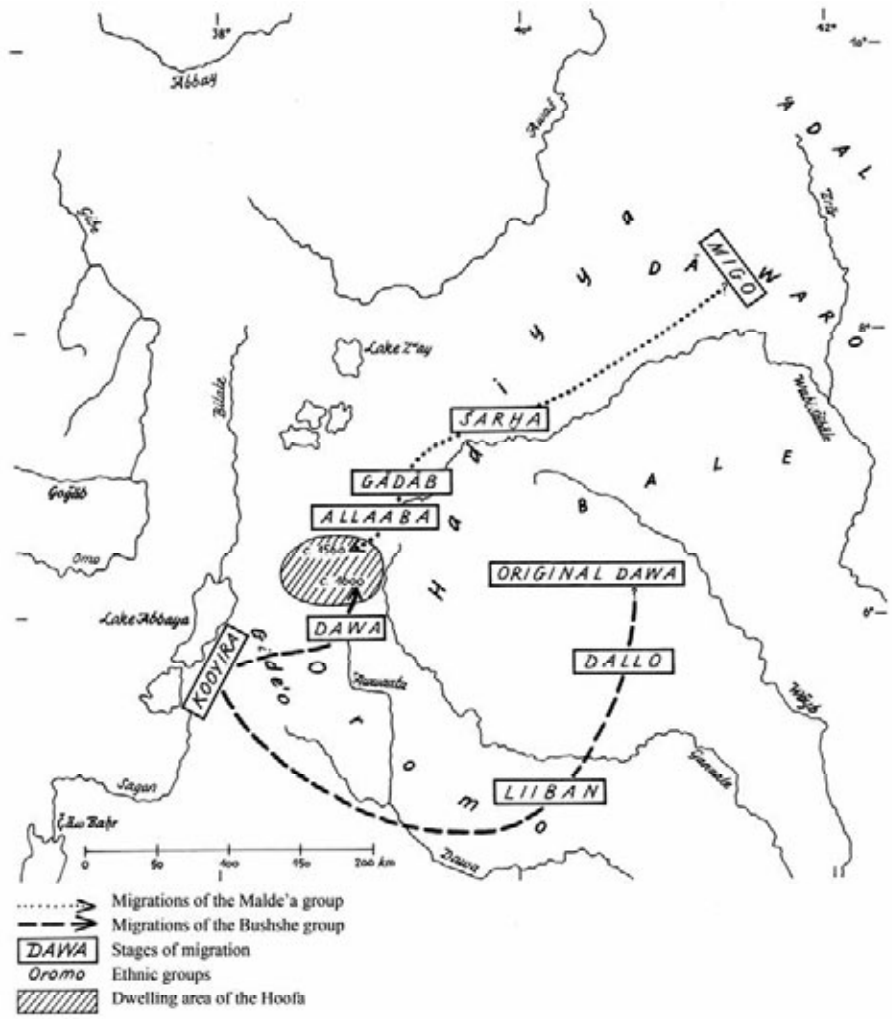

10. Migrations of the Proto-Sidaama

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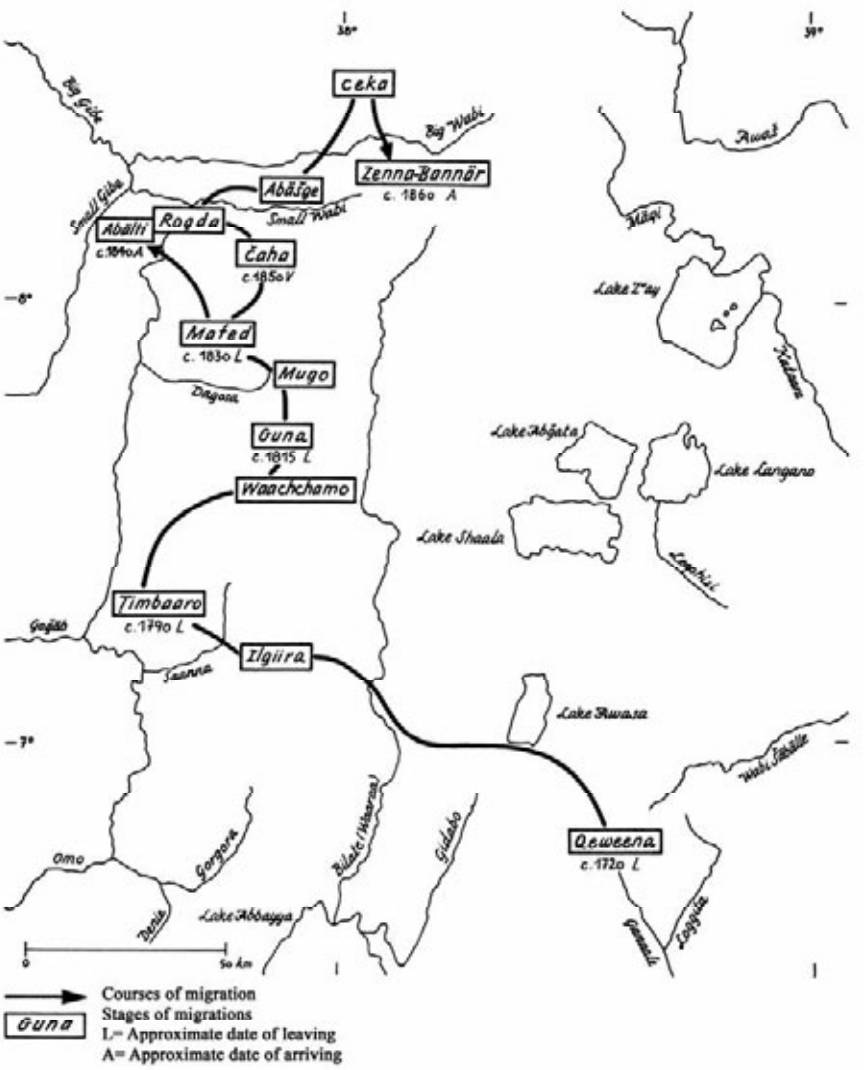

11. Migrations of the Qabeena

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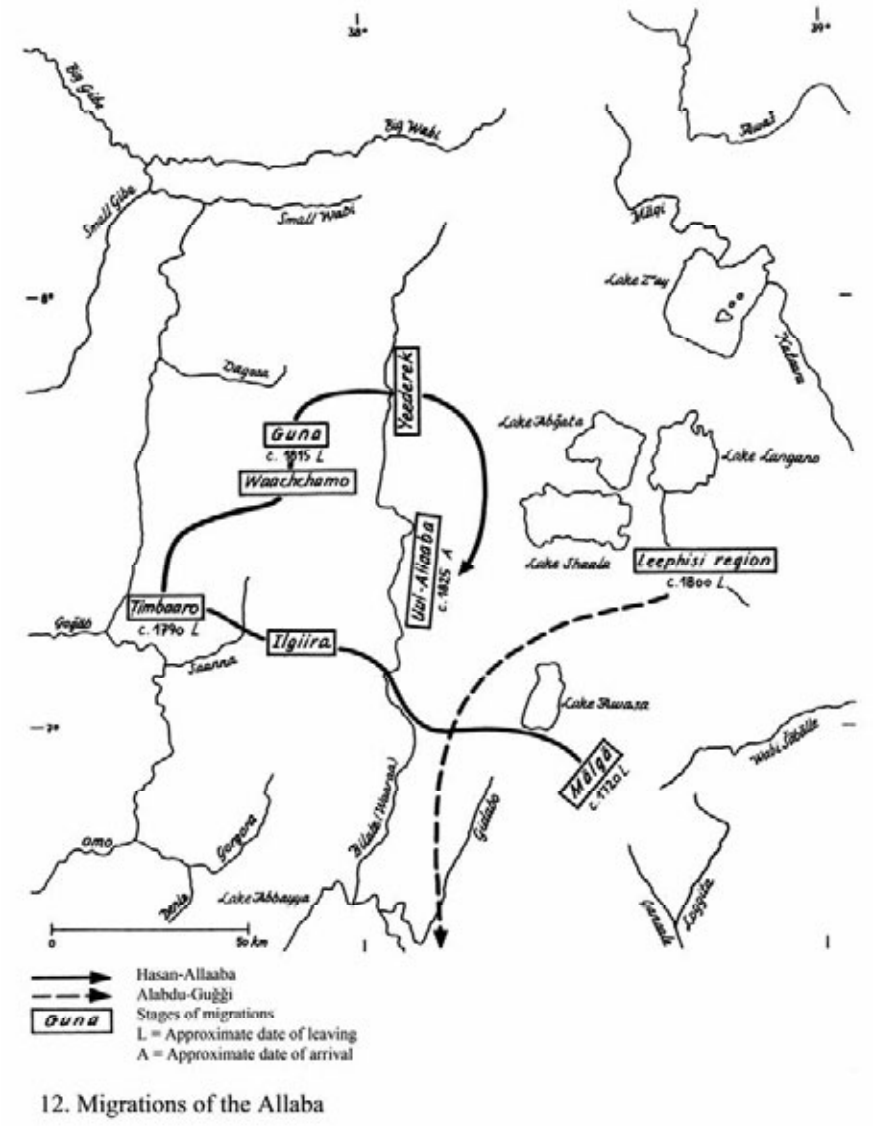

12. Migrations of the Allaba

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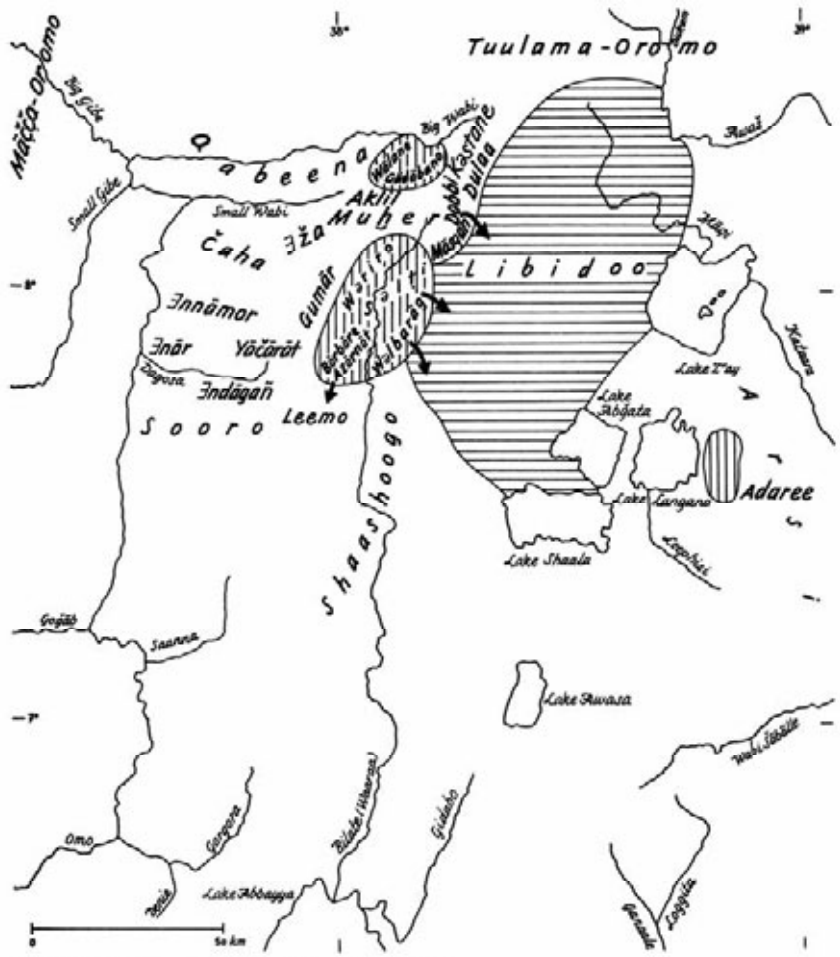

13. "East Gurage" and Libidoo in the 19th century

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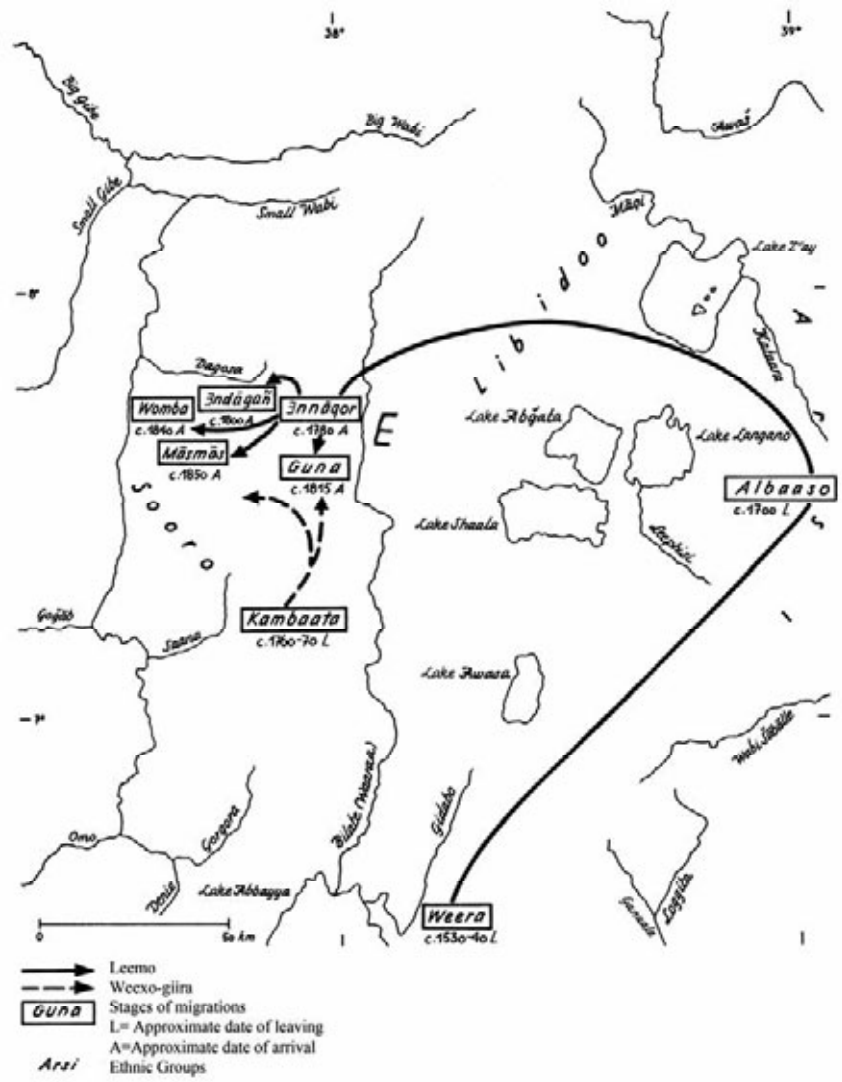

14. Migrations of the Leemo and Weexo-giira

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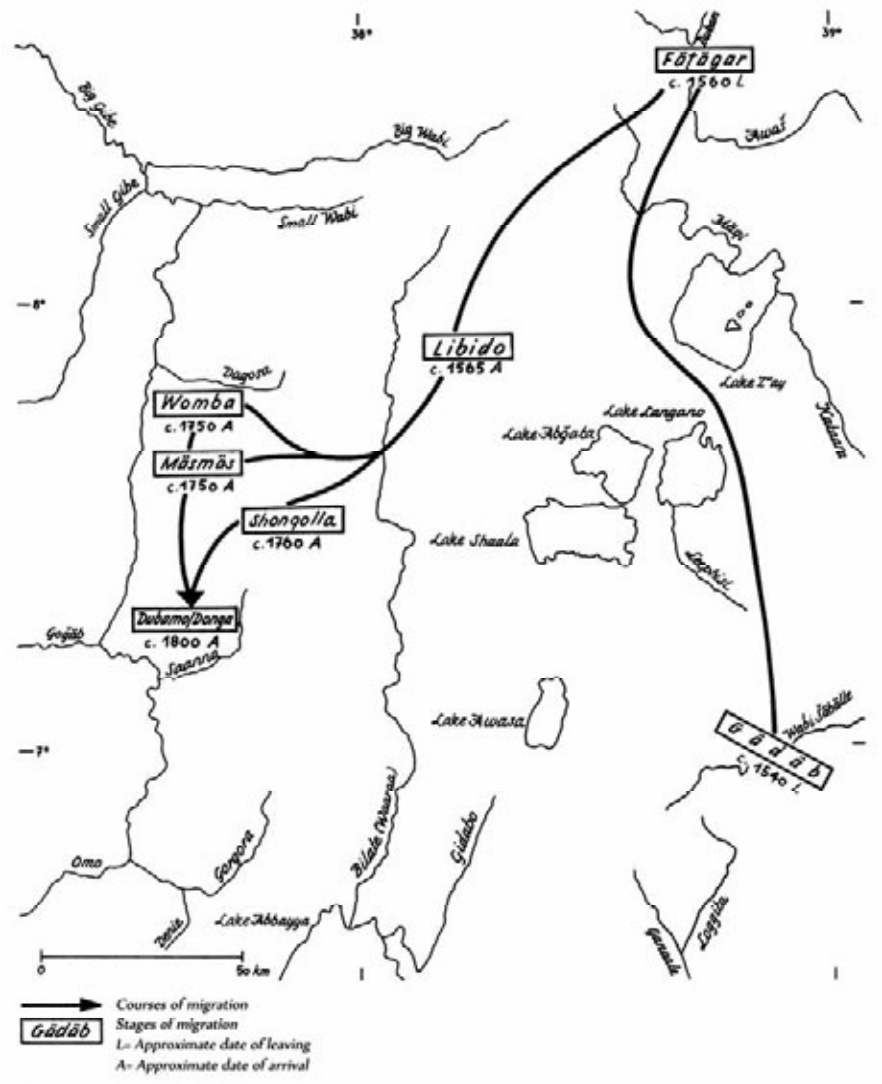

15. Migrations of the Sooro

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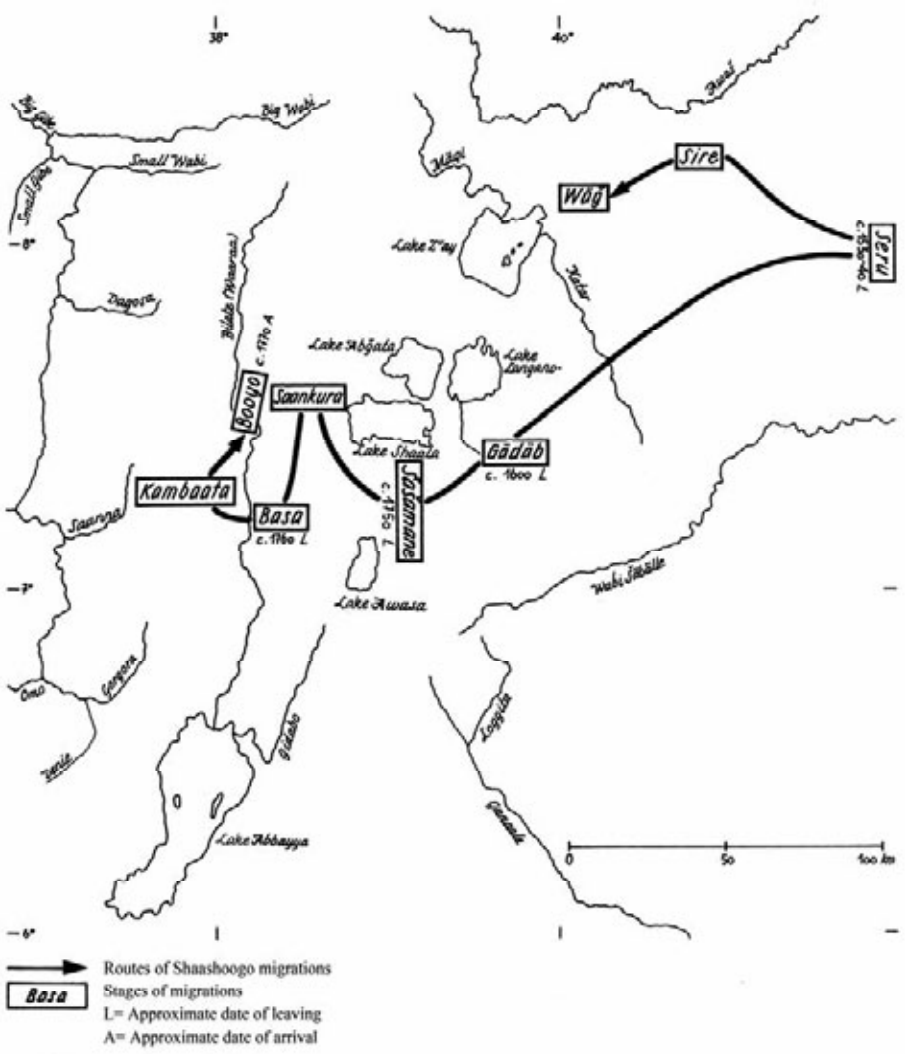

16, Migrations of the Shaashoogo

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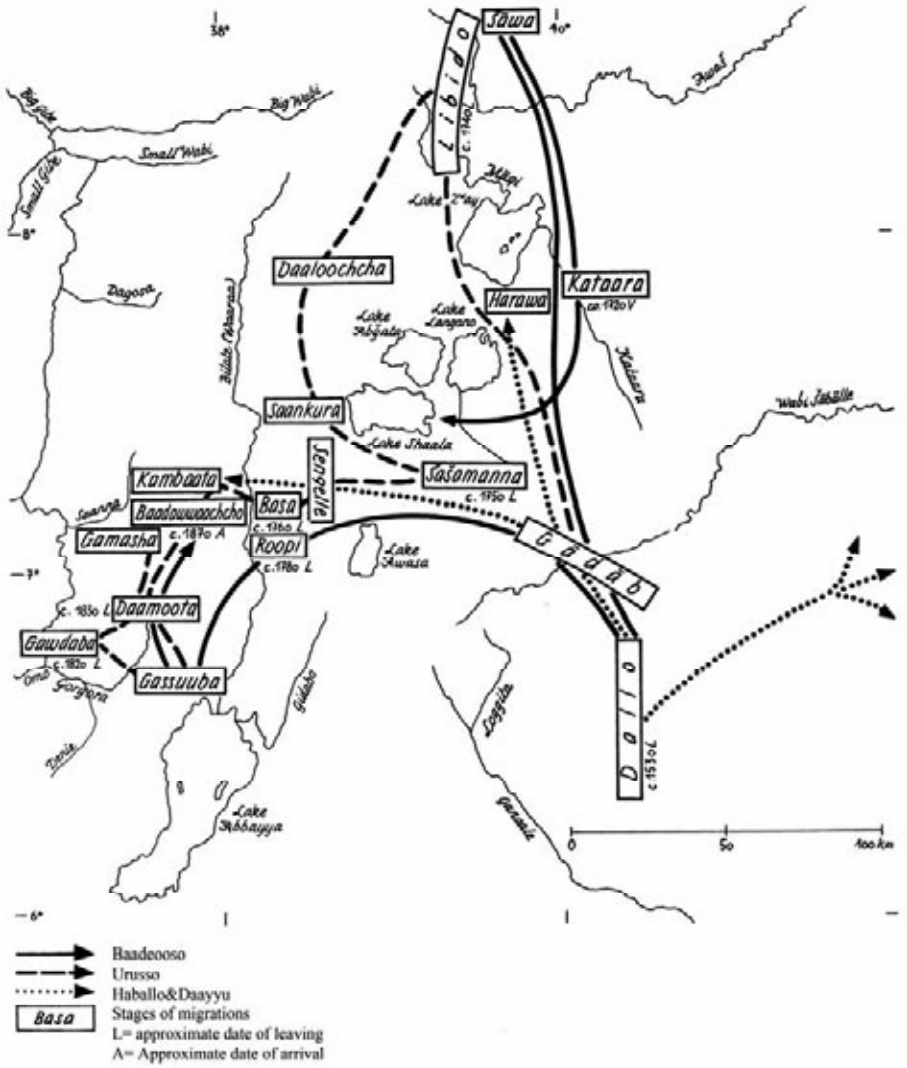

17. Migrations of the Baadawwaachcho

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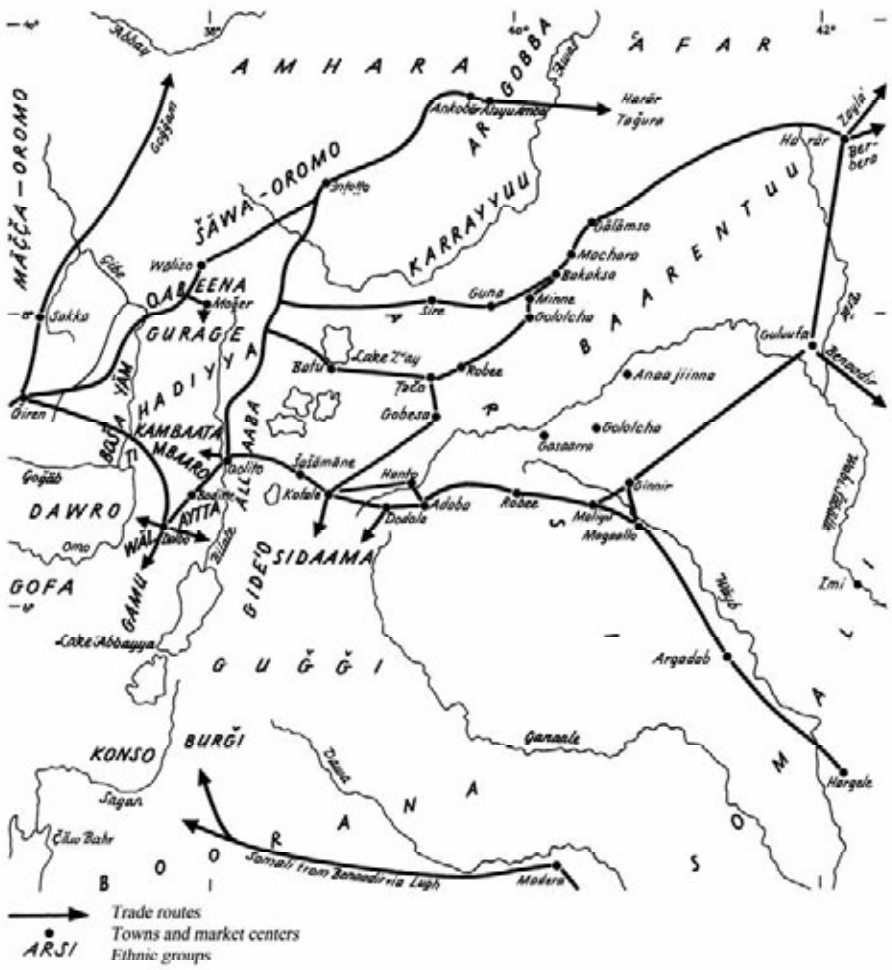

18. Major trade routes in south-eastern Ethiopia during the last third of the 19th century

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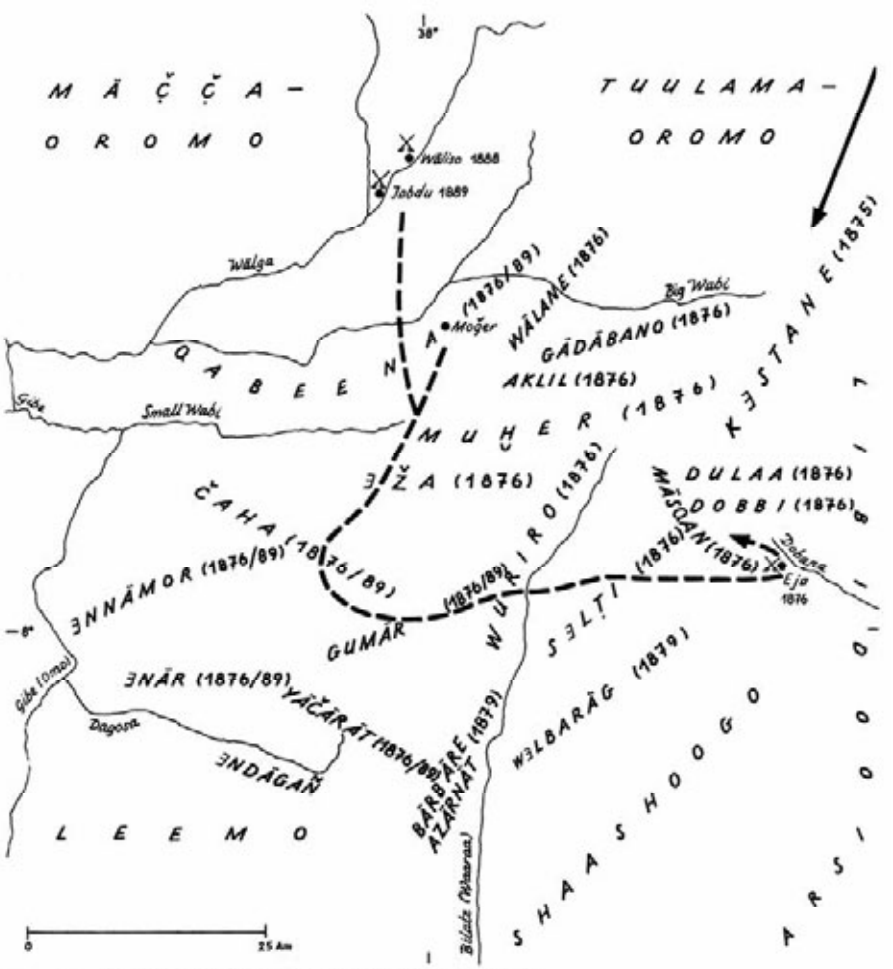

19. Amharic conquest of Gurageland

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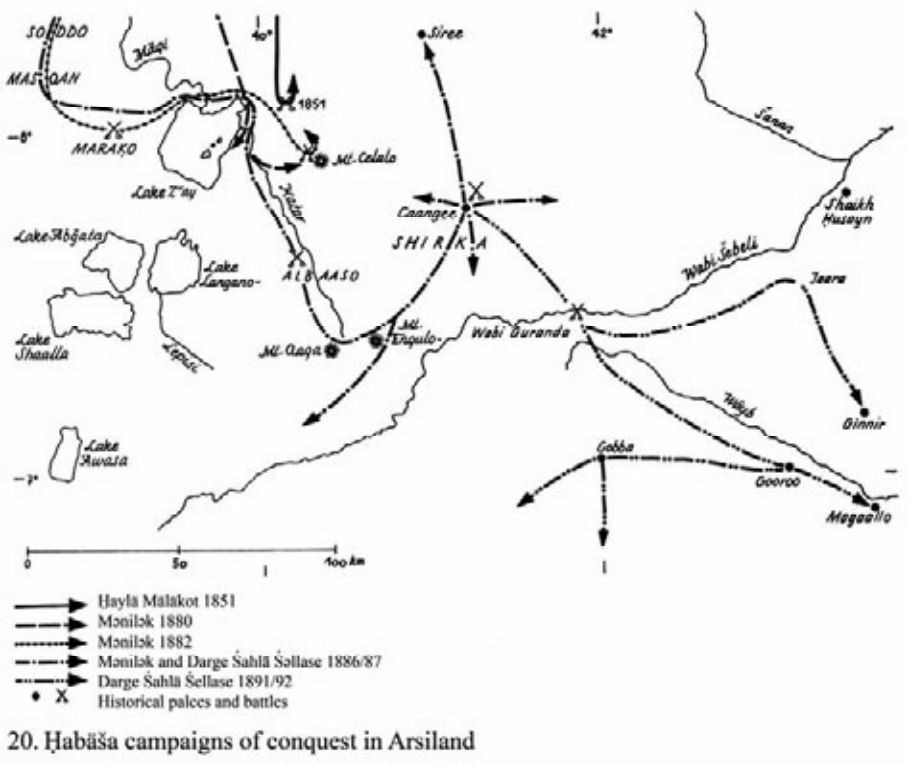

20. Ḫabäša campaigns of conquest in Arsiland

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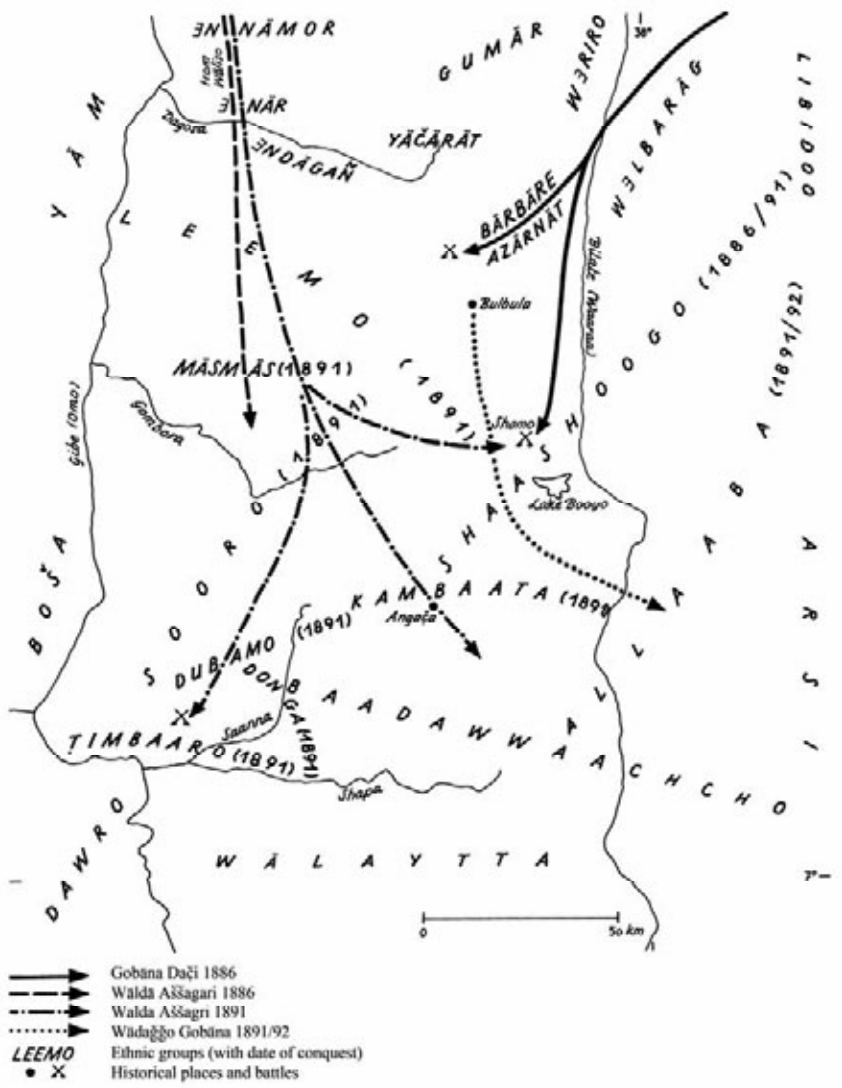

21. Ḥabäša campaigns of conquest in the territories of Hadiyya and Kambaata.

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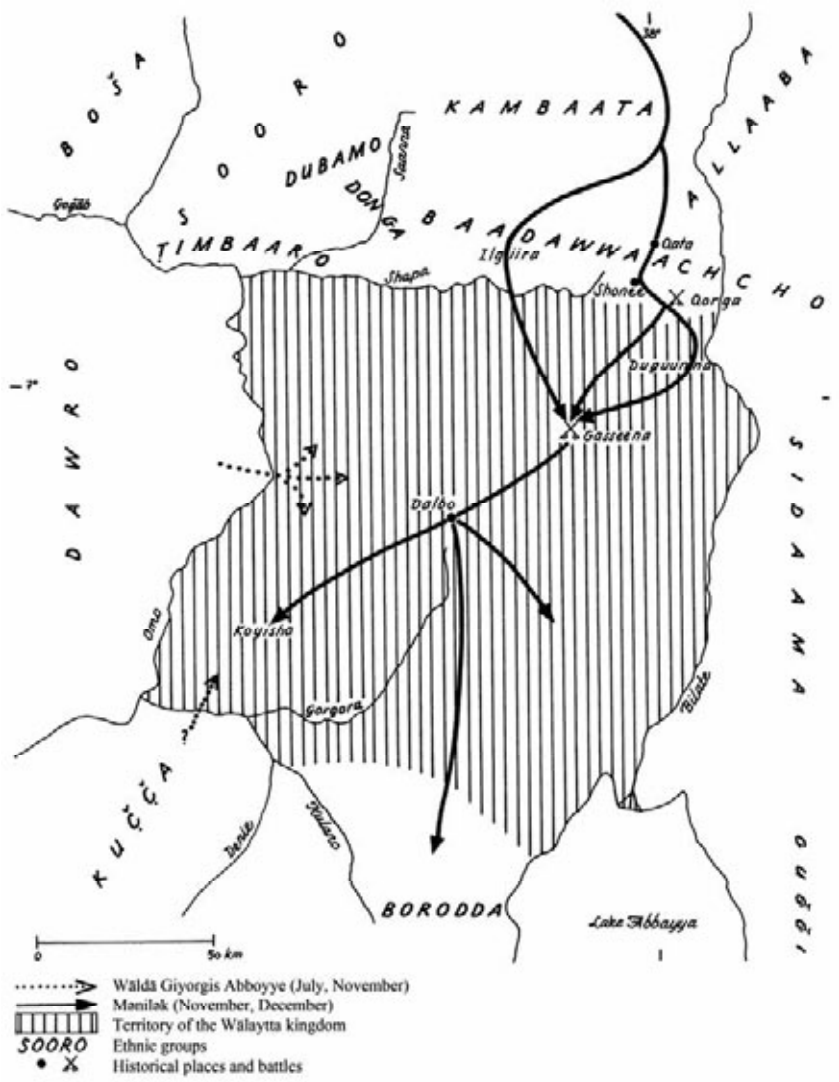

22. The Wälaytta campaign of 1894

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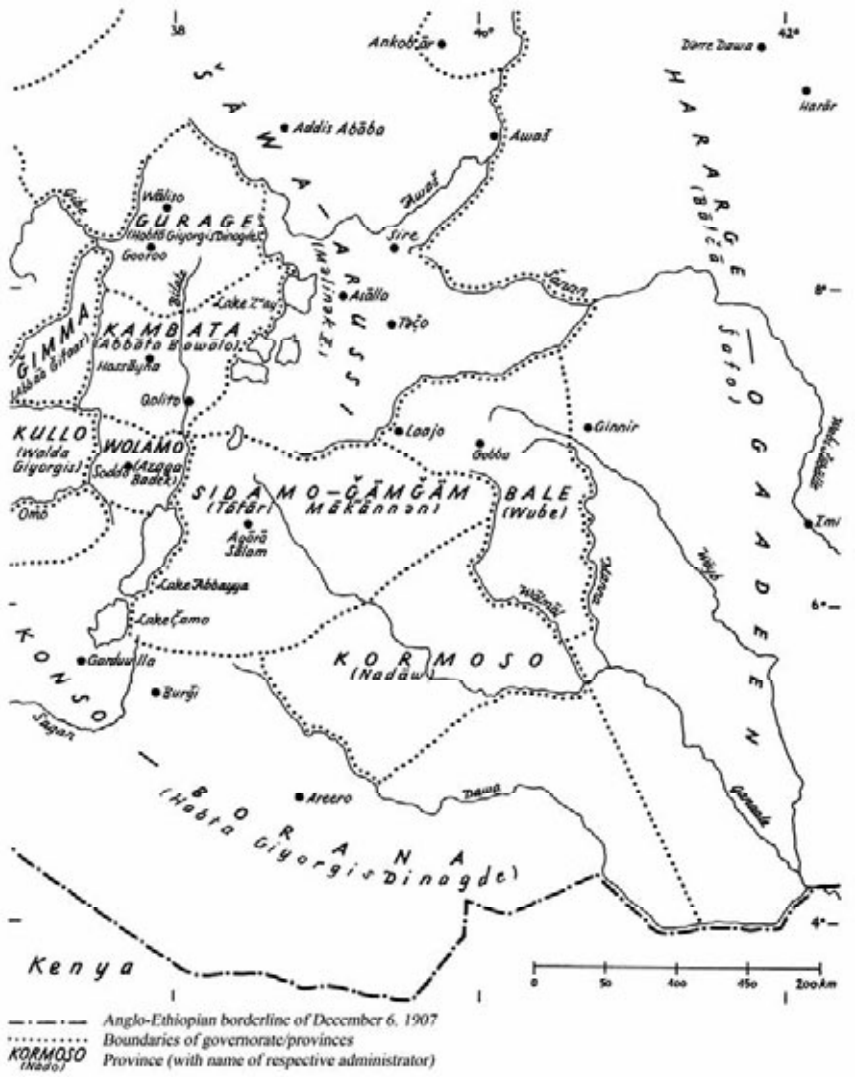

23. Aministrative division of central-southern Ethiopia in 1908

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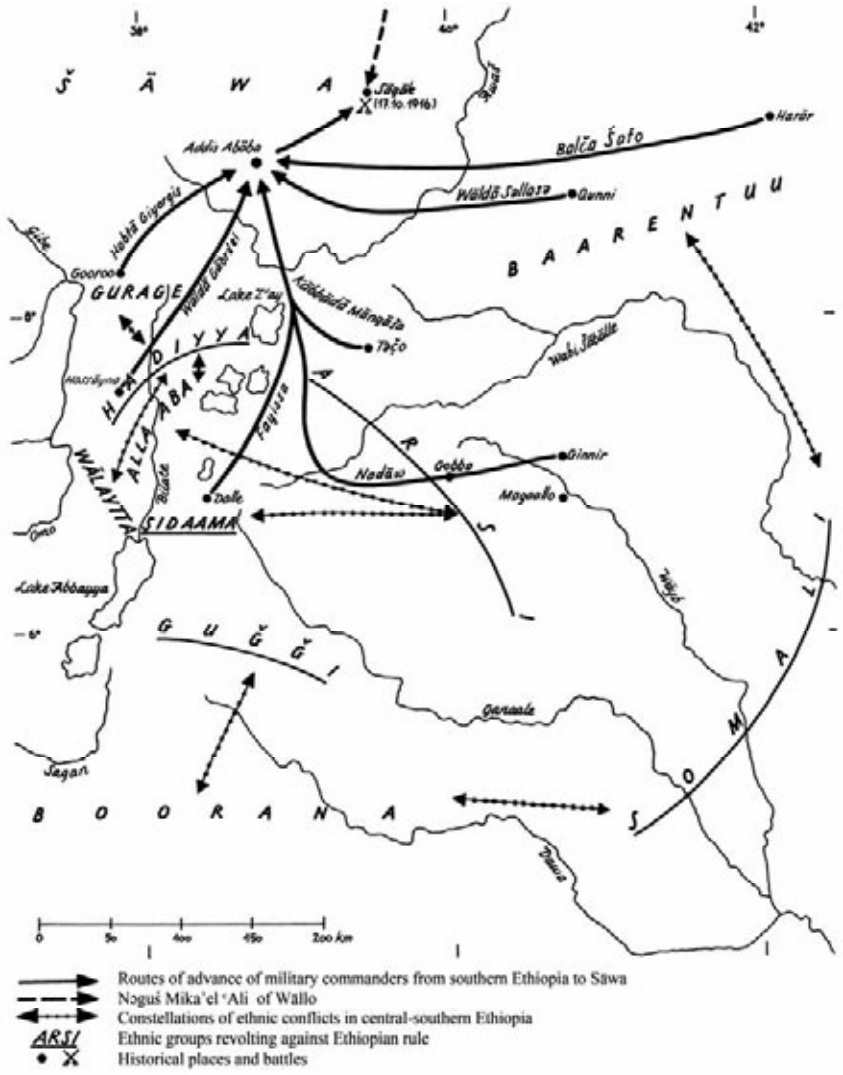

24. The Ethiopian civil war in the time of *Läǧ* Iyasu Mika'el

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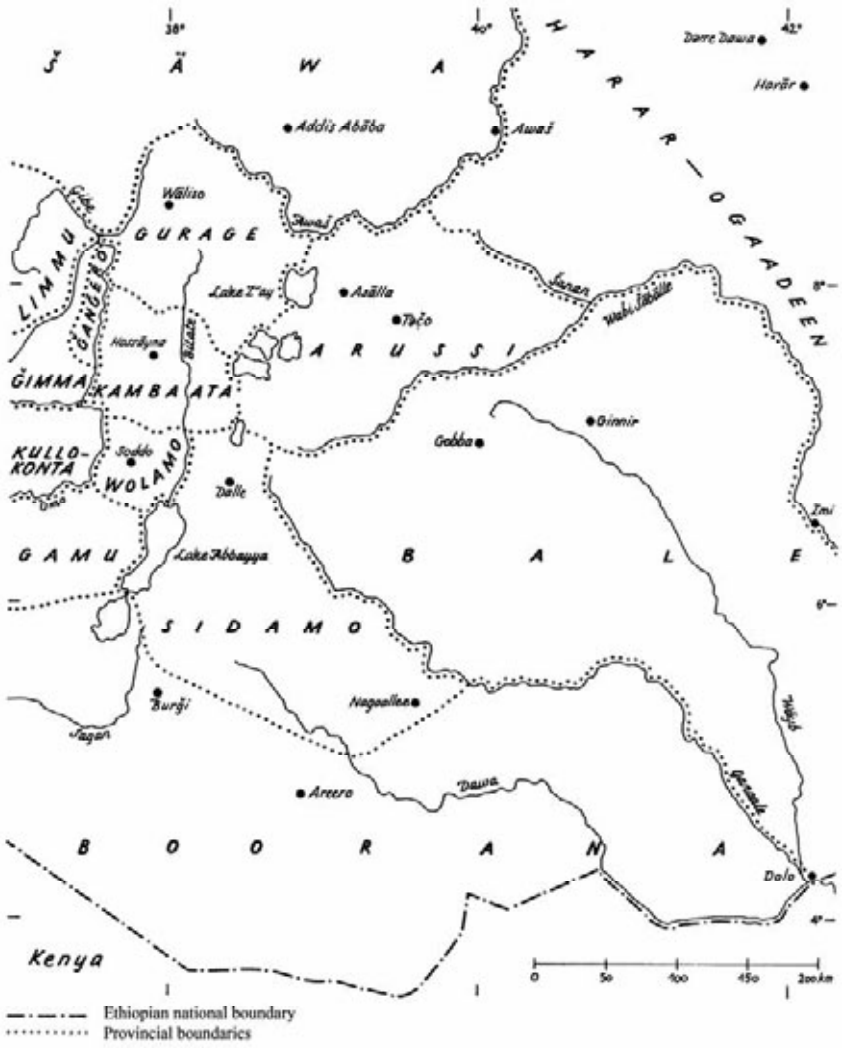

25. Administrative division in central-southern Ethiopia in 1935

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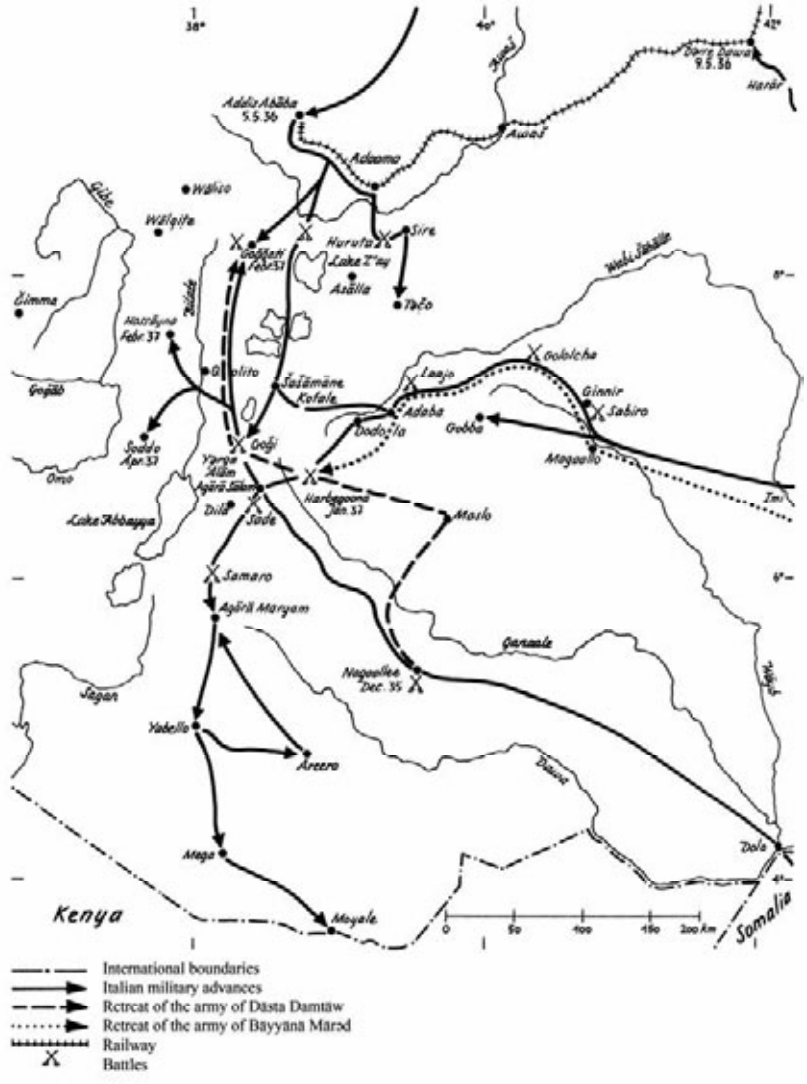

26. Italian campaigns of conquest in central-southern Ethiopia 1935-37

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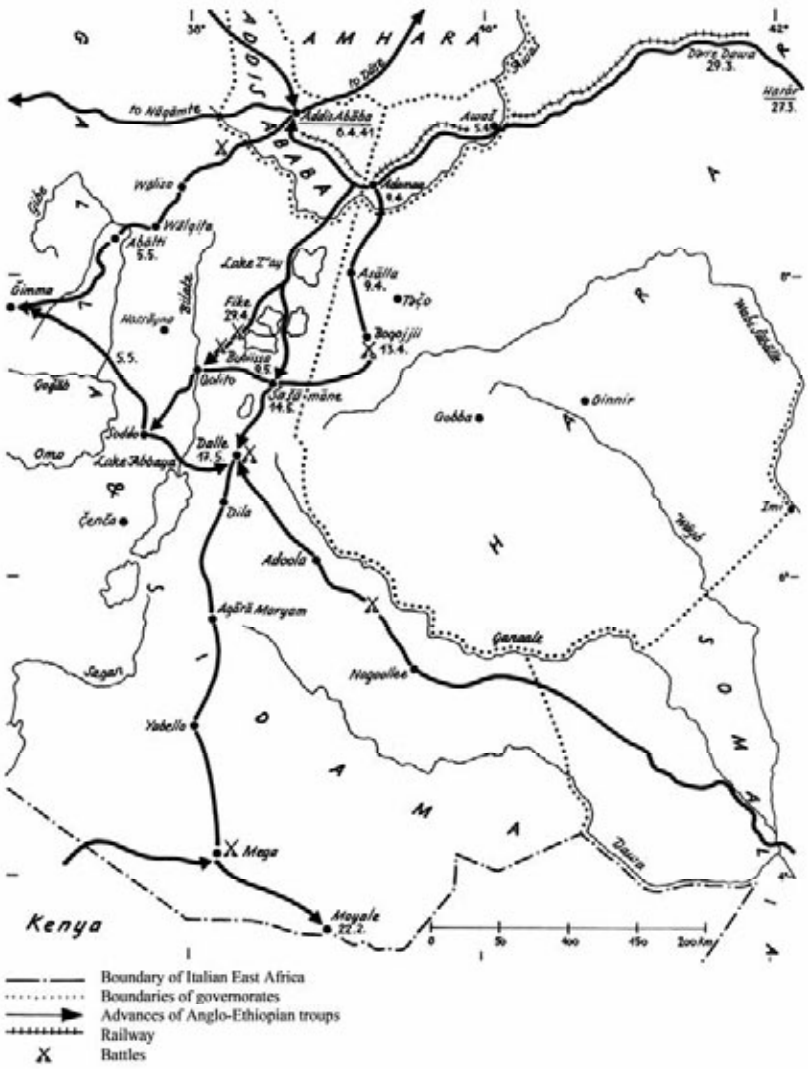

27. Anglo-Ethiopian reconquest of central-southern Ethiopia 1941

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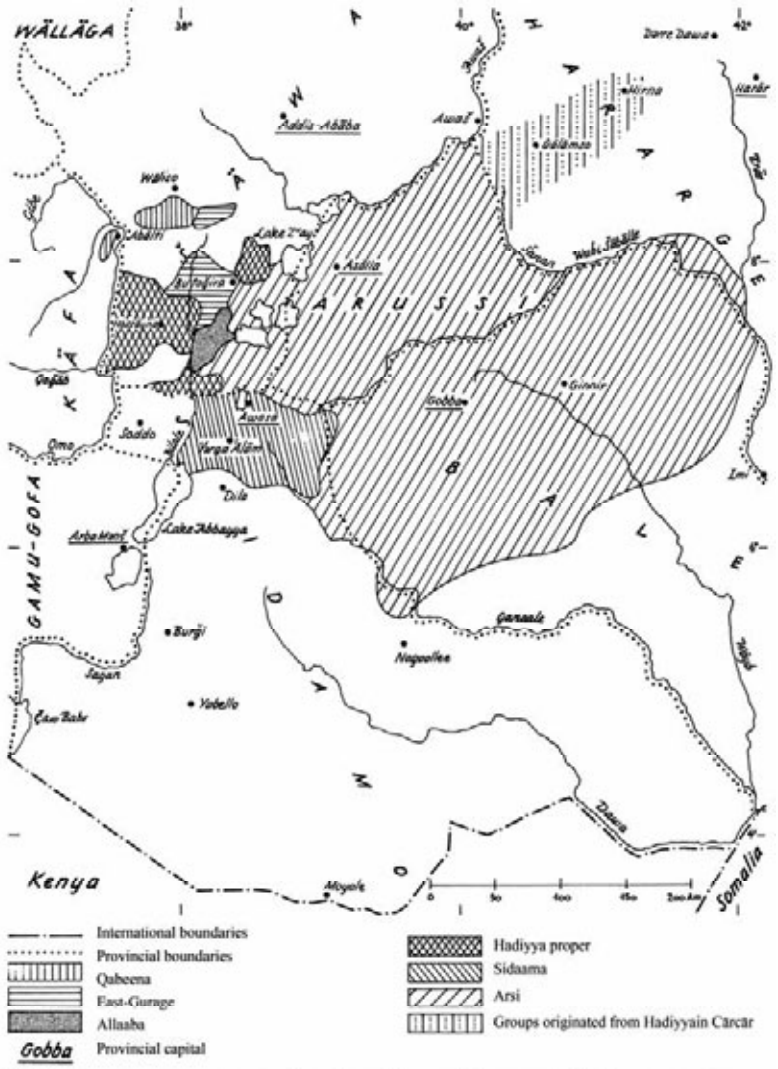

28. Hadiyya proper and groups largely originated from an old Hadiyya stratum on the administrative map of Ethiopia (after 1962)

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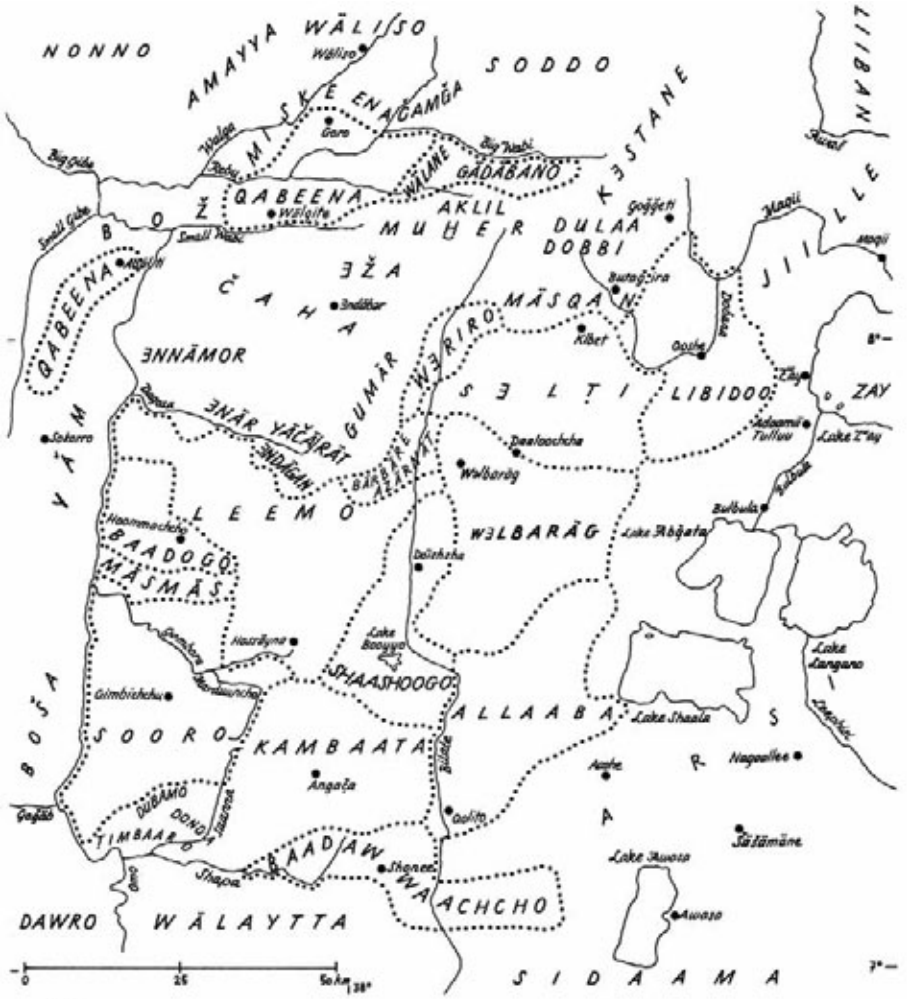

29. Hadiyya territories west of the Rift Valley

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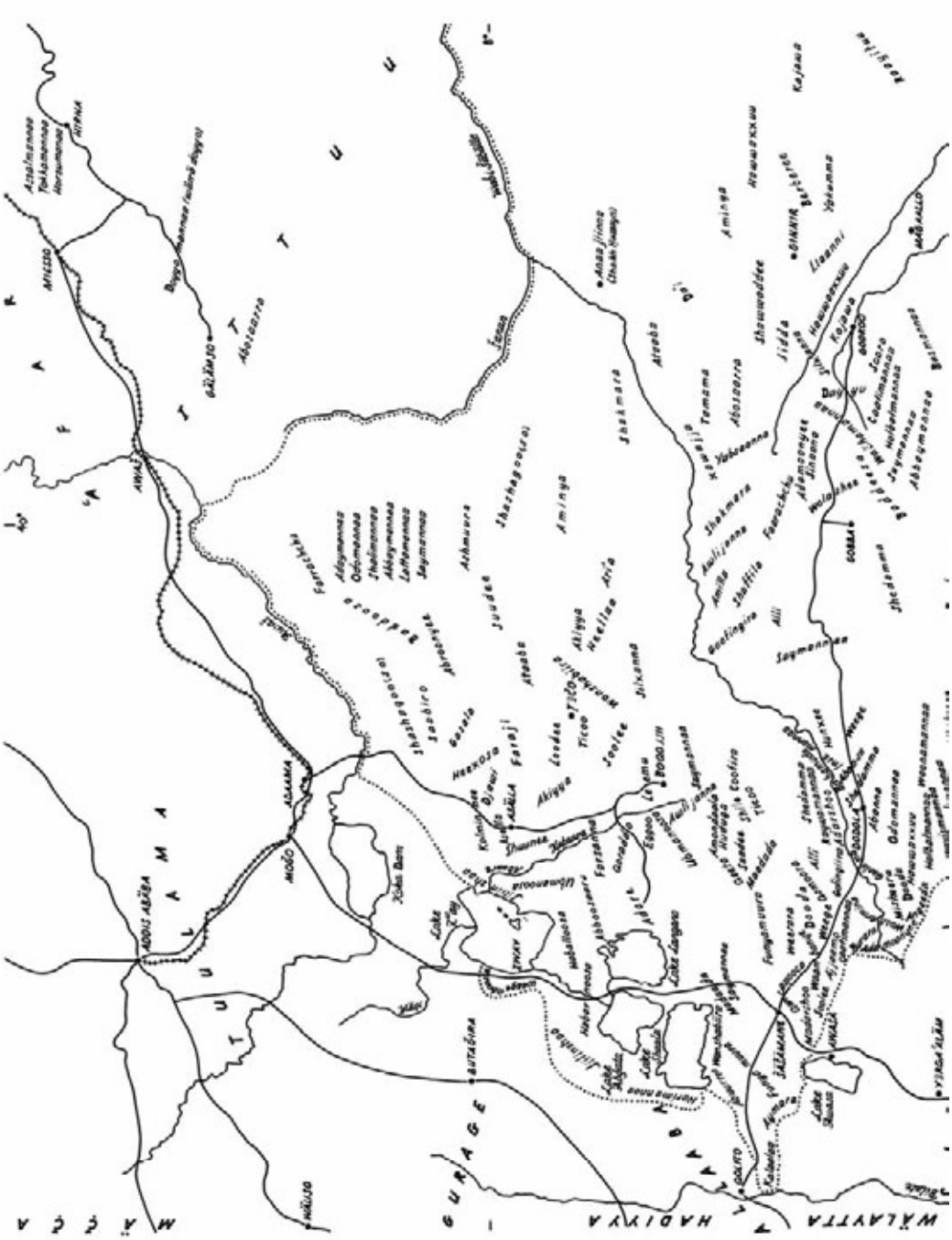
GURAGE
HADIYYA
WALAYTTA
MAʾAZA
AMHARA
OROMIYA
Lake Ziway
Lake Langano
Lake Abiyata
Lake Shalla
Lake Awasa
Lake Chamo
Lake Abaya
Lake Stefanie
Lake Turkana
Lake Rudolf
Lake Tana
Lake Zwai
Lake Hayq
Lake Ashenge
Lake Hardibo
Lake Basaka
Lake Gamarri
Lake Haro
Lake Bilate
Lake Hora
Lake Dendi
Lake Koka
Lake Beseka
Lake Gemari
Lake Tsetsebi
Lake Kuriftu
Lake Bishoftu
Lake Cheleleka
Lake Aranguade
Lake Hora Kilole
Lake Hora Arsedi
Lake Hora Bolosa
Lake Hora Dambal
Lake Hora Harsadi
Lake Hora Kabenna
Lake Hora Kejetu
Lake Hora Sakota
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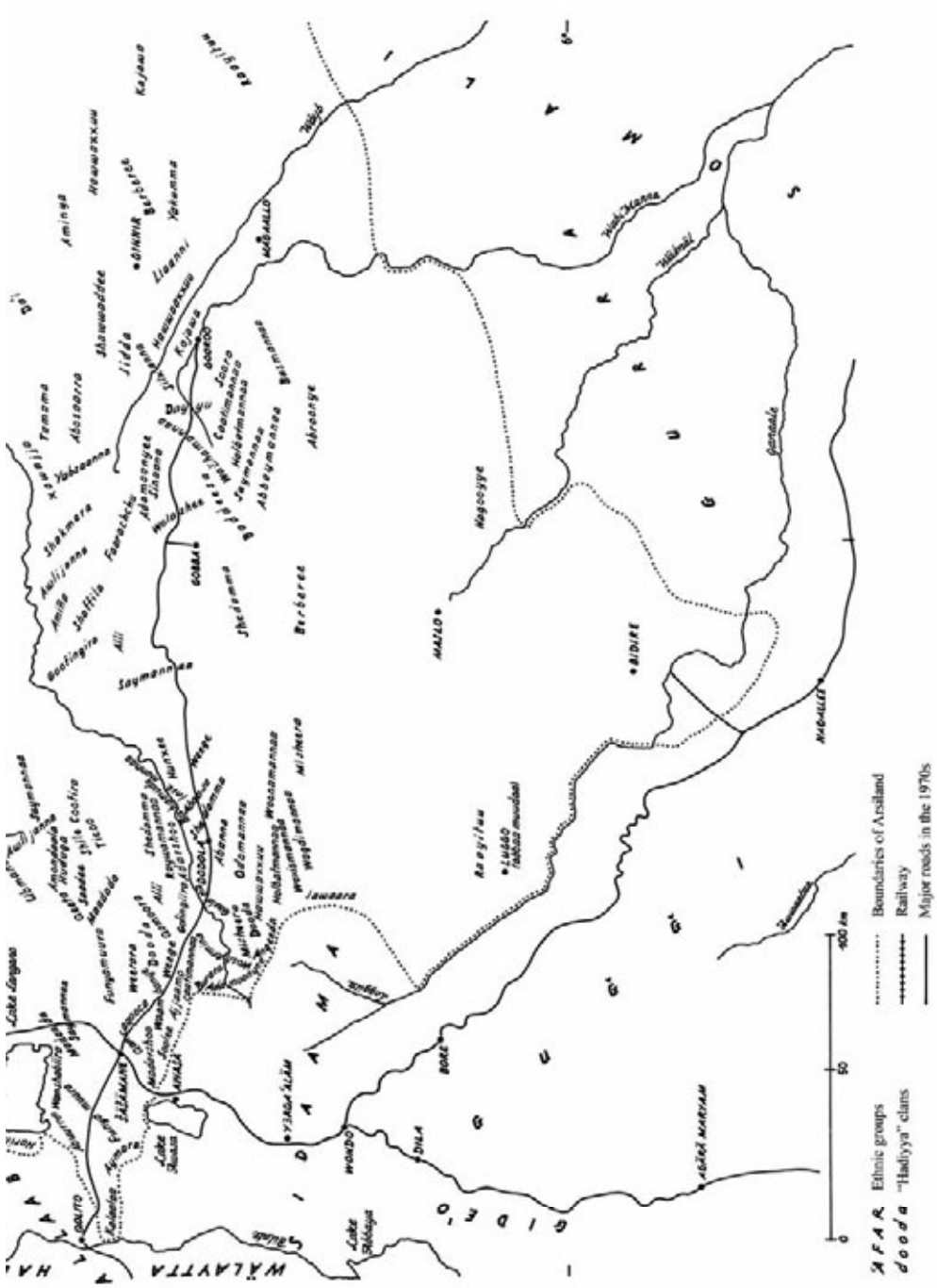

30. "Hadiyya" clans of the Arsi and Ittuu

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Appendix I: Historical Dates of the Hadiyya

9th cent.	Foundation of Arabic-Islamic principalities at the Horn of Africa and expanding their influence to Central Ethiopia through the development of the Sutanate of Šäwa
since c. 1225	Diffussion of Arabic version of *t i ä* in Ethiopia ruled by Zag^{w}e Dynasty – Hadiyya mentioned as opponents of the Christian Empire
13th cent.	Territorial relocation of Hadiyya from Harär Plateau westwards in the direction of the Rift Valley
1269	Start of the rule of the Solomonic Dynasty ("Ethiopian Restoration" of the Middle Ages) in the Christian Empire
1285	The Ma z mi Dynasty of Šäwa is replaced by the Wälašma Dynasty of Ifat-^{c}Adal
around 1300	Expansion of the state Damot up to central-southern Ethiopia – Mention of Hadiyya in the chronicle of the Wälašma Dynasty
1314-44	Emperor ^{c} V g, . – First known expansion epoch of the Medieval Christian Empire in southern Ethiopia
1316/17	War campaigns of the Christian Ethiopians against Damot and Hadiyya
1321	Localisation of the Hadiyya (west of the Bale mountains) in the *Takw n al-Buld n* by Ab 'l-Fidd
1327	Reputed settlement of T gray people from Akkälä Guzay under *azma* Z in the region east of the upper Gibe
1329	Subjugation of the Hadiyya and campaign against Ifat, Sasogi, Šar a and Däwaro by the Christian Empire
1332	Suppression of a rebellion of the Hadiyya by Emperor ^{c} V g, .
c. 1340	Drafting of *Mas lik al-Ab r* by al-^{c}Umari
1382-1413	Emperor Dawit I – Despatch of Ethiopian military colonists to Däwaro and Bale
1414-29	T , G (– Victory of the Christian Empire against Allaaba and Gudeella
1428	Defeat of the Christian Ethiopians against the troops of the ^{c}Adal Sultan Djamdl al-Din in the boundary districts of Bale
1434-68	Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob – Heyday of political power of the Christian Empire and intensive contacts with southern Ethiopia – Suppression of a Hadiyya insurrection under *gärad* Mahiko and settlement of Ethiopian military colonists (*dəkəwa*) – Neutrality of the Hadiyya in the Ethiopian war against ^{c}Adal under Sultan Shihdb al-Din Bädlay
c. 1440	Drafting of the history of the Islamic Principalities in "Abyssinia" by al-Ma rizi
c. 1445	Marriage of Zär'a Ya^{c} kob to the Hadiyya Princess leni, who was later nominated *Qañ ba'altehat* (Queen of the Right)
1454	Map by Egyptus Novelo – Mention of the Maya in Lake Z^{w}ay territory

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1460	Map by Fra Mauro
1468-78	Emperor Bä' dä Maryam I – Insurrections in Bale and Däwaro – Presumably resettlement of Hadiyya people westward to the region of Kämbata – Strong Christian Ethiopian presence in Gänz
1494	Emperor skender killed in action against the Maya
1506-43	A mad b. Ibrdhim al- dzi (A mad Grañ) commander and charismatic leader of the Muslims at the Horn of Africa
1508-40	Emperor L bnä D ng l – Ethiopian control of Hadiyyaland through a *malaganha* – Start of Oromo expansion in the southern part of the territories occupied by Hadiyya
1516	Defeat of ᶜAdal troops against the Ethiopians and death of the Sultan Ma f z – Marauding of Islamic territories by the Christians
1522	Death of Empress leni
1523	Delegation of a Hadiyya princess to the residence of L bnä D ng l at Lake Zʷay – Subsequent intervention of Ethiopian troops in a Hadiyya civil war
1524	Drafting of a composition on Ethiopia (mentioning Hadiyya) by A. Zorzi in Venice according to the eye witness reports of the Dominican Thomas of Ganget
1527	Defeat of the Bale Governor *azma* Dägälhan against ᶜAdal troops at the Mo3o River
1529	Victory of *im m* A mad Grañ , T ´T ´ . Z wʷ re – Start of the ᶜAdal wars of conquest against Ethiopia
1531	Annexation of the Ethiopian vassal-territories Hadiyya, Bale, Šar a, Wä3 and Gänz by the ᶜAdal-Muslims and participation of their Islamic population in the "holy war" against the Christians
1531/32	Conquest of the Ethiopian province Kämbata by the ᶜAdal commander ᶜAbd al-Nd ir and settlement of Hadiyya auxiliaries (Weexo-giira) in this territory – Marriage alliances of A mad Grañ and ᶜAbd al-Nd ir with Hadiyya nobility
c. 1535	Drafting of the *Fut al- abaša* by Shihdb al-Din A mad b. ᶜAbd al- ddir (ᶜArab Faki)
1537	Invasion of the Oromo from Dallo up to Bale
1543	Defeat and death of A mad Grañ against the united Ethiopian-Portuguese armed forces at Wäyna Däga near Lake ana – End of the ᶜAdal war campaigns against the Christian heartlands
1544	Defeat and death of *w zir* ᶜAbbds b. Ab n, Islamic governor of Däwaro, Fä ägar and Bale, against Emperor Gälawdewos
1551/52	N r b. Mudjdhid appointed "Leader of the New Conquest" by the people of ᶜAdal and commissioned to continue the "holy war"
1552	The Oromo ravage Kämbata and southern Šäwa
c. 1558-66	Conquest of Däwaro by the Oromo – Immigration of the Malde'a people in present-day Sidaamaland
1559	Death of Emperor Gälawdewos in battle against the ᶜAdal Muslims – Approximately from this time settlement of Hadiyya in East-Gurage and Allaaba
c. 1566-74	Start of the permanent land seizure by the Oromo north of the Wabi Šäbälle – Libidoo (Maräqo) and Sooro nomads in the north of the Lake Region

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1568/69	, g , R T , M . P P . ´T Vgg . VT dT *gärad*
1570	´V , RM . P R, Vgg . V– *Dä azma* Täklä Giyorgis left there as governor
1573	, g , R ´T ´ . . VT M . P P . ´T TT-Oromo near Lake Z[w]ay
c. 1577	Renewed defeat of the Hadiyya under *gärad* Dja[c]far P . M . P – Joint action of Hadiyya and Oromo as opponents of the Christian Empire – Death of the Bale Governor Fasil in the fight against the Daawwee-Oromo – Victory of Märsä . P P . i Mu ammad of [c]Adal in the valley of Wabi Šäbälle
1597-1603	Emperor Ya[c] qob – He marries the daughter of a Hadiyya-*gärad*
c. 1600	Crossing of the Awaš by the Oromo in Fä ägar – In the following decades invasion up to the territory inhabited by the T gray – Invasion of the Bushshe people in today's Sidaamaland – Invasion of the Sooro in the territory at the upper Bilate
1603-32	Emperor Sus nyos – Defeat against *gärad* Mdi (Sidee) of Hadiyya in Gurageland
1613/14	Travel of the Franciscan monk António Fernandes through Kämbata – In Allaaba he is forced by the "prince" Aliko to return to the west instead of proceeding to the coast
1633	Expulsion of the Portuguese out of Ethiopia by Emperor Fasilädäs – Extensive decrease of European written sources on Ethiopia for a long time
c. 1720	Migration of Allaaba and Qabeena from Sidaamaland to Ilgiira- imbaaro – Retreat of parts of the Leemo and Baadawwaachcho under pressure from the Arsi-Oromo from the highland east of the Rift Valley
since c. 1750	Sooro land seizure in the territory between the rivers Bilate and Omo – Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho lead nomadic existence in the central Lake Region
c. 1760-70	Crossing of the Bilate to the west by groups of the Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho at Baasa after a defeat against the Arsi – Alliance of the newcomers with the Kambaata and victory against the Weexo-giira, who subsequently mostly align with the Leemo and Sooro – Expansion of the Baadawwaachcho in the later Wälaytta territory and land seizure by Shaashoogo at the upper Bilate at the expense of the Sooro – During the second half of the 18th century transition of Hadiyya groups in the lowlands of the Rift Valley from agropastoralism to a more nomadic livelihood – Beginning of a process of Islamization among the eastern Arsi, particularly in the territory of Anaajiina/Shaikh usayn
c. 1780	Invasion of the Leemo in nnäqor – Start of Wälaytta expansion from Kindo to Koyisha under King Xube (c. 1770-1803), who establishes marriage relationships with the Baadawwaachcho
c. 1790	Migration of the Allaaba and Qabeena from imbaaro to Waachchamo-Guna – Leadership of the Sidee group
after 1800	Expansion of the Sooro at the expense of the Kambaata-speaking Dubamo and Donga – Migration of the Alabdu-Gu33i from the highland south of Lake Langano to the south – Alliance of the Leemo with the ndägañ – Marriage of the Wälaytta King Saanna (c. 1803-18) with Shuraame of the Baadawwaachcho clan Doodichchmanna – Advance of the Arsi clans Aboosa and Weege to the western shore of Lake Z[w]ay
c. 1815	Expulsion of the Allaaba and Qabeena out of the territory of Waachchamo-Guna by the Leemo – The Qabeena turn northward (Mugo and nnämor), the Allaaba

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	eastward (Yeederek/W lbaräg) – Marriage relationship of the Kambaata King Dagooyye with the Leemo clan Oodro – Beginning of the expansion of Kambaata and construction of boundary walls towards the Hadiyya proper and Allaaba
c. 1818-34	King Amaado of Wälaytta – Further expansion of this state, construction of boundary walls and intensive marriage relationships of its royal house with the Baadawwaachcho – After conflicts against the Sooro advance of the Leemo to Womba and Mäsmäs
c. 1840	War campaign of the Šäwa w . P M´ M ase in East-Gurage territory – Subse- (T. PT , R ´ T , . ´ , ´ T T woman Wuriga – Development of the Islamic centre Inangalla in nnämor (later relocated to Abrät in Eaha) – Beginning of re-Islamization of Qabeena and Allaaba
c. 1850-93	King Dilbato of Kambaata – Expansion towards Sooro, Shaashoogo, Baadawwaachcho and Allaaba and construction of boundary ditches and walls
c. 1854-59	King Daamoota of Wälaytta – Marriage relationship with the Sooro leader *woma* Adaayye Agaago
c. 1859-89	King Gobe of Wälaytta – He expanded the boundary of his state in chequered conflicts against the Baadawwaachcho up to the Shapa river in the north and acquired through marriage the territory of the Duquna range – Alliance of the Baadawwaachcho with the Kambaata
after 1860	Establishment of the Qabeena in the Zenna-Bannär territory – Transition from semi-nomadic existence to sedentary agriculture completed – Supplementary cultivation of crops through the initiative of *im m* Nuunade also adopted by the Allaaba – Start of nsät cultivation among the Leemo under influence of the ndägañ-Gurage – Conflicts between the Leemo and Sooro in the territory of Waachchamo – Warlike conflicts of the Shaashoogo against the Arsi, Allaaba and East-Gurage – Development of an economic symbiosis between the Arsi and Zay – Arsi marauding raids up to the ᶜAfar territory and to the Omo river – Somali expansion towards the territories of the southern and eastern Oromo (Boorana and Baarentuu)
1875	Raid of the the Šäwa-Amhara in northern Gurageland
after 1875	Defeat of the East-Gurage under *im m* Gomfamo against the Leemo and Shaashoogo in Gomfam Dawwa near Fonqo'o – Intervention of the Baadawwaachcho in a civil war of the Kambaata
1876/77	Campaigns with heavy losses of the Qabeena allied to the Šäwa-Amhara against the Gurage and Libidoo – Voluntary tribute obligation of the Qabeena and 5 imma-Oromo , w . P s . , R
1878	Stay of the Italian traveller Antonio Cecchi with ᶜUmar Baksa in Qabeena
1879	Unresistant subjugation of the southern Gurage under Ethiopian sovereignty
1880	Campaign of the Šäwan army under M nil k II against the northern Arsi and Zay
after 1880	asan n3amo leader of the Qabeena – Intensified advance by the East-Gurage and Mäsqan to the Libidoo plain – Construction of Roman Catholic mission stations at the middle Awaš – abäša conquest of Gurageland largely completed
1882	Retreat of Šäwan army with great losses after war campaign in the Arsi territory at Mt. Celalo
1885	Šäwan raid against the Ittuu in Cärcär

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1886	*Dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari appointed governor of Soddo and Gurage by M nil k (with residence near Wäliso) – Campaign of the abäša army against the Leemo and Sooro – Simultaneous campaign by *ras* Gobäna Daci against the Sooro – Campaign by M nil k II in the Arsi highlands – After fierce resistance conquest of the land up to the Wabi Šäbälle – Establishment of garrisons (Sadda and Caangee) by *ras* PTM´ M T– After restrictive decrees slave trade from Šäwa to the Somali coast etc. again legitimised
1886-89	"Holy war" of the Qabeena and allied Gurage and Oromo against the advancing abäša conquerors – After initial successes of the insurgents against *dä azma* Wäldä Aššagari intervention of Ethiopian reinforcements under *ras* Gobäna Daci
1887	Alliance of the Eaha-Gurage under Bacce Shabo with the Arsi against M nil k – Resistance of the northern Arsi ceased – After a period of successful resistance against *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el final subjugation of the Ittuu in Cärcär by M nil k – Defeat of the Harär army at Cällänqo and annexation of the Emirate by the Christian Empire – Start of the *rinderpest* in Ogaadeen
1888	Victory of the Qabeena over a Šäwan army under *dä azma* Gärmame
1889	Final defeat of the Qabeena in Jabdu near Wäliso and escape of asan n3amo to Amayya
1889-91	Climax of the *rinderpest* – Outbreak of cholera in Ethiopia
1889-94	King Xona (ona) of Wälaytta – The boundary between the Wälaytta kingdom and Baadawwaachcho established its present-day line
c. 1890-92	Smallpox epidemic in Ethiopia
1891	Crop failure and locust plagues in extensive parts of Ethiopia – Through famine and epidemics decimation of the population also in the Hadiyya territories – Unsuccessful campaign of *dä azma* Täsämma starting out from Kambaata against Wälaytta
1891/92	Conquest of Bale by *ras* PT M´ T, *dä azma* Asfaw Darge and *dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el – abäša marauding raids up to Ogaadeen
c. 1891-94	*Dä azma* Wäda33o Gobäna governor in Kämbata
1892-96	*Dä azma* Asfaw Darge governor in Bale
c. 1893	Subjugation of the Leemo, Sooro, Shaashoogo, and Kambaata completed – Murder of members of the royal family of Kämbata and of the *anjaanchcho* of the Baadawwaachcho by abäša soldiers – Alliance of the Baadawwaachcho with the Wälaytta – Defeat of *ras* Mängäša against the Wälaytta and Baadawwaachcho – Preparations for a campaign to conquer these groups – Occupation of the territories of the Sidaama and Gu33i by *dä azma* Bäšah and *ras* Le^{c}ul Sägäd Atnaf Sägäd
1894	*Dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el as governor in Ginnir/Bale – In July raids of Ethiopian troops under *ras* Wäldä Giyorgis starting from Dawro towards Wälaytta – In November departure of the Ethiopian army under Emperor M nil k II for the conquest of Wälaytta – In December after initial successes against Ethiopian reinforcements defeat of the Wälaytta and Baadawwaachcho at Gasseena – Marauding of the country by the abäša and their auxiliaries and continuation of enslaving many inhabitants
c. 1895/96	*Dä azma* Täsämma Darge governor in Kämbata Province
1896-1909	First period of *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw as governor in Kämbata Province

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1900	Intervention by M nil k prevents outbreak of conflicts between *ras* Le^{c}ul Sägäd (governor of Arussi) and *dä azma* BalCa Mäfo (governor of Sidamo) – Rebellions against Ethiopian sovereignty in eastern Arsiland and in territories of the Anniyya-Oromo
1901/02	Expedition by Pierre du Bourg de Bozas in Arsi and Hadiyya territories
1907-09	*Dä azma* BalCa Mäfo governor in Hararge, Bale and Ogaadeen
1908	Administrative reform in Ethiopia brings new division of the southern provinces – The health of Emperor M nil k II worsens – Iyasu is named successor to the throne and *ras* Täsämma Nädaw is entrusted with the guardianship of the Prince (until 1911)
1909-10	*Dä azma* Ayyälä governor in Kämbata Province
c. 1909-16	*Ras* Nadäw governor in Bale Province
1910-11	Second period of *ras* Abatä B^{w}ayaläw as governor in Kämbata province
c. 1911-14	*Ras* Le^{c}ul Sägäd governor in Kämbata Province
c. 1914-16	*Dä azma* Wäldä Gäbr 'el governor in Kämbata Province
1916	Departure of abäša troops out of the southern provinces to Šäwa as a result of civil war turmoil – Defeat of *än* Mika'el ^{c}Ali of Wällo, the leader of the Iyasu loyalists, against the allied forces of the commanders of the southern provinces at Sägäle/Šäwa (17.10.) – Coronation of M nil k's daughter Zäwditu (2.11.) – *Ras* Täfäri Mäkwänn n T T, g M T appointed regent – Turmoils at Magaallo in Bale – Outbreak of warlike conflicts of the East-Gurage and Arsi against the Libidoo, the Allaaba against the Arsi, the Baadawwaachcho against the Allaaba and Wälaytta
1916-18	*Ligaba* Bäyyänä Abba Säbsäbe governor of Bale Province
1917	Imprisonment of Iyasu – Punitive expedition and actions of pacification of the Ethiopian administration under *fitawrari* Habtä Giyorgis in central-southern Ethiopia
1917-26	*Ras* GetaCCäw Abatä governor in Kämbata Province
c. 1918-20	*Fitawrari* Wäldä Gäbr 'el Governor in Bale Province – Start of an intensified Islamization in this territory
1919	End of the civil wars and intensive tribunals in central-southern Ethiopia
c. 1920-32	*Dä azma* g M TP, T., . TProvince
1923	Proclamation for the abolition of slavery in Ethiopia (15.9.) – Admission of the country to the *League of Nations*
1924-25	Destruction of the nsät plantations in Allaaba due to disease – Thereafter almost complete abandonment of nsät cultivation in this region
1926-35	*Ras* Mäšäša Wäldä governor in Kämbata Province
1928	Famine in parts of Ethiopia – Expedition by Amadeo di Savoia-Aosta and Enrico Cerulli through the Arsi territories – Protestant missionaries of the *Sudan Interior Mission* (S.I.M.) start travelling from Addis Abäba to Wälaytta and Kämbata Provinces and Roman Catholic missionaries to Sidamo in order to survey the possibilities for stations there
1929	Establishment of the first S.I.M. station in the Kämbata Province and simultaneously of a Roman Catholic mission station in this territory

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1930 , , . , . , R T , g M T – Changes to the taxation laws and incipient stages of democratisation are ineffective in the southern provinces

after 1930 Start of nsät cultivation among the Arsi in the marginal zones of Sidaamaland – Final abandonment of the Laaqii settlements on the islands of Lake Shaala – Layout of a road for motor vehicles from Addis Abäba through the Lake Region into Sidamo Province – Increased infiltration of the Arsi via the Ganaale in the direction of Nagaallee/Boorana

1932 First rumours in the Kämbata Province of an imminent Ethiopian-Italian conflict

1932-33 *Dä azma* Näsibu governor in Bale Province

1933-36 *Dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d governor in Bale Province

1934 A skirmish at the well in Wälwäl in the Ogaadeen (December 4-5) is used by the Italians as a pretext to prepare a war for the conquest of Ethiopia – Start of mobilisation measures in southern Ethiopia for the defence of the country

1935 Start of the Italian assault on Ethiopia (October 3) – *Ras* Mäšäša Wäldä is summoned with the troops of the Kämbata Province to the northern front – Arussi and Bale troops under *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d on standby on the southern front – *Dä azma* Mäk^{w}änn n Wossäne from Wälaytta is entrusted with the security of the south – After withdrawal of most of the garrisons from the interior of the southern provinces start of interethnic conflicts and flight of the *näf äñña* in the *kätäma* settlements

1936 Defeat of the Ethiopian army under *ras* Dästa Dam äw at Nagallee/Boorana (beginning of the year) – Abolition of slavery decreed by the Italians (27.2.) – Collapse of the northern front in Wällo (April) – After the capture of D rre Dawa the official end of the war proclaimed (9.5.) – Invasion of the Baadawwaachcho in Wälaytta (May) – Occupation of most of the Arsi territories by the Italians and war of the Gogot Federation (Gurage) against the Libidoo and Arsi (July) – Fascist educational policies for Italian East Africa decreed (24.7.) – Flight of the *näf äñña* out of the Sidamo Province to Soddo/Wälaytta (October) – After the Italian conquest of Bale retreat of the remnants of the Ethiopian southern army to Harbegoona in the Sidaama highlands (end of the year) – Because of the war severe shortages of necessary provisions

1937 After the expulsion from Harbegoona annihilation of the last remaining troops of the Ethiopian southern army troops under *ras* Dästa Dam äw and *dä azma* Bäyyänä Mär d at Go33eti and Buta3ira in eastern Gurageland (February) – Seizure of Hossäyna (February) and Soddo/Wälaytta (April) by the Italians – End of the civil war hostilities in central-southern Ethiopia – Actions by small groups of abäša resistance fighters (*arbäñña*) last till the end of Italian rule – suspension of the *gäbbar* system and introduction of new taxation regulations and provincial divisions by the Italians – Promotion of Islam and support of autochthonous political institutions as a counterweight against Christian Ethiopian dominance – Promotion of the cultivation of cash crops, new grain and vegetable types – Restraint of activity of Protestant missionaries – Preferential treatment of European farmers in southern Ethiopia by the Italian colonial administration

1940 After Italy entered World War II (10.6.) advance from southern Ethiopia towards British Somalia

1941 Anglo-Ethiopian counter-offensive – Capture of Addis Abäba (5.5.) – Occupation of the Lake Region (April/May) – British forces proceed through the Hadiyya territory in pursuit of the Italians in the direction of 5 imma (May/June) – Renewed

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	outbreak of interethnic conflicts in central-southern Ethiopia which continue until 1943
1942	Tax reform in Ethiopia – Legal basis for the *gäbbar* system revoked
1943	Measures of pacification by the Ethiopian government in the Lake Region and other parts of southern Ethiopia completed
1944	The "Ethiopian Restoration" is broadly implemented – Renewed tax reform – Establishment of new social dissent and inequality through the allocation by big landholdings preferably to *arbäñña*, who largely lease the land to the indigenous people, constitute a new kind of upper class
1945	Return of the Protestant missionaries to most of their stations in southern Ethiopia
since c. 1957	Missionary campaigns of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church (until the 1960s) in Arsi and Hadiyya territories bring only limited success – Intensified conversion to Islam among the western Arsi and parts of the Hadiyya proper
1960	The attempted *coup d'état* P . g M T , T , T T , g . T . the Hadiyya territories and marks the end of reformist endeavours by the Emperor
1962	Changes to the provincial and *Awra a* boundaries in Šäwa and Arsi – Intensified settlement of peasants from northern Ethiopia on state land in Bale and mission campaigns of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in this region – Most autochthones convert to Islam, however – Abandoning of leather clothes for women and adoption of the Gurage type of house in most of the Hadiyya territories west of the Bilate
1966	Arsi rebellions in Bale (lasted until 1968) – Tax exemption suspended for *g^{w} lt* land tenure, but maintained for *sämon* and *madäriya* – Failure of a reform for land tenancy in the Ethiopian parliament through objection by the landowner lobby
1967	Start of the activity of the *Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit* in the Arussi Province
1971	Rejection of a parliamentary bill to reform land tenancy in favour of the tenants
1973	Crisis year for agriculture in Ethiopia – Destruction of vast nsät stocks through frost and disease in Sidaama and Gurage territories – Meagre harvest of sorghum and coffee – Cattle disease and lack of pasture fodder – Tensions in the *Awra a* of Kämbata-Hadiya due to a dispute between the Hadiyya and Kambaata and through the refusal to pay tenancy levies to *näf äñña* landowners resulting in the despatch of armed security forces into the territory
1974	Start of the Ethiopian Revolution (February) – Takeover of government power by a Military Council (*Därg*) (June) – Start of the instruction campaign (*zamacha*) by students and high school pupils in rural areas (December) – Local instruction centres, in Asälla and Hossäyna, amongst others – Foundation of peasant associations (*qäbäle*)
1975	"Proclamation to provide for the Nationalisation of Rural Lands" decreed (2.2.) – Intensification of social tensions and increased outbreak and interethnic conflicts
1976	Hostilities of the "Oromo Liberation Front" (OLF) and "Western Somali Liberation Front" (WSLF) against the Ethiopian government
1977	Advance of the WSLF, supported by Somalia, in the Hararge and Bale Provinces – Intensified recruitment of soldiers for the Ethiopian army among the Hadiyya west of the Lake Region and other ethnic groups of southern Ethiopia

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1978 Victory of the Ethiopian army in the "Ogaadeen war" – After bloody reprisals by the government against indigenous inhabitants growing anti-government opposition in the Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a*

1984 Severe drought in Ethiopia – Resettlement programme (*säfära*) initiated by the *Därg* – In the following years about 70,000 people from Kämbata-Hadiya *Awra a* sent to Metekel/Go33am and Gambela – simultaneously, relocation of large parts of the rural population from their hamlets to big villages (villagization; *mändär misräta*)

1991 Collapse of the *Därg* regime and coming to power of the EPRDM government – Return of most resettlers from the schemes in northwestern Ethiopia and spontaneous abandoning of the *mändär* villages – Emigration of many *näf äññä* to northern Ethiopia – Introduction of a federal system and new administrative divisions – Most descendants of Hadiyya groups live in the *Southern Nations*, *Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State*

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Appendix II: Genealogies of Informants (with Comments)

The genealogies of informants referred to in the text by name will be basically listed here. The examples mentioned here, however, only represent about one tenth of those recorded among the Hadiyya proper and groups of Hadiyya descent. The pedigrees of informants of Kambaata -speaking groups such as Annullo Canqalo, Hamfuco Waannoore, asa Gäbrä and Sadore Sidee, referred to in this book, are considered in the monograph on the history and culture of the Kambaata (BRAUKÄMPER 1983: 284f., 289f.). The genealogies are supplemented with biographical data and are critically commented on. Most of the persons interviewed were peasants without any vocational specialisation and modern education. Because of the historical focus of the study, the majority of the informants were male elders. The cases in which they possessed a title or had any other specialised function within the socio-political sphere, have been remarked on. As I already mentioned in chap. 2.2, I assumed an average of thirty years per generation, but considered the measuring flexibly according to the particular historical conditions. The following examples are listed in alphabetical order.

balambaras adjdj ᶜAbdalldh (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
Angoyye
shaikh Mu ammad
Kabir Aynaage
Kabir ᶜAbds
Kabir Shazelli
Azuulee
Waaqo

ᶜAbdalldh was born around 1913 in Abbokooy in the Suudee-*Wäräda* of the *Awra a* Arba-Gugu (Arussi Province). He obtained a higher Islamic education and in 1957 he was appointed as *c* for Arba-Gugu in Abomsa á . K T ´ . ´T , R ´T Z-province, receiving the Ethiopian title *balambaras*. His clan (*gosaa*) was Suudee, his lineage (*balbala*) Reebu. Angoyye lived and died in Allagiduu (Suudee), where all ancestors of his genealogy originated from. The genealogy consists of Islamic names since Kabir Shazelli, enabling the assumption of an Islamic continuity over the last six generations. The list, which does not go back to the name-giving ancestors of the *gosaa* and *balbala*, shows no indication of being incomplete or of manipulation within its relatively short time span. Through conversations with other people ᶜAbdalldh had quite a profound knowledge of the pedigrees of his group and of links to the Sidee-Allaaba and was well informed about historical and cultural facts.

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	ᶜAbdalldh (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
	Nuuruu
	Buukkallee
	Bariiso
	Miigoo
	Ambo
	Muxuree
	Gobayya
	Tajji
	Ittuu
shaikh	Faaris (Faarachuu)
shaikh	M sd
adjdj	ᶜAli Ba ar
adjdj	Dawd
adjdj	A mad Sharif
adjdj	Saalli Sharif

ᶜAbdalldh was born in approximately 1934 in Faarachuu (Sinaana *Wäräda* in the north-east of Gobba in Bale). Faarachuu is the name of the *gosaa*, which supposedly does not have a subdivision of *balbala*. ᶜAbdalldh's father Nuuruu died in 1964, over a hundred years of age, in Faarachuu. The ancestors had supposedly been living in Arabia up to A mad Sharif. Dawd moved from the Somali coast toward the interior of the Horn of Africa and was buried in Gurraa Daamolee (Dallo *Awra a*, Bale). At the time of Faarachuu, sections of the *gosaa* emigrated to Arba-Gugu. Whether this event may be associated with the large Oromo migration of the 16th century remains uncertain. In my opinion, the genealogy between Faaris and Ittuu is incomplete for the time in which the original Muslim faith was abandoned. (Re-Islamization followed in the generation of the grandfather Buukaallee.) Concerning the Arab ancestors – the beginnings of the settlement of Islamic missionaries in Bale can be traced back to the 13th century – therefore telescoping becomes evident.

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Alaako (Gide'o, 1974)
Adulla
Billu
Bule
Baddo
Bakate
Ku'yyi
Gummi
Hidde
Waare
Waa'yyo
Dambi
Yutule
Hengedde (Hengeliye)
Gaadu
Sagachche
Adaami
Hewanni
Shaanqo
Hemba
(Adaame)

Alaako was supposedly 22 years old when abäša troops invaded the country of the Sidaama and the Gide'o under *ras* Leᶜul Sägäd, i.e. he was born in approximately the 1870s. (Both he and his relatives stated that he was 113 years of age, which is hardly believable.) Alaako was, like all his relatives, follower of the traditional tribal religion. He originated from the district of Anno Birbirsa . V TV . , T , ´T , . , RG P RRTá´T. Tj R T . T , TT T VT. in different localities of Gide'o which are known by name. In search of fertile land, Ku'yyi left the northern district of Michile. All of his ancestors since Hemba had lived in this area. One of the seven sub-groups of the Gide'o is named after Hemba. The lineage of Alaako was Hengedde. Hemba's ancestors originated from the region of Mt. Z kwala at an indeterminate point in time. The genealogy is of no significant diagnostic value for the chronology, since it does not correlate with any known datable occurrences. However, it indicates that the Gide'o were sedentary in their present dwelling-areas over the last 20 generations, which can also be documented by other pedigrees.

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Alamo (Mäsqan, 1973)
Qeeda
Ibrdhim Daballo
azma Lante
gärad Eebbichcho
Gambazze
azma Shenanno
Xigo
Wolama
azma Z

Alamo was a priest of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, who was born c. 1912 in the Mäsqan district Makichcho near Buta3ira, where he carried out a religious function. His father had settled there after the Mäsqan had expelled the Libidoo from this territory around 1890. Alamo's grandfather and great-grandfather were Muslims who lived on the western slope of the Gurage highlands. Their conversion to Islam had taken place under the influence and military pressure of the Qabeena and East-Gurage. The ancestors from Eebbichcho up to Wolama had lived as Orthodox Christians in Umbur, near the town of Mäsqan. They traced themselves back to *azma* Z a military colonialist from Akkälä Guzay in Eritrea. A substantial gap of 350–" gT T ZT TT. Z ´, can be dated to the early 14th century (cf. chap. 1.1 and 3.2.2) and Wolama. The attempt to connect the ancestral line to the famous Christian Gurage progenitor for prestige reasons becomes evident. The genealogy appears to be reliable otherwise.

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balambaras shaikh ᶜAli (Jaarso-Oromo, Cärcär region, 1973)
Jadiida
ᶜUthmdn
Wodday
Fafaamo
Muluu
Eerar
Gabiiba
Yabba
Oborra
Yayya
Danqa
Jaarso
Daaga
Utulo
Qal'oo
Baarentuu

ᶜAli was born around 1890 in Borooda/Oborra in eastern Cärcär and belonged to the group of the Jaarso-Baarentuu, which had no distinctive traces of clans of Hadiyya descent. His ancestors since Qal'oo had been roaming as mobile pastoralists between the boundary of Arsiland at the Ejersa River and Baabbille, east of Harär, in mostly identifiable localities. ᶜUthmdn converted to Islam. To position the ancestor Qal'oo, after whom the loose federation of the Afran Qal'oo ("Four Qal'oo": Ala, Noole, Jaarso, Oborra) is named, at the end of the 15th century, seems realistic. Baarentuu, however, must have lived significantly earlier, since one of the two main Oromo factions of the 16th century carried his name. This group had probably already existed some generations earlier in the original homeland of the Oromo between the upper Ganaale and the upper Dawa. As a whole, this faction is known to have taken a different path of migration than the Boorana. According to ᶜAli Jadiida, Baarentuu came from the land Xappo, presumably somewhere in the territory of the Arsi in Bale.

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adjdj	Badru (Qabeena, 1973)
adjdj	Obbiyyo Shuruur
shaikh	Bashir
	Abenaas
	Abbe
	Zaande
	Fuje
	Qanyeto
	Kalaabbo
	Mandiide
	Yamfe
	Maggaabo
	Imaamo
	Saambe
	Siimato
	Hamanaato
	Magannaato
	Azobaada

cont. acc. to version of nnäqor (East-Gurage)	cont. acc. to Qabeena version 1	cont. acc. to Qabeena version 2
Saduuro	Buukaanna	Buukaanna
Man r	Biimaaddo	Biimaaddo
Mu ammad Nd ir	Mancheeno	Nd ir
[c]Abd al-Saldm	Sidee	Mancheeno
Fa l Isldm	Nd ir	Habbuka
Ayy b	Mu ammad Nabe	Ismd[c]il Djabarti
Ishdq	Ibrdhim	
Idris	Ismd[c]il Djabarti	
Ibrdhim	Ibrdhim	
[c]Abdalldh	[c]Abd al-Samdt	

Badru was born around 1915 in Zabbi-Mola (Qabeena) and obtained a higher Muslim education in several places throughout Gurageland and in 5 imma. In 1946, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His father Obbiyyo, who had received Islamic schooling in Qabeena and Wällo, maintained a ur'an school in Zenna-Bannär and moved five years before Badrus's birth to Zabbi-Mola having accepted the invitation of the inhabitants there to do so. He died around 1920 in that place. Bashir, who was born in Mafed (nnämor) found his way to Zenna-Bannär in the course of the Qabeena migration and was also a ur'an teacher. Abenaas, after whom the lineage (*godabba*) is named – the clan is Azobaada – was born in Leemo and died in the land of the Eaha-Gurage. From his time up to Bukana (supposedly a brother of the distinguished Allaaba ancestor asan), during the differ-

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ent stages of migration the ancestors stayed between Shirka (Šar a) in Arsi, the Sidaamaland and the southern edge of the Gurage Mountains. Buukaanna is supposed to have died in Sidaama. This seems quite early (19 generations), assuming, according to the oral traditions, that the migration of the Qabeena from Shirka to the territory south of the Wabi Šäbälle headstreams took place during the ᶜAdal wars by the mid-16th century. The possibility of an extension of the genealogy to Azobaada cannot be ruled out. However, since it is a matter of Cushitic or 'Cushitized' names, a manipulation of the pedigree cannot be affiliated with Islamic concepts of prestige. Biimaaddo, the Me mad of the Zar'ä Yaᶜ qob Chronicle, is to be positioned around the mid-15th century. The names of the Qabeena versions before him are, to my mind, of no chronological value. The claim regarding Ismᶜil Djabarti's origin is remarkable. Badru was familiar with some Ethiopian literature, such as the *Fut al- abaša*, which has to be taken into consideration when analyzing the data he delivered orally. However, deliberate manipulations, due to his knowledge of the literature, are not detectable.

Daaimo (Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya, 1970/71, 1972/74)
Abbäbä
Dukkato
Ioobe
Amato
Qatuuto
Geedee
Ilichcho
Bare
Doodo
Anniyyo
Dooyyore
Dooda (Doodichcho)
Baade
Adaama
Uur
Buchche
Hadiyya
Buraansho
Guutee
Guffutto
Aggeraado
Amnaadeb
Minaase

Daaimo, whose father Abbäbä recieved an Amharic name, was born around 1915 in Amburse (Baadawwaachcho). In the 1950s, he converted from the traditional Hadiya religion (*Fandaanano*) to Protestantism (*Sudan Interior Mission*). His clan (*sulla*) was Dooda, his lineage (*moollo*) An-

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nimanna (from Anniyyo). Dukkato found his way to Amburse and died there. Ioobe and Amato roamed as nomads the area between the Kämbata Mountains and Koyisha (Wälaytta). Qatuuto immigrated from east of the Bilate and joined a union of the Kambaata and Shaashoogo, to fight against the old-established Hadiyya of the Weexo-giira groups west of the river. The ancestors from Geedee up to Baade adopted a nomadic way of life in (today's) Arsi territory, fought against the Oromo and went to war against the Ethiopian Christians on the side of A mad Grañ. As db Uthmdn, whom the Dooda in Arsiland include in their genealogies as the father of the eponymous person Dooda and as a famous warrior in the "holy war", was not known to Daaimo. Baade is said to have been killed in Šäwa in the battle against *a* Dinglis (presumably Emperor L bnä D ng l). It is remarkable that his position as 14th person in the genealogy conforms to the time of the Grañ wars in the mid 16th entury. Basically, the genealogy appears to be correct up to Baade; the names prior to this are of no chronological value.

abagaaz Eddoo (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
Abbaayyee
Shuricho
Mando
Kootilee
Goodana
Gidimmo
Laallee
Abbaso
Amuroo
Habare (Habarnoosa)
Uunsho
Kurunsho
Udumoo

Eddoo was born around 1900 in Bulbula in the Lake Region of the Rift Valley. After having lived a large part of his life as a follower of the traditional tribal religion (*Awaama*), he converted to Islam, as many Arsi of the lowland areas, in the 1950s. His *gosaa* was Habarnoosa, his *balbala* Goodana. Since Habare, who immigrated from Cärcär in the east, the ancestors were nomads in the northern Lake Region. A widespread popular belief among the Arsi and in Cärcär implies that the Habarnoosa originated from a Somali called Hab(a)r Y nis and settled during the final stages of the *djih d* (around 1560) in the territory of Wä3. The non-Muslim Cushitic names designated as the ancestors of Habarre were evidently taken over from neighbouring Arsi clans. In my opinion, the list has been telescoped by two to three generations between Eddoo and the *gosaa*-progenitor Habare.

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im m	Ermoolo (Leemo-Hadiyya, 1970)
qäññaẓma	Handiso
abbaagad	Orse
	Biibiso
	Ennamoora
	Hambe
	Tiite
	Beeto
	Aashe
	Meente
	Aiqoanna
	Amanichcho
	Gabrehanna
	Mesheechcho
	Leemo
	Xubichcho
	Aashanguxxichcho
	Wolabichcho
	Xumeebo
	Hasano
	ᶜAbd al-Ra mdn
	ᶜAbdalldh
	Ibrdhim
	Zoobe
	Jubaar
	Ashaange
	Huube (Huubaayichcho)
	Annaqo
	Guffutto
	Hadiyyo

Ermoollo from the clan of the Aiqoanna was born around 1910 in Aiqoanna (Leemo). He inherited from his father Handiso, who converted from the *Fandaanano* religion to Islam, the office of *balabbat* and became *im m* of the Leemo territory. Hambe came from nnäqor to the district of Aiqoanna, which since then has been inhabited by his descendants. The position of Leemo as 15th person in the genealogy seems credible. The chronicles of the 15th century do not mention the existence of a Hadiya group bearing this name, which leads to the conclusion that their genesis must have been after this point in time. I argued for a number of reasons that the name Gudeella mainly referred to the Leemo. Huube, listed 27th in the genealogy, is worth mentioning. He correlates to the Huu(be)anna of the Baarentuu (cf. chap. 3.4.2), to whom the Rayyaa, Azaboo and Ashange in northern Ethiopia trace their roots back to. If one takes as a starting point the number of generations listed here, one can assume that he lived in the 12th century. This does not seem totally impossible, but nevertheless very early. Because the Arabic-Muslim names ᶜAbd al-Ra mdn,

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[c]Abdalldh and Ibrdhim appear to be alien in between the Cushitic, or Cushitized names, I have a suspicion that they were added afterwards for the sake of establishing a historical link with Islam.

	Faaqiro (Libidoo-Hadiyya, 1973)
	Farde
	Burqaamo
wolab garaad	Makkiso
azma	Shinko Baxxa
	Middore
	Waarichcho
	Waare
	Chaato
	Shaade
	Shaabo
	Gashsho
	Mansuuro
	Biimaaddo
	Manchicho

Faaqiro was born around 1908 in Diida'a (Libidoo), where he grew up with seven half-brothers and sisters. He was a Muslim since childhood. His father originated from the Dirki'isa district at the eastern slope of the Gurage Mountains, which the Libidoo had to leave under the pressure of the Mäsqan. His clan (*sulla*) was Waaremanna, his lineage *(moollo*) Middore. From the time of the ancestor Waare it is known that his descendants lived as mobile pastoralists in different localities, the names of which are known, in the lowlands of the Rift Valley between the territories of the Arsi and the Gurage. The genealogy consists of 14 names up to Biimaaddo (Mehmad) who, as a contemporary of Emperor Zar'ä Ya[c] qob, lived in the 15[th] century. A gap in of around one century, which can be detected between the date of the written source and counting of generations with a time-depth leading back to the mid-16[th] century, is explicable due to the incompleteness of the pedigree. Evidence of this is also in the fact that the genealogy of Faaqiro's half brother from another mother, Dobe Farde, knew of eight names between Waare and Biimaaddo in his genealogy. These are partly different to those of Faaqiro's list of ancestors. This fact proves that even in the same family discrepancies in the genealogical traditions can occur, due to diverse sources in passing on information. Regarding his historical knowledge, Faaqiro generally disposed of a more comprehensive knowledge than Dobe.

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Fiitamo (Leemo-Hadiyya, 1970)
Qalbore
Anfuno
Sumudo
Laleefo
Makko
Shonke
Goone
Sawoore
Goroba
Mura
Huube
Leemo
Xubichcho
Aashanchcho
Hadiyya

Fiitamo from the Leemo clan Sawoore was born around 1920 in Fonqo'o in north-eastern Leemo territory. From the time of Shonke, who came to Fonqo'o from nnäqor, all of his ancestors had lived in this district. According to comparative data, the migration of the Leemo from the north-east to their present dwelling-areas took place at the beginning of the 19th century (cf. chap. 3.5.5), which supports the validity of the genealogical data. The ancestors from Shonke to Leemo were nomads in different localities of Arsi and Libidoo, which are not known by name. Leemo himself lived in Weera, close to a large expanse of water, (which is to be identified as Lake Abbayya). Up to Sawoore, the chronological evidence of the pedigree appears to be utilisable. Furthermore, the endeavour to bridge the span to the progenitor of the Hadiya with several important ancestors in the Leemo traditions becomes visible.

Fuccune (Sooro-Hadiyya, 1970)
Hobombo
Laleefo
Yetamo
Dokammo
Immato
Datloore
Shaabe
Woroanna
Boosho'anna
Booyyaamo (Booyye)
Manchicho
Annaqqo

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Fuccune was born around 1920 in Araara, a locality of Sooro-Boosho'anna. He gave up the *Fandaanano* religion in the early 1950s and became a Protestant (*Sudan Interior Mission*). His clan is Shaabe. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather were all resident in the area of Araara. In the time of Dokammo the grazing grounds of the Sooro-Boosho'anna still reached further to the north, but since the mid-19th century they had to leave some areas to the Leemo advancing from the north-east. In the generation of Shaabe, the ancestors crossed the Bilate towards the west. Datloore came across the Mäsmäs-Gurage, with whom the Sooro from then on were mostly on warlike terms. The genealogy seems complete up to Shaabe, whose lifespan is estimated to be up to around the mid 18th century. Prior to that, the pedigree appears strongly telescoped, since only two generations lie between Shaabe and Booyyaamo, a contemporary of the Ethiopian Emperor Zär'a Yaᶜ qob of the 15th century. Booyyaamo most probably lived in Gädäb. After him large migrations took place until the Sooro invaded the land west of the Bilate, about which very few traditions and genealogical data have been preserved.

dañña Gooyiso (Baadogo-Hadiyya, 1970)
Sirbaamo
Kochale
Ebo
Masaammo
Guluffo
Uwaayo
Sinaano
Hobbele
Annabaayyo
Baaisso
Baade
Begeero

Gooyiso was born in around 1905 in Hoommachcho, the central market town of the Baadogo area. He functioned as *dañña* (chief) of the clan Baaisso. In the 1950s, he converted from the *Fandaanano* religion to Christianity. The occupation of the current dwelling-areas took place under Masaammo in conflicts with the Sooro. Guluffo was expelled from Kambaataland together with other groups of the Agara-Hadiyya (Weexo-giira) after clashes with groups of the Shaashoogo and Baadawwaachcho, who had been called by the Kambaata as allies. Approximately at the end of the 18th century, they joined the Leemo. Baade lived in the north of Bale, where still many of his descendants, Baadoosa, Holbatmanna(a) etc., are to be found. The emigration of sections of the Baadogo from this territory to Kämbata, which took place during the Grañ wars around 1530 (cf. chap. 3.2.2), is linked to the 11th ancestor of the genealogy, Baaisso. Telescoping of the genealogy by three generations in the time between Guluffo and Baaisso seems probable.

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Gunja (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
Gurree
Abdii
Soqe
Dallo
Dilbato
Boruu
Heedabo
Buraa
Maachannee
Annaa
Surphaa
Jaawwi
Arsi

Gunja was born around 1895 in Ree'e near Gunaa (Arba-Gugu). He was Muslim and specified as his *gosaa* Jaawwi and his *balbala* Maachannee. The ancestors from Gurree up to Boruu lived as nomadic pastoralists R ´T , ´ . ´T T , g , R á , -*Awra a*). Buraa, who had grown up in the north of Bale, crossed the Wabi Šäbälle to Diida'a and he and his people expelled or assimilated the local Hadiyya. All ancestors before Boruu are said to have lived in Bale. The statement that the Jaawwi-Oromo migration from Bale to Diida'a took place only eight generations before the 1970s seems doubtful. According to Bahrey's "History of the Galla", a group named Dawe or Gawi had already advanced into the areas north of the Wabi Šäbälle during the last third of the 16th century. The eponymous ancestor of this group must therefore have lived at an earlier time. If one precludes a second migration from Bale northwards, which the overall framework of oral traditions reported by Gunja Gurree suggest, one comes to the conclusion that the historical events before Buraa are positioned clearly too late. A telescoping of several generations seems to have occurred.

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adjdj Hadi (Ittuu-Oromo, 1973)
usayn
Boruu
Eelamo
Biilaa
Jiloo
Laalo
Muddi
Godaana
Gurraa
Buraayyu
Abuno
Wayye
Ittuu
Baarentuu
Oromo

———

Mubdrak
Djabarti
Ismdᶜil
ᶜUmar
Ziad
Tamim
Khatib
Fa ih
Mu ammad
Shamsudin
Y suf
Tamim
Mu ammad
Ibrdhim
Ismdᶜil
ᶜIsd
Murrdd

The genealogy of Hadi, who was born in 1929 in Hardim (Cärcär) and has lived there ever since, is a typical example of how under the influence of a newly emerging trend of Islamic value concepts manipulations of the pedigrees came about. The genealogy shall only be shown as a demonstration , R ´ ´ , , . T. T , R T T V R ´ T g. s . From his grandfather onwards the genealogy proceeds with Cuschitic names until Oromo. All ancestors up to Oromo, under which Islam is said to have disappeared, lived according to Hadi in the Cärcär area. The "traditional" genealogy is extended beyond the eponymous ancestors Ittuu, Baarentuu and Oromo by a row of Islamic names, which is supposed to document a noble Muslim Arabic descent.

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This is a list made by ur'an scholars in the Cärcär area, based on information from the *Fut al-abaša* and other written and oral sources, which – as I could establish by myself – can be found repeated in slightly different versions around this area.

	Haile Bubbamo (Sooro-Hadiyya, 1970-74)
	Arficio
	Abamme
	Annello
	Neegaro
	Gunxukko
	Goorro
	Kalaalo
	Hummaanta
	Daarriso
	Jawwaaro
	Aburo
	Hade
adil	Booyyaamo
gadab garaad	Manchicho
	Annaqqo
	Waayiso
	Waaballo
	Waachche
	Woriiqo
	Booje
	Suude
	Makke
	Kalto
	Temmo
	Guffutto
	Hadiyya
	Geera

Haile Bubbamo, son of the shamanic priest Arficio, who died in the mid-1930s, was born around 1930 in Sagge'e (Sooro). At the age of about ten, he came in contact with Roman Catholic missionaries, later on studied X-ray technology in Europe and thereafter was active in the Biology and Chemistry Department of Addis Abbäba University. He was outstanding for his enquiring interest in the history and culture of his people. Annello was still resident to the area of Waachchamo (Hossäyna), which the Sooro had to relinquish for the invading Leemo. A telescoping of two to three generations took place in my opinion between Neegaro and Booyyaamo (cf. also the analysis in chap. 2.2). Before Manchicho the list comprises a number of names that do not appear to have any chronological value.

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aylä Giyorgis (Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya; 1970)
qäññazma Woraaqo
Agaago
Kaabiso
Buulle
Bagge
Sundaado
Daane'e
Daade
Bulluqo
Wonxe
Alambo
Mesheero
Heero
Baade
Buchche
Gudde
Hadiyya

This is not an ordinary genealogy, but the dynastic pedigree of the High Priest *(anjaanchcho)* of Baadawwaachcho, which at first was reported to me by Namana Dilliso and later on confirmed by other informants. aylä Giyorgis was born around 1910 in Weerebooyya (Baadawwaachcho) and inherited from his father the position of *balabbat*. Woraaqo had received this title around the beginning of the 20th century (and later on also the title *qäññazma*) from the Christian Ethiopian administration. Agaago held the honour of the *anjaanchcho* for only a few years. Kabiisso was killed around 1893 by the abäša conquerors. The informants mostly agreed on the oral tradition that from Bagge up to Baade the *anjaanchcho* position was continuously transferred from father to son. But they were not always sure about the kin relationship. Baade, who is said to have lived in Dallo, was believed to have been the first holder of the title of *anjaanchcho*. In my opinion, there are no indications of telescoping or of the lengthening of the list.

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aylä Maryam (Leemo-Hadiyya, 1970-71)
Malgo
Wo'loro
Gaagaabo
Daansho
Guugee
Xabenoore
Gindoo
Yabichcho
Sundaake
Gabrehanna
Mesheechcho
Huubaayichcho
Leemo

aylä Maryam, who before his conversion to Orthodox Christianity held the name Abikko, was born around 1905 in Gidasha (Leemo). The name of his *sulla* is Gindoo, that of his *moollo* Xabenoore. He was married to a woman who originated from Sooro and together with his family he converted to Protestantism (*Sudan Interior Mission*) in the late 1950s. His father Malgo, who originated from Gidasha, relocated to Duubaanchcho, where the family have lived since then. Wo'loro was also born in Gidasha and died in the 1890s in Colla. Gaagaabo and Daansho had wandered around the districts between Damaalla, Colla and Gidasha. Guugee arrived in present-day northern Leemo territory from nnäqor. Xabenoore died before reaching this area, probably between nnäqor and Libidoo. Up to this ancestor the genealogy and its additional historical information seem very reliable. The brothers of Sundaake, after which other clans (*sulla)* are named, were indicated with Heteero, Shake, Kaataara, Liqiwo and Aiqoanna. The name Kaataara could suggest the sojourn near the Ka(a)tar river, which flows into Lake Z^{w}ay, since the Hadiyya (and other peoples) often named their children after their current whereabouts of their birth or after topographical designations and peculiarities. It was reported about Leemo that he lived in a place named Weera specified to have been locatec close to a large expanse of water (presumably Lake Abbayya). One day he left this area for an unknown destination. The genealogical data regarding this migration could correspond with the time of the Grañ wars of the 16th century, because comparative data reveal that the Gudeella (Weexo-giira and Leemo) in the wake of the ^{c}Adal troops found their way to the north from dwellings further south, probably from the plain at Lake Abbayya and from Dallo (see maps 7 and 14).

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Hirbaayye (Sidaama, 1974)
Digissa
Fade
Daffe
Aga
Xubbe
Wondo
Woshermine (Woshe)
asan
Manna
Giro
Giddaanche
Allaado (Allaaba)
Doodakka
Nima
Malde'a
Adaami

Hirbaayye was born around 1918 in Hadeessa (southern Sidaamaland) and lived in Saadde (Qeweena). He was a follower of the traditional tribal religion (*Chimeesa*) and designated Allaado, or Allaaba as his clan. The ancestors from Digissa up to Aga lived in different areas of the territory of the Alatta-Sidaama. Xubbe and Wondo were located in Malgee (northern Sidaama territory). During the time of Woshermine, the greatest section of Allaaba migrated to the north, to the area of "Kaase", near Qolito. A small section of the Allaaba stayed behind in Sidamaaland, and since then became a clan. As comparative data of the oral traditions suggest, the emigration of the Allaaba from Malgee occurred during the first third of the 18th century. This would support the probability that it took place under Woshe as the eighth person in the genealogy. In pedigrees of the Allaaba at the Bilate and of the Woshermine clans of the Arsi in Gädäb, the ancestor Woshe appears in a longer time depth, however. For a number of reasons, the ancestor of this name refers to the same person among all these groups. The same applies to asan. Therefore, to me the genealogy seems correct only to Wondo and before that it is obviously telescoped. The name Allaaba, for example, is already mentioned in the Zar'ä Ya^{c} qob Chronicle, meaning that the (potential) eponymous ancestor must have lived before the 15th century. In the genealogy, however, he is listed as 13th person (before the 1970s).

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Homfaarro (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
Waaqo
Oogatoo
Bino
Gadaa
Alli
Dilammo
Sabbu
Saddiiqoo
Biilo
Naase
Nabaase
Idriis
Halqo
Godde
Adaree
Nibbi
Abaadir

Homfaarro was born around 1920 in the Qarsaa district east of Lake Langano and became a Muslim around 1960. His *gosaa* is Adaree, his *balbala* Dilammo. It was Gadaa who reportedly gave up Islam and joined the *gadaa* system of the Arsi. Biilo is said to have been assimilated into the Arsi ethnos through the *lallaba*-ceremony and adopted the Oromo language. His ancestors used the language of the Harari and East-Gurage, which are both named Adaree by the Oromo and to whom the Arsi clan Adaree still felt related to in the 1970s. It is not known where this linguistic change was accomplished. The ancestors before Biilo had lived further east in the Cärcär range and in eastern Arsiland. Abaadir was said to have been an Arab of the noble uraish clan who had immigrated from the Arabian Peninsula to Harär via Zayla'. Up to Godde, the genealogy appears to be highly reliable. Increasingly, corrupted Islamic names (Saddiiqoo etc.) document the progressive Oromization of the originally Semitic-speaking Muslims of Hadiyya descent. Whether Adaree was a person or was personified as an ethnonym, remains uncertain. An obvious gap filled with only two names exists between Godde and Abaadir. The last mentioned person, still venerated as the founding father of Muslim Harär, is dated in the first half of the 13th century (cf. chap. 3.1.4).

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Huriisso (Sidaama, 1973)
Waabe
Bungude
Shorfe
Lukke
Womaachche
Bonoyya
Oolaammo
Lunce
Uchche
Usaaddo
Allaabo
Baara
Malgee
As db ʿUthmdn
Seema
Sendire
Daganiyo
Gabaro
Doodaakko
Bushshe

Huriisso was born in about 1912 in Wotaara Gando (Malgee, Sidaamaland) and has lived there since. He was an Orthodox Christian. From Waabe up to Womaachche the ancestors lived in the neighbouring district of Meleelo. Bonoyya came into the world in the district of Barana not far from Malgee. From Oolaammo to Malgee the ancestors settled east of the upper Ganaale River. Malgee, presumably to evade the pressure of the invading Oromo, is said to have moved west and settled down in the area named after him from that time on in present-day Sidaamaland. He joined the autochthonous Sidaama and adopted their language whereas his brothers Dooda and Weege were absorbed into the Arsi-Oromo. From their common ancestor, As db Uthmdn, it was known that he was a warrior at the time of Dingama Koyye (a local name of A mad Grañ) and his burial T. T á , in Arsiland was still a place of Muslim pilgrimage in the 1970s. As the Cushitic names before and after ʿUthmdn infer, he was certainly not the progenitor of all the Malgee, but in any event an important leader of the group. The migration of the Malgee out of the territory east of the Ganaale, which was triggered by the expansion of the Oromo, was confirmed in the traditions of the Arsi clans Weege and Dooda.

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adjdj	Ibrdhim
	Affuuso
	Godaamo
	Do'e
	Ginno
woma	Mandiida
woma	Diilaapa
	Samardiin
	Hawashe
	Sidee
	Halooshe
	Naasiro
adjdj	Ma m d
adjdj	ᶜUmar
adjdj	A mad
adjdj	ᶜUthmdn
	Abaadir Nasru
	Na'ufal
	Ismdᶜil Djabarti
	Ibrdhim
sayyid	Zubayr
sayyid	Mu ammad
sayyid	ᶜAli
sayyid	Mu ammad Bakr
sayyid	ᶜAli Ri d
sayyid	M sd al-Kdsim
sayyid	Djaᶜfar
sayyid	Djaᶜfar al- ddi
sayyid	Zain al-Abidin
sayyid	usayn
sayyid	ᶜAli
nab	Mu ammad

Ibrdhim was born in Leenda near Qolito (Allaaba) in 1897 and received a higher Islamic school education in Wällo. In 1946, he undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca (apparently as the first Allaaba). He earned his livelihood as farmer and ur'an teacher. He put down his genealogy and his knowledge about the historical traditions of the Allaaba in a notebook in Arabic, which was made available to me. He belonged to the most respected clan of the Allaaba, the Sidee. Affuuso, whose wife originated from W lbaräg, spent his whole life in Leenda and Qolito. Godaamo was born in Yeederek (W lbaräg) and died in Qolito. Do'e was born in Mafed in the boundary area between nnämor and ndägañ and died in Yeederek. Ginno and Mandiida spent their whole lives in the vicinity of Mafed. Diilaapa went to Waachchamo (Hossäyna in today's Leemo country) from Ilgiira in the borderland of Baadawwaachcho and Kämbata. Mandiida and Diilapa occupied a

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leadership position associated with the title *woma*. Samardiin and Hawashe roamed as nomads the area between Sidaama territory, Ilgiira and imbaaro. The burial place of Sidee was given as Danga'ura in nnäqor. Halooshe and Naasiro lived in Sidaamaland. The ancestors before Naasiro had been at home in Arabia. This part of the genealogy is to be assessed as an attempt to gain a "*sharific*" origin. One can assume that the listed names from Naasiro up to the present generation and the related information about the migratory stages of the Allaaba back into the 17th century, are more or less precisely reproduced. A problem appears with Sidee. According to my interpretation Sidee, who was buried in nnäqor, can be identified with the Hadiyya leader Mdi who in the 1570s Ḫ P′ P . T, M .P R ′ ‘ ‘ ” .V‘ ” “ , V.P , ′T .Ḫ , . obtained from another informant, the Sidee of the Allaaba was a son of Abrooshe, a brother of Halooshe. The latter is said to have remained childless and to have adopted his nephew. During the stay of the Allaaba in Gurageland, this Sidee was then equated with the Mdi from nnäqor.

Langidde (Sidaama, 1974)
Bunxeso
Ludo
Shukurra
Guugee
Boora
Damule
Maddo
Afiirra
Gimbatto
Oshono
Wogaara
Allee
Harbe
Faqiissa
Xumaamo
Bushshe
Culukke
Chunguumme
Doodakka
Heme
Xorse

Langidde was born around 1919 in Shashe near Yaayye in Sidaamaland and belonged to the Sidaama subgroup of the Harbe. In 1952, he converted to Orthodox Christianity. His ancestors had lived in Shashe and surrounding districts since Shukurra. From Guugee until Faqiissa they lived in the territory of Siisso near Laku, presently occupied by the Shabadiino group of the Sidaama. Xumaamo came there from the south. Bushshe lived in Dawa, the land of his ancestors, of which the informant could give no statements. Noteworthy is the occasional appearance of Cushitized

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Muslim names, like Faqiissa (Faki ᶜIsd) and Alle (ᶜAli). In my opinion, there are no signs of manipulation or of gaps in the genealogy. The immigration into today's Sidaama area, which is connected to Xumaano, seems to have been estimated too early, however (cf. chap. 3.4.4)

adjdj	Muddi (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
	Nagii
	Intalli
	Shakka
	Gillo'o
	Kombee
	Iggu
shaikh	Baamudii
	ᶜAbdulldhi
	Man r
adjdj	Shaalee
	Khaliifa
	Jundii
	Gunduba
	Qaalluu
	Xalo
	ᶜAbdulldhi
	Ansariyye

Muddi was born around 1918 in Baamudii (Arsi-Gädäb) and became a Muslim as an adolescent. His clan Baamuda is named after *shaikh* Baamudii. Since Iggu his ancestors had lived in the area Baamudii. Iggu gave up Islam and took on the *gadaa*-system along with the language of the Arsi-Oromo. The ancestors from Baamudii up to Man r lived in Gololcha in the north of Bale. *adjdj* Shaalee, who is said to have been originated from Arabia, was killed during the *djih d* of A mad Grañ. He was buried in Garjeeda (Arsi-Gädäb). His mausoleum, erected in stone, was a place of worship still in the 1970s. The ancestors from Khaliifa to Ansariyye lived in the Arabian Peninsula. Eleven generations seem too short to fill the time span from 1973 to A mad Grañ in first half of the 16th century, leading to the assumption that the pedigree has some gaps. They could be located between Bamuudii and Iggu. The hegemony of the Oromo began in the second half of the 16th century. From this time onwards a process of paganization began within the autochthonous Hadiyya, along with a linguistic transition which took place over a number of generations. It was able to be determined several times that this phase has been telescoped. Tellingly, Iggu, in whose time Islam presumably declined, also held the Muslim name Zubair.

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shaikh Mu ammad (Darood-Somali in Cärcär, 1973)
Sa^{c}id
Daadhii
Tunee
Oydii
Diido
Buchoo
Boruu
Soobane
Waaqo
Buchoo
Muyee
Libanoo
Harooro (Harooressa)
Mandado
Gaaddullaa
Sabbu
Worraib
Baarree
Qobboo
Kablaalla
Darood
Ismd^{c}il
Djabarti

Mu ammad was born around 1910 in Boche (Cärcär) and spent most of his life in Gälämso. In regard to his own ethnic identity he felt he belonged to the Ittuu-Oromo, but he was aware that his genealogy traced back to the Ogaadeen-Somali. His clan Gaaddullaa also existed among the Somali and the Arsi-Oromo. Sa^{c}id, who originated from Habro near Baddeessaa (Cärcär), was converted by Islamic missionaries (Wärra Alli Hassani) from the Harär area and relocated to Boche. Daadhii was killed by ^{c}Afar warriors in Bacha near Assabot. Tunee and Oydii roamed the Cärcär region as nomads. Diido from Diida'a in Arsiland had immigrated there. From Gaaddullaa, who had left the Hargaisa territory, up to Diido the ancestors were mobile pastoralists in the eastern Arsiland between the Šanan River and the Wärra Lukkuu range. Sabbu and Worra lived in the Hargaisa region and their ancestors in unknown places of today's Somali-inhabited territory. It appears conclusive to connect the campaign to the west of the Gaaddullaa people, originally from Somaliland, with the "holy war" of ^{c}Adal against the Christian Empire. This was confirmed by the oral traditions. The part of the pedigree from Sabbu to Ismd^{c}il Djabarti has definitely been telescoped. In which generation the Gaaddullaa were accepted by the Ittuu-Oromo as *Moggaasa* (assimilated) can neither be determined by the types of names in the genealogy nor by orally transmitted pieces of information.

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shaikh	Mu ammad .	T 1970-71)
	[c]Abd al-Ra mdn	
	Mu ammad Rashid	
	Lesiibo	
abagaaz	Ekeso	
azma	Imaamo	
azma	Dilaapa	
azma	T	
adjdj	Aliye	

Mu ammad Saani was born around 1925 in the nnäqor region of East-Gurage. He married there, but lived primarily with his second wife in Qaalisha (Leemo). He had an Islamic education in Abrät in the land of the Eaha-Gurage. Later he partly earned his living, apart from farming, as a *qal-lichcha*, a medium of possession spirits, at seances and a producer of amulets. He was well informed about practices and legends concerning the folk Islam of the region, but his historical knowledge was very limited. *adjdj* Aliye ([c]Ali) is said to have come from the east from Hararge and died in nnäqor where his descendants have been settled since. Aliye's life can be positioned in the second half of the 16th century (see chap. 3.3.4). The telescoping is thus considerable. According to the comparative data from the whole area of East- PT T as the eponymous ancestor was not a son of *adjdj* Aliye, but is to be positioned very much earlier (cf. chap. 3.2.2).

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adjd Nagaash Abbaa Shaaro (Qabeena, 1973)
Nuuruu
Hamsa
Jamaal
Qee'ro
Bossi
Ayinaar
Ismaan
sayyid Kabir dmid (Miskeen)
sayyid Faki A mad (Ab Sarri)
Adam
A mad al-ᶜArab
A mad al-Badawi
Zain Abid
asan
ᶜAli
dlib

Nagash Abbaa Shaaro was born around 1883 in Zenna-Bannär (Qabeena) and had lived since his young age in Leenca. He belonged to the Miskeen, who were reputed to dispose of exceptional magic powers. Nuuruu and Hamsa were born in nnämor and died in Zenna-Bannär. Jamaal came to nnämor from the south. The ancestors from Kabir dmid to A mad al Badawi lived in Shirka and from Zain Abid to dlib in Arabia. Between A mad al-Badawi and Zain Abid are supposed to be half a dozen names which the informant could not remember. The genealogy reflects the migration of the Qabeena between Leemo and Zenna-Bannär correctly. Between Qee'ro and Kabir dmid the pedigree is considerably telescoped, however. The emigration from Shirka is to be dated in the mid 16th century and not only nine generations before the 1970s. Faki A mad Ab Sarri, who also appears in genealogies of the East-Gurage, Arsi and Ittuu, was distinguished by an especially close relationship with leopards. Still in the 1970s, the killing of a leopard was an absolute tabu for his descendants, along with other special behaviour patterns towards this animal. The appearance of A mad al Badawi in the genealogy is noteworthy. There was a renowned member of a fi order with this name, who was born around 1200 in the Maghrib and found his way to Egypt and Mecca, where many legends about him spread. This man traces his genealogy back to ᶜAli b. Ab dlih. Obviously, there has been a confused mixture of borrowing from legends and traditions of the early Islamic history. The sequence of the names ᶜAli and asan is to be conceived as an attempt at establishing a link to a *sharific* descent.

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Namana (Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya, 1970-74)
Dilliso
Belelo
Mago
Maldayye
Bacce
Iyyoosee
Banke
Abare
Waageesho (Waageshmanna)
Bulgeechcho
Sodoore
Kormichcho
Honse
Urusso
Booyyaamo
Manchicho
Annaqo
Waayiso
Gudde
Immato
Hadiyyo
Guffutto
Minaado
Adaamo

Namana of the Urusso-Waageshmanna clan was born around 1897 (three years after Emperor M nil k's campaign against Wälaytta) in Edoola (Baadawwaachcho) and lived since then in this district as an illiterate peasant. He was my major informant concerning the history and culture of the Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya and disposed of an enormous knowledge also about the neighbouring ethnic groups. In 1973, he gave up the *Fandaanano* religion and converted to Protestantism (*Sudan Interior Mission*). Dilliso came to Edoola from Danaana, a place south of the Ambarichcho massif, where his father Belelo had died after long-lasting nomadic migrations through today's Wälaytta area. Mago's grave was said to be found in Koyisha, north of the Gorgora River. The ancestors from Maldayye up to Sodoore were mobile pastoralists in the lowlands between the lakes Shaala and Abbayya and Soriifeela near Soddo/Wälaytta. Under Iyyoosee the Baadeooso and Urusso unified and acknowledged his leadership. The ancestors from Banke to Urusso led a life of eventful migration in the territory between Gädäb and the Awaš River. Booyyaamo, a contemporary of the Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob (15th century), lived in Rayyaa. (There are two places called Rayyaa, one in northern Ethiopia and a second one in the area between the upper Wabi Šäbälle, the Wäyb and the upper Ganaale. According to the comparative data, it became obvious, however, that the southern Rayyaa was meant). The genealogy seems correct up until Booyyaamo; the names before this are of no value to the historical reconstruction.

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dañña	Nunishe (Shaashoogo-Hadiyya, 1970-73)
	Manta
	Corooqo
	Oolaammo
	Ayyaano
	Daado
	Hembello
abbaagad	Asaaro
	Hanse
	Waabeeto
	Shokmoollo
daddaachcho	Shaashe
adil	Booyyaamo
	Manchicho
	Waachche
	Woriiqo
	Booji
	Suude
	Maaki
	Kalto
	Xeemo
	Guffutto
	Hadiyya
	Gerin
	Yeeroham
	Passaqor
	Malkeeyas
	Azareeas
	Kilkeeyas
	Meesolam
	Sodaakko
	Maari'ut
	Aki
	Yoorob
	Yodeeya

Nunishe was born around 1913 in Do'ishsha (Shaashoogo). His clan (*sulla*) was Shokmoollo, his lineage (*moollo*) Asaaro. In 1957 he became a Protestant (*Sudan Interior Mission*). Before that he was an Orthodox Christian for seven years, and before that a follower of *Fandaanano*. He possessed a brilliant historical knowledge, but refused to report about the traditional religion. Nunishe's father Manta, who spent his life in Do'ishsha, became a Muslim shortly before he died. The ancestors from Corooqo to Ayaano herded their livestock in the lowlands of the Bilate valley between the Gurage Mountains and the Allaaba boundary and were in constant feud with the

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neighbouring groups. Some information on their warlike actions has been preserved. After the victory over the Weexo-giira in Kämbata, Daado migrated into the Bilate lowlands north of Mt. Daato. The ancestors from Hembello to Shaashe, who were buried in Šašämäne, roamed the area of the Lake Region as nomads. At the time of Emperor Zär'a Ya^{c} qob, Booyyaamo is supposed to have reached the hill Hossis Ambarichcho in today's Shaashoogo. Manchicho is said to have lived in Seeruu in the Cärcär region, where his father Woriiqo came to from Bale. Booji and Suude lived in Bale. Maaki had moved there from Garra Mulläta, south-west of Harär. Guffutto had migrated from the Wabi Šäbälle to the Garra Mulläta Mountains, where Xeemo and Kalto spent their lives. The eponymous ancestor Hadiyya originated from Jerusalem, crossed the Red Sea with his 14 sons and settled down in the valley of the Wabi Šäbälle. His ancestors were important people such as High Priests in Jerusalem, where Yodeeya resided after the Babylonian confusion. The part of the genealogy leading back to an ancestry of the ancient Jews is to be understood as an appendix under recent Christian influence and is atypical for the historical traditions of the Hadiya otherwise throughout dominated by concepts and legendary tales rooted in Islam. It is shown by reference of another example of a Shaashoogo pedigree in the context of the methodological considerations (chap. 2.2) that there are obvious gaps in the list of ancestors between Booyyaamo and Shaashe.

azma	Ochorro (Libidoo-Hadiyya, 1973)
abagaaz	Xube
	Gessamo
	Hamo
	Achchukune
	Booru
	Awaasho
	Imaaro
	Gumbe
	Jillo
	Udumo
	La'mango
	Dukamo
	Orduuno
	Baarawa
	Bartuma

Ochorro was born around 1905 in Guuto, an area in the 1970s populated by W lbaräg, and lived since his childhood in Udaasa in Libidoo. Xube originated from the area Quuqoora in a region later , TVZg T . VVTV . T u Z V, , T , ´, ZT, . PTV , P , , R -Hadiyya had grazed his livestock in this area and then married a woman of the Waaremanna clan, into which he then was adopted. Hamo and Achchukune lived on the foothills of the Gurage Mountains and the Mäsqan border. Booru and Awaasho were nomads between Lake Z^{w}ay and the upper Awaš, Imaaro and Gumbe roamed the plains of the southern and eastern shores of Lake Langano with their herds. Jillo's life started and ended close to Mt. Celalo. Nothing is known of his ancestors.

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The genealogy seems correct since Udumo; there are no indications for telescoping or elongation. The rest of the pedigree that traces back to Bartuma (allegedly the Oromo ancestor Baarentuu) with some purely Cuschitic names, is of no use for chronological conclusions and correlations.

Oyika (Baadawwaachcho-Hadiyya, 1972)
Gadabo
Galatto
Onke
Ginjo
Saalte
Himbaaro
Ogoddo
Loxo
Woqaaqo
Saamaanchcho
Bitanna
Asaalichcho
Male
Malsabo
Buchche
Agaaro
Hadiyyo
Minaado
Adaamo

Oyika was a Muslim born in Harto in the borderland between Wälaytta and Baadawwaachcho and lived there since. He was a member of the Haballo clan of the Weexo-giira faction who according to their own concept of ethnic identity were part of the Baadawwaachcho. The ancestors from Gadabo to Loxo were nomads roaming pastures between the shores of the lakes Abbayya and Shaala and the foothills of the Ambarichcho massif in Kämbata. The rest of the genealogical ancestors lived 'in the land of the Deebanoo [Oromo] in Bale'. Bitanna was married to Haballe, an important female personality, from whom the Haballo derived their name. Oyika was one of the few of my informants who reported on his own accord that the progenitor of his clan had been a woman. The overall historical context suggests that the migration of the Haballo and other Weexo-giira from Dallo to the north-west took place in the wake of A mad Grañ's *djihad* armies between 1530 and 1540. According to Oyika's pedigree, however, his sixth forebear Himbaaro is said to have still resided in the north of Bale. Thus a telescoping between Ogoddo and Bitanna is to be assumed. There was no indication of a further migration of Weexo-giira ancestors from Dallo and Bale in the direction of Kämbata at a later period.

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im m Qalto (Allaaba, 1974)
Geraaro
Kibamo
Woshe
Lajee
Abiddo
Ramso
Moce
Hamde
Azmaaro
Daarimu
Allooshe
Nd ir al-Din
adjdj ᶜUmar
adjdj Ismdᶜil
adjdj Djabarti

Qalto was born in Hulluuqo (Allaaba) and lived since then in different places in the surroundings of Qolito. Even though he held the title *im m*, he had never obtained a higher Islamic education and was seen as a *gariba,* a follower of the cult of *shaikh* N r usayn, to whose mausoleum in Anaajiina (Bale) he regularly pilgrimaged. Since Abiddo, the ancestors lived near Qolito. Ramso lived in Womba, south of the Dagosa River and fled from the invading Leemo to W lbaräg. Moce and Hamde also sojourned in (today's) Leemo territory. Azmaaro was a nomad between Ilgiira in the Baadawwaachcho- imbaaro borderland and Waachchamo. Daarimu and Allooshe lived in the territory of the Sidaama. It was claimed that Nd ir al-Din and his ancestors had been uraish Arabs who had lived in Baargama (Bahirgama), beyond the Red Sea. The genealogy seems basically correct up to Allooshe – though as comparable data of the Allaba, Qabeena and Leemo reveal – the migrations from Womba via Waachchamo and Guna under Ramso and from Sidaama to Ilgiira under Daarimu, are evidently estimated two to three generations too early. The part of the genealogy from Nd ir al-Din to Djabarti seems to be a heterogeneous composition of Islamic names, which, with the exception of Ismdᶜil Djabarti (around 11th century; cf. chap. 3.1.4) cannot be classified chronologically. The indication of Baargama being the country of origin can be presumably be identified as the influence from the Oromo tradition.

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qäññazma	Mgg (Sooro, 1970))
	Annoore
adil	Adaayye
adil	Agaago
adil	Cuqaalo
	Ode
	Daayyo
	Ayitee
	Jawwaaro
	Miroore
adil	Hade
adil	Booyyaamo
	Manchicho
	Mansuuro
	Annaqqo
	Waayyo

Mgg Z, . . , . V . , . P He was *balabbat* of this area and also became administrator of the *Wäräda* imbaaro, which by then comprised most territories of the Sooro-Hadiyya, from the 1960s until his deposition by the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. From his father's youth, the family confessed to Orthodox Christianity. His father's brother Mam, ZI(T ´TV , Mgg the dignity of an *adil* with the symbol of dignity, the bangle called *laakka* made of bronze. Adaayye, who for decades was the most influential man in Sooro (cf. chap. 3.5.6), was appointed as *balabbat* by the abäša conquerors shortly before his death in 1895. The title *adil,* allegedly held in earlier times by Booyyaamo and Hade, is said to have been reintroduced at the time of Cuqaalo. Since Daayyo the ancestors stayed in the territory between the rivers Omo and Dagosa and the massifs of Shonqolla and Ambarichcho. From Ayitee to Hade they had moved through the region between Lake Z^{w}ay, the Dukam River and Mt. Z kwala on the western border to the ancient Fä ägar and from Booyyaamo to Annaqqo they had lived in the territory of Gädäb in today's Arsiland. Waayyo is said to have immigrated there from ^{c}Adal. Up to Daayyo, when the immigration of the Sooro in the territory west of the Bilate ensued, there is no reason to doubt the genealogy. The migratory stages recorded for the period before seem to be basically correct. However, according to the comparative material they took place considerably earlier than indicated by the respective names in the pedigree. Residences in the eastern part of the Harär Plateau, in ^{c}Adal, which are reported on in many Hadiyya traditions, were certainly relinquished before the 13th century (cf. chap. 3.1; 3.2).

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daññ̈a	Suliito (Mäsmäs, 1970)
daññ̈a	Beyyore
	Sawilo
	Boobeeto
azma	Aashanchcho
azma	Damballo
azma	Uraago
azma	Ille
azma	Waariyu
azma	Zenno
azma	Zoobo
azma	Zommo
azma	Waa'a
azma	Terri
azma	Zenen
azma	Ayiker
azma	Zemaan
azma	Akelu
	Daa'ont
	Denbi
a e	Zär'a Ya^{c} qob
a e	L bnä D ng l

Suliito was born around 1898 in Gibe Mika'el (Mäsmäs) and moved later on to the neighbouring village Somoorra. He was an Orthodox Christian as supposedly all of his relatives. He belonged to the Ille clan and was elected *daññ̈a* of all Mäsmäs. His father Beyyore had already held this function before him. The immigration of the Leemo occurred under Damballo. Following this event, Aashanchcho was named after a synonym for these people who were on friendly terms with the Mäsmäs. Before this time, Uraago and Ille had been suffering under the reprisals of the Sooro-Hadiyya. Denbi is said to have been the ancestor who came from Gondär to the Mäsmäs territory. No further details were known of the other ancestors. The genealogy appears to be slightly telescoped. An immigration of Semitic-speaking colonists from northern Ethiopia into the territories of the upper Gibe probably occurred in the 14th century (cf. chap. 3.2). The two names of kings were obviously added for prestige reasons, representing an anachronism. (Zär'a Ya^{c} qob lived before L bnä D ng l.) The pedigree reveals an increase in Cushitic names – especially from the time of Uraago – although the final loss of the Semitic (Gurage) language in favour of Hadiyyisa only occurred two to three generations before the 1970s. Pride in the unbroken Christian tradition obviously did not allow any manipulation of the Mäsmäs genealogy under Leemo influence.

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balambaras	ᶜUthmdn (Allaaba, 1972-73)
	Sixamo
	Gujaabo
	Anjjajo
	Galachcho
	Bolxanno
	Abiddo
	Gaalaamo
	Korme
	Xade
	Kaleelo
	Hamaadu
	Shaabo
	Sha'amanna (Awlijaanna)
	Sulto
adjdj	Nd ir
	Shebarkalle

ᶜUthmdn from the (*sharific*) Qallichcha clan of the Sha'amanna-Hamaadu was born around 1911 in Xuqqa (Allaaba) and later on moved to the neighbouring district of Xaafo. He was a second generation Muslim and appointed *balabbat* by the government. This function had been assigned by the abäša conquerors to his father Sixamo, who was born in the district of Xiqaare west of the Bilate River. As far back as Bolxanno the ancestors had been nomads between Korme at Lake Zʷay, the territories of the Shaashoogo and Libidoo and Adiillo on the southern slope of the Daato hill at the Kämbata boundary. Abiddo originated from Gädäb(ba) where *adjdj* Nd ir had gone to. Nd ir's father Shebarkalle is said to have emigrated from Arabia to ᶜAdal. The genealogy seems chronologically correct up to *adjdj* Nd ir, the ᶜAbd al-Nd ir of the *Fut al- abaša* who died in the *djih d* around 1540. That all Sha'amanna and related groups actually trace back to Nd ir is doubtful.

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Woddeesso (Arsi-Oromo, 1973)
Bunee
Tajji
Koofe
Shamoo
Gillo
Soolee
Iggu
Sochicho
Bolicho
Gumaatoo
Weegichcho
As db ᶜUthmdn

Woddeesso *(gosaa*: Weege; *balbala*: Sochicho) was born around 1900 in Worga west of Lake Z^{w}ay and still lived in this district in 1973. He was a first generation Muslim. Bunee, Tajji and Koofe used the grazing land in the area between the western shore of Lake Z^{w}ay and the Libidoo boundary. Shamoo migrated down from the highland east of the lake, where all his forbears are said to have lived, into the Rift Valley plain. The fact that there are still members of the Weege clan in Gädäb was known to Woddeesso. He also had knowledge of As db ᶜUthmdn having died as a religious warrior in the *djih d* of A mad Grañ . VZΓ. P Z TV. T á , . . Vand that his grave was an important pilgrimage site. One can assume that this man had been a leading figure for some Hadiyya groups who therefore retained his memory as an important progenitor. The genealogy seems to be slightly telescoped, i.e. probably by two generations.

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Woldayyas (Sooro-Hadiyya, 1973)
Duuno
Saamido
Biyyo
Gontukko
Macco
Onkoro
Waabeeto
Butuuro
Baamaddo
Godichcho
Miroore
Hade
Booyyaamo
Manchicho

Woldayyas from the Miroore clan of the Hade-Sooro was born around 1917 in Aaluuta and later on settled in Baalaamo (both districts in central Sooro). In his youth he had converted from the *Fandaanano* religion to Orthodox Christianity. From Macco on his ancestors had lived in places close to his present residence. Onkoro came to the present area of the Sooro from another territory. As from Miroore on, it is unknown where his ancestors lived. Hade is said to have immigrated from the north-east to the region of Mt. Shonqolla in today's Sooro, where according to a historic legend the four factions of the Sooro (*sooro* = four) agreed on a distribution of land. Booyyaamo and Manchicho were said to have been nomads in the lowlands of the Lake Region south of Mt. Z kwala. The generation stated in the pedigree regarding the Sooro immigration to their present places of residence appears to be too early. According to the overall historical context (cf. chap. 3.5.6) their occupation of the Shonqolla territory most probably did not occur before the middle of the 18th century. The story that the distribution of land is connected to Booyyaamo's sons is a common anachronism in the traditions. This becomes all the more noticeable when other places for the birth and death of Hade and his brothers are specified. From Onkoro to Booyyaamo the genealogy has obviously been telescoped. Moreover, hardly anything is known of the ancestors mentioned in this time span.

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Appendix III: Clans of the Hadiyya

In the context of this study, clans are basically those groups which are considered to be the present level of the *sulla* in the social organization of the Hadiyya proper and related groups and the level of the *gosaa* of the Arsi-Oromo. Given the extraordinary dynamic of processes of fusion and fission which has taken place among these ethnic clusters, a consistent classification with regard to the emic concepts of clan identity of the peoples concerned can certainly not be achieved. Particularly concerning the Arsi and Ittuu the lists of clans of Hadiyya origin presented here do not claim completeness. In some cases, the same clans exist under different names.

1) Qabeena

Abaakiro, Aboosaara (Aboosarri), Abruuno, Adooshe, Amfoota, Annashaqqo, Azobaada, Baamadde, Buuko, Daamo, Daarimu, Dameeta, Dulaa, Gaasoora, Ganz (Ganzichcho), Ganz' Ajaamo, Gulchaata, Hoogichcho, Jawaara (Johaara), Kanaassa, Konaaza, Magarra, Maginna, Maymoota, Midda, Milimila, Nibo, Qabeen' Ajaamo, Qatbaare, Safaato, Shaffaata, Wolate, Xaaraamo, Xoroda, Xoromboora, Zoobeechchi-Miskeen

2) Allaaba

Azobaada, Buukaanna, Daarimu, Kitaabo, Kolmine, Naggadda, Sha'amanna, Safaato, Sidee, Xoromboora, Woshermine, Wushiira

3) East-Gurage TP ,

Azärnät

Abeechcho, Aboosarri (Abosaara), Allaqiiro, Araado, Gandereera, Ka'sha, Korofta, Mulaanye, Qaalisha, Qacanne, Samardiino, Shandar, Silaase, Xooqo

Bärbäre

Abaake, Abbe, Abbiyo, Adangazzo, Azobaada, Da'o, Farazze, Gammaso, Goloolcha, Korofta, Laglajjo, Qarge, Sabuute, Subo, Woshermine, Yabo'o, Zebaadda

The other groups of East-Gurage of Hadiyya dT T. ´T T(Selxi), W lbaräg, W riro, Wälane and Gädäbano, are also partly composed of the above-mentioned clans of the Azärnät and Bärbäre. W , . g , . . ,R´T T T´Ts .d .V´ . .V,R´T Z P´T Gumbe, Kurra and Shiro.

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4) Libidoo

Abaachche, Agabeello, Ajane, Allimanna, Allo, Ayisaammo, Baamo, Cabo, Cuumanna, Fuuto, Garoore, Giranno, Gubraano, Habalichcho, Halibo, Hondoraaba, Horoosho, Imaaro, Maayyo, Nasro, Ochcha, Saadde, Sha'amanna, Usmee, Waaremanna, Weerarmanna, Wogaaro

5) Leemo (according to Siegfried Seyfarth)

Abdachcho, Ariyyanna, Awudo, Aiqoanna, Baaddaaro, Chawaare, Dagaagmanna, Daanoore, Diichcho, Gindoo, Gitoore, Haggeanna, Heteero, Jamo, Kataaro, Liqiwo, Magaaro, Maraaddo, Meraaro, Moochchooso, Oodro (Ooddiro), Oosanna, Sawwoore, Shake, Waare, Weere, Wiitto, Yabee

The Heteero, Kataaro, Liqiwo and Shake were sometimes collectively labeled Gabrehanna and the Chawaare, Oodro and Yabee summarized under the under the name Lamoore.

6) Sooro

Ajaaranna, Allaabo, Amaachcho, Baaleanna, Daabiyyaago, Dileanna, Eefo, Gaasoore, Godichcho, Guxichcho, Harbooyye, Jawaaro, Libisho, Losho, Miroore, Moorebanna, Orde, Saroore, Shaabe, Shabukko, Usmaano, Wiire, Wogiyanna, Wonoanna

The four factions of the Sooro (Hadiyyisa: *sooro* = four), to which these clans belong, are Boosho'anna, Habaaro, Hade and Shakanna.

7) Weexo-giira (Agara-Hadiyya)

Baadogo

Abaayyo, Baasmanna, Baa'sso, Eriyaamo (Meere), Holbatmanna, Lamoore, Maayyo (Maayya), Tarbeebo

Haballo

Ankatmanna, Boochchooso, Daamoote, Dagaage, Hawiso, Icaacira, Saamaano

Other clans of Agara-Hadiyya

Bargaago, Hanqaallo, Hayyibba, Hoojje, Waayabo

8) Shaashoogo

Annosichcho, Daaniyye, Shokmoollo, Wushiiro, Xaraachcho

These clans are named after the five sons of the eponymous ancestor Shaashe. The specifications about the level of the *sulla* are divergent.

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9) Baadawwaachcho

Baadeooso

Aburre, Annimanna, Babooso, Bohalmanna, Buuree, Edomanna, Eggomanna, Gonno, Handeero, Heerogara, Issukanooso, Larooso, Maayooso, Mesheera, Moce, Nuuge, Oyyee, Wogaaro

Urusso

Ansoomooso, Bibishmanna, Bosha, Daawwe, Dageooso, Eefoanna, Haxirmanna, Hoggoanna, Maande, Miroore, Oolichcho, Salludooso, Taraachmanna, Waageshmanna, Waa'yyo, Wichcha, Woggo, Woraallooso, Xaabe

Others (cf. also No. 7)

Gabara, Haballo, Hojje, Sha'amanna (Allujaana)

10) Clans of Hadiyya origin in Wälaytta

Ansoomooso, Bohalmanna, Daawwe, Doodichchmanna, Haballo(oso), Jawaaro, Larooso, Maayooso, Mesheera, Moce, Waageshmanna

11) "Hadiyya" clans of the Arsi-Oromo

Abaanna, Abbaymannaa, Aboosa, Abosaara, Abroonye, Abuure, Adamoonye, Adaree, Adarshoo, Adaymannaa, Ajjaamo, Akiyya, Alli, Amandaala, Aminya, Anjeeda, Ari'a, Asella, Ashmuura, Ataaba, Awlijanna (Allujanna, Sha'amannaa), Aymara, Baddoosa, Bahamuuda, Basmannaa, Berberee, Bidiika, Caatimannaa, Coofira, Da'i, Dayyu, Dooda, Eeggoo, Faarachuu, Faraji, Farsaana, Funyamuura, Gaalama, Gasala, Gofingiira, Gomoora, Haballoosa, Habarnoosa, Hanjeeda, Harimannaa, Hawwaxxuu, Heella, Heexoosa, Holbatmannaa, Huduga, Hunxee, Ilaanni, Insemannaa, Jawaara, Jaawwi, Jidda, Jiliinshaa, Kajawa, Kalaalaa, Kolminee, Lattamannaa, Leemu, Loodee, Maadada, Madarshoo, Misheeraa, Nagooyye, Odomannaa, Qancaqooca, Qeexa, Qoorabdoo, Raayituu, Raywamannaa, Saabiro, Saddee, Saymannaa, Shaffila, Shakmara, Shalimannaa, Shashagoo(so), Shawwadee, Shedamma, Shule, Shuunee, Sinaana, Siree, Soolee, Sooro, Suudee, Tammamaa, Tawaja, Ubmanoosa, Waambanye, Wachamannaa, Wagdimannaa, Weege, Weerara, Wolashee, Wonshabiira, Woonamannaa, Woshermine, Woxismannaa, Yabsaana, Yakumma, Xawajja, Xijoo

12) Clans of Hadiyya origin among the Ittuu-Oromo

Abosaara, Assalmannaa, Doyyomannaa, Horsumannaa, Tokkomannaa

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Bibliographic Abbreviations

AE	*Annales d' Ethiopie*
BSGI	*Bolletino della Società Geografica Italiana*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BUCA	*Bulletin of the University College of Addis Ababa – Ethnological Society*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
EO	*Ethiopia Observer*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAH	*Journal of African History*
JES	*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*
RRAL	*Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Science morali, storiche e filologiche*
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*
RSO	*Rivista di Studi Orientali*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZfE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*

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